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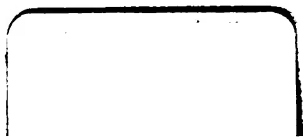
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## THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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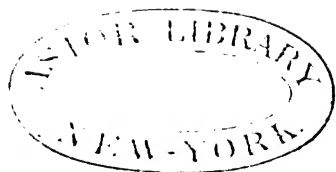
**B. B. EDWARDS AND E. A. PARK,**  
Professors at Andover,

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF  
**DR. ROBINSON AND PROF. STUART.**

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**VOL. III.**

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BIBLIOTHECA SACRA  
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NO. IX.

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FEBRUARY, 1846.

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ARTICLE I.

SYNOPTICAL STUDY OF THE GOSPELS, AND RECENT LITERATURE PERTAINING TO IT.

[With special reference to Dr. Robinson's New Harmony of the Greek Gospels.¹]

By H. B. Hackett, D. D., Prof. of Biblical Literature in Newton Theol. Institution.

STRICTLY speaking, a distinction should be made between a Synopsis of the Gospels, a Harmony of the Gospels, and a Life of Christ. A Synopsis of the Gospels contents itself with ascertaining what passages or sections in the different Evangelists are probably parallel to each other, that is, have reference to the same occurrences or subjects; but it makes no attempt to arrange them in their chronological order. In this case, the credibility of the sacred historians may be denied, and the endeavor to synchronize their accounts discarded as futile, because what they wrote rests in fact upon no historical basis; or their credibility may be admitted, and yet our means for ascertaining the exact order of events may be considered as so deficient as to render all labor for this purpose of no avail.

A Harmony of the Gospels aims at something more positive than this. It proposes to discover not only what narratives in the different Evangelists correspond to each other, but in what order the events and instructions recorded took place or were delivered; and how the scriptural text should be arranged so as to exhibit

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¹ A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek, according to the text of Hahn. Newly arranged, with explanatory notes, by Edward Robinson, D. D. LL. D. Boston: published by Crocker and Brewster, 1845.

this result. In other words, a Harmony assumes, first, that the narratives of the Evangelists, though diverse to some extent in style and contents, yet constitute essentially the same history; secondly, that they are composed according to no uniform method, but upon a plan in each case more or less dissimilar; and, thirdly, that they contain at the same time various chronological data which enable us to combine their histories into a connected and consistent whole.

A History of the Saviour coincides with a Harmony, so far as the latter extends, but embraces more. The Harmonist is expected to confine himself to the materials which the Evangelists have furnished. Having formed his judgment as to the place which these should occupy in his arrangement, he has accomplished his work. The Biographer moves in a wider sphere. His object is to reproduce as nearly as possible the entire, original history. The imagination has here an important office to discharge, as well as the judgment. In a Life of Christ, the writer is at liberty to expand the simple hints and statements of the Evangelists into greater fulness of representation. He is to spread around us the external scenery, amid which the Saviour lived and moved. The actions of life always owe much of their significancy to that which is transient and momentary at the time of their performance. The skilful Biographer seeks to restore these effaced lines. He is to unfold allusions, trace back events to their causes, ascend from single incidents to a general comprehension of character; and, in a word, having before him merely specimens, as it were, of the things which were transacted, he strives out of these parts to re-construct the whole. The well known Life of Christ by Hess is distinguished for much of this picturesque power. It is in general correct also in point of theological sentiment, and pervaded by a glow of earnest Christian feeling. Its defects are, that too frequent digressions from the direct path of the narrative occur in it, that it is often too diffuse even in treating of appropriate topics, and has less critical precision than the present times demand.

The character of the Gospels, as constituting in the main parallel accounts of the life, death and resurrection of the Saviour, is now very universally acknowledged. Yet there have been periods in the church when this relation of the Evangelists to each other was overlooked or denied; and men of considerable reputation have arisen at different times, who have contended strenuously against such a view. One of the best known representa-

tives of this class of men was Osiander, who published a Harmony of the Gospels,<sup>1</sup> so called, in 1537, a work which was several times reprinted, and which, in the Lutheran church at least, for a period of some duration, controlled the opinions of theologians on this subject. He maintained that each of the Gospels forms a complete and distinct history. According to him, the Evangelists have all pursued in their narratives the exact order of time from beginning to end. Hence in every instance of a deviation in their method, they record different actions or discourses. The incidents related may be precisely the same in their character and in the attendant circumstances; but if they are introduced by the writers in a varied connection, they could not have been the same in fact; they must have been repeated on different occasions. His notion was a legitimate deduction undoubtedly from the false views which he and many of his contemporaries entertained respecting the nature of inspiration. If the Evangelists were inspired, and wrote consequently what was true, he argued, they must have given to us the precise words of Christ, when they profess to record his discourses. It is not sufficient that they agree in substance of meaning. The slightest verbal difference destroys their identity, and makes it necessary to expand the history so as to provide for them a separate place and time. From the same source sprang the idea that all the occurrences which the Gospels relate, must be different, if stated in a different order. It would be a violation of truth, it was alleged, to introduce them in any other than the succession in which they actually took place; and historians who are inspired, must conform of course to the truth. In two instances only was Osiander untrue to his principle. The passages which relate to the plucking of the ears of corn, and to the healing of the withered hand, have a different position assigned to them by the Evangelists; and yet he explained them as referring to the same transactions. His followers, however, as Molinaeus<sup>2</sup>, Codmann<sup>3</sup> and others, perceived the inconsistencies into which he had fallen; and, to save their system from such a virtual abandonment, they maintained that

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<sup>1</sup> Its title was—*Harmoniae Evang. libri 4, Gr. et Lat. — item elenchus Harmoniae: adnotationum liber unus.* Basel, 1537.

<sup>2</sup> *Collatio et unio quatuor Evv. eorum serie et ordine absque ulla confusione, permissione, vel transpositione servato, cum exacta textus illibati recognitione.* Par 1565. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Laurent. Codmann, *Harmonia Evangelistarum* Nurnb. 1568. This was designed for the use of schools.

these two incidents also must be supposed to have occurred repeatedly during the lifetime of Christ.

In the Reformed church, Calvin<sup>1</sup> who viewed this subject in a much more intelligent light, prevented by his example the very extensive adoption of such false principles. In the Lutheran church likewise, more just opinions gradually made their appearance, till at length Chemnitz<sup>2</sup> at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and especially Bengel<sup>3</sup> somewhat later, effected a permanent reformation in the condition of this study. The merits of these two men in bringing about this result were different. The service which Chemnitz performed, was negative rather than positive. He exposed several of the most important errors of those who had preceded him in this field of inquiry; he pointed out some of the obstacles to success, and led the way to a freer and more rational treatment of the subject. He recognized indeed in his *Harmony* most of the fundamental principles to which the assent of critics is now accorded; but with him they were happy conjectures rather than established principles, and, as applied by him, were connected with many erroneous results. In his attempt to settle the chronology of the Gospels, he was particularly unfortunate. He proposed to himself here more than is possible to be accomplished. Not content with those general divisions of time, which the Evangelists seem to have indicated with sufficient clearness, he endeavored to fix, for the most part, even the month and day of each occurrence. He has shown in his efforts to carry out this design no ordinary industry and ingenuity; but, from the nature of the case, has been unable to win any very sure ground for many of the conclusions which he was compelled to admit, in filling up a system of such minute computation. The arrangement which Bengel adopted for harmonizing the Gospels, may not be, in the aggregate, more certain than that of Chemnitz; but it exhibits a more careful study into the actual

<sup>1</sup> J. Calvin, *Harmonia ex tribus Evangelistis composita, adjuncta seorsum Johan.* Genev. 1553, fol.

<sup>2</sup> Mart. Chemnitz *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum*, etc. The immense work which passes under this title, is the production of several hands. It was commenced by Chemnitz, but only the first volume, extending as far as John 11: 47, was completed by him. It was afterwards continued by Leyser and Gerhard. The first part by Chemnitz was published after his death by Leyser in 1593, who followed it by a second volume from himself in 1603, and by a third in 1608. Gerhard added a fourth and final volume in 1626.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Bengel, *Richtige Harmonia der vier Evangelisten*, etc. Tub. 1736, 1757, 1766.



structure of the Gospels, and a more consistent adherence to the rules which he professed to follow. He may be considered as having effectually put to flight what still remained of that dogma of Osiander and the older theologians, that the only species of history to which the influence of inspiration can be extended, is that which pursues the chronological order of narration. Bengel, on the contrary, allowed himself to transpose freely the contents of the Gospels. He perceived that there were certain sections common to all of them, and sustaining a certain fixed relation to each other. The position of these he regarded as established; but felt at liberty to adjust the rest, as the plan which he had formed seemed to him to require.

The English Harmonists appear to have emancipated themselves more readily from this false idea respecting a strict historical method in each of the Evangelists, or rather they do not seem at any period to have been much under the influence of it. The earliest of them who have any name as critics, so far as we know, assumed in this respect the true position. Lightfoot, Cartwright, Lardner, Newcome, Doddridge, Carpenter and others differ not a little in their judgment on subordinate questions of arrangement; but they all agree, that some transposition is necessary, in order to bring the Evangelists into harmony with each other. They may suppose that some one of them has adhered to the order of time more exactly than the others, and may vary, in placing at the foundation of their Harmonies Luke or Matthew or John, according to their several preferences of one to another as the surest historical guide. But none of them suppose, merely because the Evangelists narrate those events in a different order, that our Saviour healed the mother-in-law of Peter two or three times—that he cured two women of an issue of blood—that he twice still-ed a tempest on the sea, and that the mother and relations of Christ sought to speak with him through the crowd on three different occasions.

It is unquestionably true, as we learn from the account of the same narrator, that several incidents of the same character took place more than once during the life of the Saviour. Thus we can readily believe that the Scribes and Pharisees may frequently have demanded miracles of Jesus as a proof of his Messiahship; and accordingly we find that Matthew speaks of such a demand as having been repeated at different times.<sup>1</sup> It is also

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<sup>1</sup> See Matt. 12: 38. 16: 1 sq.

conceivable that an individual should be called in the course of his life to perform the same action a second or third time, under the same or very similar circumstances. The expulsion of the money-changers from the temple as related by John<sup>1</sup> apparently in the beginning of our Lord's ministry, and by Matthew, Mark and Luke towards the close of it, is probably an example of this nature. We remark this simply as showing, that while a diversity in the order of narration does not require us to regard events which are similar, as different; so, on the other hand, the mere similarity does not necessarily prove that such events are the same. In deciding on such cases, the Harmonist must bring to his aid other considerations.

One of the chief difficulties, in the construction of a Harmony of the Gospels, consists in arranging that portion of them, which relates to the public life and ministry of the Saviour. Of the early part of his history a few particulars only are communicated; but these, as well as those which belong to the last scenes of it, are related by the Evangelists in nearly the same order; or, they are of such a nature that their position and succession determine themselves. It is otherwise with the intermediate portions. Here the indications of time are often wholly wanting. Those which occur<sup>2</sup> are frequently indefinite, and so establish nothing with certainty. But little insight, in many instances, can be gained into the order of events from a consideration of their internal connection. They stand often isolated and alone; they do not pertain to the same series; they are not related to each other as factor and product, and the inquirer is cut off from all calculations of this nature. It is impossible that the decisions of Harmonists should not be marked here by some diversity. The judgment of individuals will vary. A probable, consistent combination is all that, in many of these instances, can be reasonably expected.

Even the duration of the period which the public ministry of Christ embraced, is involved in doubt. This question, in the absence of other means, for removing the uncertainty, depends chiefly on the question how many passover-festivals are mentioned by the Evangelists, as included in this period. It is certain that the first three of them speak of only one; whereas John takes notice of three (2: 13. 6: 4. 13: 1), not improbably four (5: 1),

<sup>1</sup> See John 2: 14 sq.; and Matt. 21: 12 sq., Mark 11: 15 sq., Luke 19: 45 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Such as τότε, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, πάλιν, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐν μὴ τῶν ἡμερῶν, etc.

and as some say, even five. It is not the diversity in this point between the synoptists and John, which occasions the difficulty; for the former, in specifying one passover, neither affirm nor deny anything in regard to others; but the language of John, particularly in Ch. 5: 1, is not free from ambiguity, and his meaning becomes, therefore, a question of interpretation.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that a Harmony must derive one of its most distinguishing features, from the view which is entertained on this disputed point. Here we find those who have taken up this inquiry, arranged in different classes. Sir Isaac Newton, Stillingfleet, Scaliger, Macnight and others suppose that there were five passovers during the public life of Christ. But this extreme extension of the term of his ministry is now very generally abandoned. Grotius, Lightfoot, Le Clerc, Newcome, Doddridge, Hengstenberg, etc., support the quadri-paschal theory. The weight of critical opinion, at the present time, inclines probably in that direction. We have advocates, again, of a tri-paschal scheme in Lardner, Lamy, Benson, Bengel and others. This opinion, both in consequence of the arguments which commend it and the authority given to it by the support of so eminent a name as that of Bengel, has enjoyed extensive credit, and has still a wide reception. A few, finally, would extend this reduction of the time still further. They would restrict the ministry of Christ to a single year. Some of the early Christian Fathers were favorable to this view; and, among recent writers, Dr. Lant Carpenter, continues to defend it in his *Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels*.<sup>2</sup>

It seemed not irrelevant to allude, thus briefly, to this disagree-

<sup>1</sup> The language in John 5: 1 is *τοπρὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*. Tholuck has stated the ambiguity of this expression thus: "According to a decided majority of witnesses *τοπρὴ* is to be read without the article. So Griesbach, Lachmann. If the article be genuine, the reference must be to the principal festival, that is, the passover. If it be not genuine, the passover can be meant, but equally well also, another festival. Since the Genitive *τῶν Ἰουδαίων* is of itself sufficiently definitive, the article in connection with *τοπρὴ* could be omitted. See Winer, p. 118. It is wanting even in Matt. 27: 15. Mark 15: 16, where the passover is nevertheless intended, without such a Genitive. If the Evangelist means here the passover, he then speaks in his Gospel of four such festivals, and the period during which Christ publicly taught is to be extended beyond three years." See his *Comm. zum Evang. Johannis*, 6te Ausg. p. 141. 1844. —The note of Dr. Robinson on this passage (*Harmony*, § 36.) contains all that is important to the investigation. He himself adopts the opinion that it refers to the passover. So also many of the ablest critics both in former and recent times.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1838, second edition.

ment of our highest critical authorities. We are thus apprised of some of the difficulties which are inherent in a subject of this kind, and prepared to judge of the labors which are undertaken for the removal of them by a more reasonable standard. It would be setting up an impracticable demand, to require that those who engage in such investigations, should propose to us no conclusion which they are not able to support by arguments to which nothing can be opposed.

One of the first things which strikes the mind of the reader on taking up a Harmony of the Greek Gospels, is the singular resemblance which these compositions bear to each other in many passages. Each of the Evangelists has indeed a character of individuality. The style of each is peculiar; the mental traits which they severally exhibit, are diverse. Each one has to some extent his own method of arrangement, and has some narrations which the others do not contain. But notwithstanding this diversity, they still discover, particularly the first three of them, a remarkable similarity. This extends not only to an occasional agreement in the order, but to a striking coincidence often in the language itself of the narration. Sometimes the expressions are identical; sometimes the words are the same, with a slight change merely in the position; and again, without being precisely the same, they are so nearly alike that it is impossible to view the agreement as accidental.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon has engaged naturally the attention of critics; and has given rise to more discussion perhaps than any other similar problem, connected with the study of the Gospels. The question how we are to explain this relation of the Evangelists to each other has been considered by theologians as a legitimate topic of inquiry, and has been variously answered. It cannot be said that any very certain results have as yet been gained here; but a brief survey of the course of thought, which the endeavor to obtain them has developed, may not be uninteresting.

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<sup>1</sup> Any good Harmony will at once illustrate to the eye the frequency and nature of this accordance. De Wette has collected, and presented the passages in a form very convenient for inspection in his *Einl. in das N. Testament* § 79. Guerike has also enumerated the most important of them in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, etc., p. 214. For readiness of reference, the following may be specified. Comp. Matth. 3: 11 with Mark 1: 8 and Luke 3: 16; Matth. 8: 2, 3 with Mark 1: 40, 41, and Luke 5: 12, 13; Matth. 8: 15 with Mark 1: 31 and Luke 4: 39; Matth. 9: 5, 6 with Mark 2: 9, 10 and Luke 5: 23, 24; Matth. 9: 12 with Mark 2: 17 and Luke 5: 31; Matth. 9: 15 with Mark 2: 20 and Luke 5: 35; Matth. 9: 22 with Mark 5: 34 and Luke 8: 48; Matth. 16: 28 with Mark 9: 1, and Luke 9: 27, etc.

One explanation is, that the Evangelists made use of each other; that is, the Gospel first written, whichever it was, was consulted by those who wrote afterwards. This is the oldest opinion; and has been held with various modifications, according to the order in which it is supposed that the Gospels appeared. Thus some critics have maintained that Matthew was the oldest, that Mark depended upon Matthew and Luke upon both. So Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Hug. Another opinion makes Matthew the oldest as before, but Luke a follower of Matthew, and Mark a compiler from both. Griesbach advanced this hypothesis, and brought it for a time into extensive favor. It was adopted by Schleiermacher, De Wette,<sup>1</sup> Saunier and others. Storr, on the contrary, held that Mark was the original Evangelist, and that Matthew and Luke derived their materials, in part, from him. This view of the priority of Mark, though with a somewhat different idea respecting the nature of the dependence of the other Evangelists upon him, has been revived by some of the most recent writers.<sup>2</sup> According to Büsching, again, in the Preface to his Harmony, Luke formed the foundation of Matthew, and Luke and Matthew together, the foundation of Mark. Vogel, finally, makes Luke the source of Mark, while Matthew is said to have had the assistance of the other two.

The idea, it will be perceived, of a mutual use of the Evangelists on the part of each other, is common to the several opinions which have now been enumerated; but they differ entirely in respect to the order in which the Gospels are said to have been produced, and in respect to the relation consequently, in which they stand to each other as original or secondary. Almost every possible combination of the order, in which the Gospels could be arranged, has been proposed as the real one. This confusion of opinion has of itself excited, in many minds, serious doubts as to the correctness of the principle on which the explanation is based. It has been thought that if the fact alleged were true, some distinct trace of it would have remained in the structure of the Gospels, enabling critics to fix with some unanimity upon the writer whose production gave character to that of the others. The priority of the particular Gospel which exercised so determining an influence upon the rest, might be expected to have indica-

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<sup>1</sup> De Wette has now returned to this opinion after a temporary rejection of it.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Wilke, *Der Urevangelist*. Dresd. 1838, and C. H. Weiss, *Die Evangelische Geschichte*, etc. Leipz. Th. 1. 1838.

ted itself by marks which could be readily discerned, and thus to have removed all occasion for that uncertainty in which the point is now seen to be involved. Nor is the circumstance that the Evangelists themselves say nothing of such a dependence, without its weight. Perhaps it could not be affirmed that had the sacred writers placed this reliance upon each other, they would certainly have made some allusion to it; but it may at least be said, that it would have been more natural for them to have done this, than to have refrained from such reference. At all events, any such application of the theory before us as would make the Evangelists mere compilers from each other, cannot be sustained. It is perfectly at variance with the facts in the case. Though they agree in the manner that has been described, they yet differ still more. The parts which they possess in common, are inconsiderable, compared with those which are peculiar to each. John, it will be admitted of course, has his own distinctive character; and the other Evangelists exhibit, confessedly, important variations in style and arrangement. Not only so, but the contents also of the latter are different. It would be impossible to combine any two of them so as to produce our present history of Christ. This could never be said of any writing which is a mere compilation; for such a writing adds nothing to the amount of our knowledge. Nor will it escape recollection here that Luke has made a declaration at the beginning of his Gospel, which must have some bearing on this question. Whatever dispute there may be in respect to the precise meaning of certain words in this introduction, it cannot be denied that the writer claims for himself, in emphatic terms, a character of general independence and originality. No fair construction of his language allows us to infer from it less than this. It seems to us most natural to understand him as saying that he follows no previously existing accounts which had been written by others, but that he derives his information from oral and personal sources, and can produce his eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses as vouchers for what he has to communicate. That he should have merely transcribed the bulk of his materials from Matthew or Mark or any one else, without increasing thereby the amount of testimony to their truth, would certainly be inconsistent with the very least which he can be supposed to have asserted in the terms to which we refer. The inference plainly is, that whatever may be true of the other writers of the Gospels, Luke certainly has not given us in his history a mere digest from other records. His own testimony sets aside as false that particular

modification of the theory under remark, which represents this as virtually the character of his Gospel.

A second mode of accounting for the similarity, which appears in the Evangelists, has been that of the supposition of an original written history which they all followed; a history extant at the time when they wrote, but which has now perished. The germ of this idea may be found in the writings of Le Clerc and Semler, but it received its more systematic form from subsequent writers, as Eichhorn, Herder, Marsh and others. According to the first of these, there was an original Aramaean Gospel which contained all the portions that are common to Matthew, Mark and Luke. But it sometimes happens, that two of the Evangelists relate circumstances which are not related by the third, and sometimes that a single one of them gives us narratives which the others omit. To explain this, he adopts the fiction of a repeated revision of what he calls the original Gospel. This he supposed to have passed through various forms corresponding to the traits which impart to our present Gospels their individual character as well as their common resemblance. Thus there was one revision which Matthew and Luke used together; and from this they derived what is common to both. There was another which Matthew alone employed, and another still which Luke alone employed; and these respectively were the sources of the portions which are found in only one of them. Again, these last two revisions were combined into another, and in this form served as the foundation of Mark.<sup>1</sup> By such a tissue of purely arbitrary suppositions, Eichhorn could explain how the Gospels, though independent translations from the Aramaean original, could agree in certain common narratives and turns of thought; but by a strange oversight he had provided no explanation for the more remarkable fact, that they agree so often in the Greek expressions which they employ. On account of this deficiency, Bishop Marsh, in his translation of Michaelis, proposed a modification of the theory of Eichhorn. He assumed, as in the other case, an Aramaean original, but one that was far less complete. Its progress to greater fulness he supposed to take place in the Greek language itself.

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<sup>1</sup> The following tabular view may assist the reader in forming a conception of what is intended. 1. The original Gospel. 2. Revision of the same A, the basis of Matthew. 3. Revision B, the basis of Luke. 4. Revision C, formed out of A and B, the basis of Mark. 5. Revision D, employed by Matthew and Luke at the same time.

The first translation that was made from it, was afterwards re-wrought by various hands, sometimes with additions, sometimes with omissions; and Mark and Luke composed our Greek Gospels with the help of these preparations. The translator of Matthew's Gospel, which existed originally in the Hebrew or Aramaean, he supposed to have used the text of Mark and, in part also, that of Luke. Eichhorn himself now saw the imperfection of his plan, and in his Introduction to the New Testament, published in 1804, came forward with another phasis of it. This was far more complicated than the first, or even than that of Bishop Marsh. He here made it his object to explain the verbal agreement of the Evangelists; and for this purpose introduced a series of Greek translations, in addition to several revisions of the Aramaean original. A wide interval, according to him, separates between our present Gospels, and their first written form. They have been revised and re-revised, translated out of one dialect into another, enlarged or abridged at each new step of the process, receiving something here by contact with this document, losing something there by contact with that, till we behold them emerging at length from the chaos, under the form in which they appear before us in the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable certainly that our Gospels should have been produced in this manner; and so it is that the *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost*, should have been formed by throwing up the letters of the alphabet and having them fall so as to assume their present order; but it is not at all probable. This has now become the general conviction. Herder gave this hypothesis the sanction of his name; but neither his support nor that of other eminent scholars who may have favored it,

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<sup>1</sup> A summary of this process, exhibiting its successive steps, affords perhaps the best demonstration of its impossibility. The following is a schedule of it. 1. An original Gospel in Aramaean. 2. A Greek translation. 3. Revision of the Aramaean Gospel, used by Matthew. 4. Greek translation of the same. 5. Revision of the Aramaean Gospel, used by Luke, not translated into Greek. 6. An amalgamation of both the Aramaean revisions, used by Mark, not translated into Greek. 7. A fourth revision of the Aramaean original, used by Matthew and Luke. 8. A Greek translation of the same, with a use of the Greek translation of the original Gospel. 9. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, composed from No. 3 and 7. 10. Greek translation of Matthew, with a use of No. 4 and 8. 11. Mark's Gospel, which had for its basis No. 6 (as an amalgamation of 3 and 5), with a use of No. 4, but a translation by his own hand of what belonged to 5. Finally 12, Luke's Gospel, formed from No. 5 and 7, with the insertion of a narration of one of the journeys. This Evangelist had the use of No. 8, but translated for himself what belonged to No. 5.



has been able to prevent it from passing away.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely any one at the present time adheres to it. It labors under every possible presumption of improbability. That these writings should have been brought to their present condition through a series of such revisions, could have been suggested only by the usages of modern criticism; the idea is foreign entirely to the spirit of ancient times. It is not affirmed that the literary annals of antiquity afford any parallel or the semblance of a parallel to it. Nor has the supposition any more support from testimony in relation to this particular instance, than it has from general analogy. No one in recent times pretends to have found these documents, out of which our Gospels are said to have grown. No ancient writer says that he ever saw them or heard of them. Under these circumstances, they must be considered as the mere figments of critical ingenuity; and so, in fact, they are at present almost universally considered. The objections to this hypothesis, says de Wette, are so palpable that nearly all minds now concur in its rejection; and the only wonder is that it could have found in times past so much favor as it received.

The perception of these and similar difficulties has given rise to another explanation. It is the supposition of the existence of an early tradition, transmitting for a time without written records the principal contents of the evangelical history. Gieseler was the first who proposed this view in such a form as to fix upon it the serious attention of the public.<sup>2</sup> It has been adopted by men of very different theological sentiments, according to the limit which is assigned to the duration of this supposed traditionary period. Strauss, for instance, not only without necessity but in violation of the clearest historical certainty, extends it to the beginning of the second century or later; and thus converts it into a means for assailing the credibility of the Evangelists; others, on the contrary, restricting it to the comparatively short interval between the crucifixion of Christ and the death of some of his first personal followers, look upon such a temporary, oral transmission as not only natural under the circumstances of the case, but consistent entirely with the strictest views of the truth and inspiration of the Scriptures. Of this latter class is Dr. Guericke; who in his recent Introduc-

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<sup>1</sup> The scheme of Herder in its details, was somewhat different from that of Eichhorn; but it was founded upon the same general principles.

<sup>2</sup> Gieseler, Ueber die Entstehung und frühesten Schicksale der schriftl. Evangelien, Leipz. 1818.

tion to the New Testament, avows his preference for this theory, and has there given an exposition of it, expressing the sense no doubt in which it is held generally by those who belong to the same theological school. The outline of it is as follows. It is contrary to the character of the earliest Christian age, to suppose that a history of Christ would have been written at the very beginning, certainly such a history as would naturally be presented in the discourses of those who first preached the Gospel. There was no occasion for this. The eye-witnesses of his life and actions were still present to rehearse these things in person; and, so long as they remained, there was no reason why any one should prefer a written narration, even had the Apostles themselves composed it, to the living, spoken word. The first Gospel-history, therefore, was an oral one.<sup>1</sup> This, whether repeated in one language or another, in Greek or Aramaean, would naturally acquire a certain uniformity of character both in the recapitulation of particular facts and in the general style of narration. As there was occasion for the constant repetition of the same events, they would readily fix themselves in the same or a similar order, in the minds both of narrators and hearers, and become clothed spontaneously, in the same or similar language. The exact words<sup>2</sup> often, of the Saviour, or where these were translated into another tongue, the words as nearly correspondent to them as possible, could be the more easily retained because the Jews were so much in the habit of treasuring up the identical expressions of those who instructed them, and because so much of our Saviour's teachings was of that figurative kind which was so well adapted to aid the memory.<sup>3</sup> In this way we can conceive that the first preachers of the Gospel, without any concert with each other or any written guide to follow, might be led to pursue in their discourses the same train of narration and to express themselves in the same language. Such oral recitals of the acts and instructions of Christ would satisfy the wants of the church for a time. But the condition of things soon changes. Some twenty years elapse after the ascension of the Saviour, and not a few of

<sup>1</sup> The *λόγος*, *κῆρυγμα*, *λόγος ἀκοῆς*, etc., it is termed in the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, his exact words often, as we have them in the New Testament, if we suppose with many that the Saviour may have used the Greek language at times in his intercourse with his disciples. This language was so widely diffused among all classes in Palestine at that period, that this is by no means an incredible supposition.

<sup>3</sup> To this it may be added that the disciples were assured by Christ that he would send them the Holy Spirit and that He "should bring all things to their remembrance."

the original eye-witnesses have been removed by death or are dispersed in foreign lands. False teachers have arisen, and corrupted the purity of the Christian faith. It thus became indispensably necessary that the apostles in addition to their preaching of the word, should authenticate in writing the doctrines which they taught, either making a record of them themselves, or having it made under their sanction by their disciples and associates in labor. Thus were composed the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and Mark. An already existing type shaped their histories. They followed in general the course which the oral instructions of the Apostles had taken, and which the habit of repetition and association had rendered so familiar. Hence arose the frequent coincidence of their narratives in arrangement and contents, not only in reference to some particular prominent events, but throughout entire sections; and, in the record of the discourses of Christ more especially, very often in the words themselves. Such, briefly exhibited, is the theory of those who assume an original tradition as the source of the resemblance here referred to. This may be considered, perhaps, on the whole, as the present resting-place of critical opinion in relation to this point. Most of the recent critics, says Tholuck,<sup>1</sup> have consented to stop here, not because the explanation is certain, but because they regard it as the best which has yet been offered.

There is still, however, what may be termed a complex view of the origin of this kindred character of the Gospels, which some individuals entertain; though it may not be shared by such numbers as have maintained the other opinions. In this case, certain elements of the foregoing explanations are combined, and the peculiarity which is the subject of inquiry, is referred to their united operation, instead of being sought so exclusively in any single one of them. The elements selected for this purpose, and the degree of activity assigned to each will depend on the particular judgment of those who apply this principle to the subject; and hence we have here no inconsiderable diversity of opinion, co-existing with an essential unity. This renders it difficult to characterize this class of critics by any adequate, general representation. As a single example, however, we may take perhaps the views of Olshausen as serving to illustrate this kind of combination. The two Gospels of Matthew and Luke, he remarks,<sup>2</sup> appear to

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript notes of his lectures on the Gospels, which lie before the writer.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Comm. u. das N. T.*, etc. Band 1. § 3.

have been written in an entire independence of each other. The greater part of the former would appear to have been drawn from the writer's own experience and oral tradition; and the greater part of the latter from concise written accounts or memoranda which had been prepared by others. That which is common to both Gospels may be explained in part by supposing that the writers followed a similar form of oral communication which prevailed in the different circles of their Christian intercourse, and, in part, by supposing that in some few instances in which the agreement is more exact, they were acquainted with the same written sources of information. In this way we could account for the similarity to each other which they exhibit; and yet this would seem to have been produced without any direct connection between them. In the case of Mark, however, there may have been an immediate use of the other Gospels. He coincides to such an extent with Matthew and Luke, that the accordance cannot well be explained without supposing that he had a knowledge of their writings. His conformity to Matthew is, on the whole perhaps, more striking than to Luke; and if it would be too much to affirm that Mark wrote his Gospel with both the other Evangelists before him, yet this may be assumed not without probability as regards Matthew. Such, in few words, is the view of Olshausen. Here it will be observed, a mutual use of the Evangelists is recognized within certain limits; something is attributed to the force of tradition, and something also to the existence of written accounts, prior to the composition of our present Gospels. In the other modes of explanation, these several causes were represented as acting singly; in this instance they are united, and produce the effect whose origin is sought for by their joint operation. Others may modify the theory by assigning to the agencies in question a somewhat different relative power; but variations of this kind do not require a separate notice.

We have adverted to this topic chiefly on account of its own intrinsic interest; but it may serve at the same time as one example of the many important, critical inquiries which the synoptical study of the Gospels presents to our attention. No one who studies the Evangelists or professes to study them, without a constant and rigid comparison with each other, can either form any adequate idea of the nature and extent of the labor, or will ever acquire any other than the most superficial knowledge of this branch of biblical criticism. No distinct, well defined image of the Saviour's life

can possibly be formed in the mind without it. The single incidents which compose his history, may be recollected; but they can exist in the memory only as a confused heap, without method or vividness. It is incumbent on us to study the Gospels in this manner, as believers in their authenticity and truth. One of the first written objections to Christianity, of which we have any account, was that the Evangelists contradict each other, and thus destroy the credibility of their testimony. Porphyry, in the third century, had already taken in this respect the position which Strauss has re-assumed at the present time. We are challenged to defend our faith against this accusation. If the Gospels contain an authentic history, they must be consistent both with the truth and with one another. They are confessedly merely fragmentary records; and human knowledge when improved to the utmost is still imperfect. But, though for these reasons, we may not be able to clear the subject of all obscurity, we are bound to show that there is no necessary contradiction in the testimony of the sacred writers. We are to meet such opponents; and if their representations are partial, distorted, incorrect, we are to supply deficiencies, correct misstatements, conciliate what is falsely alleged to be inconsistent. And though in a certain class of passages, we may not be able to demonstrate what the actual state of things positively was, yet we must point out at least what it might have been, suggesting those possible conditions under which the veracity of the narrator remains unimpeachable till the contrary be established. So much as this is absolutely indispensable to a defence of the credibility of the evangelical history. Nor is this all. The study which we expend upon such an attempt to comprehend the connection of the Gospels with each other, has, in fact, much more than this apologetic value. By subjecting them to the accurate examination and comparison which such an effort requires, we are led to the discovery of numerous incidental coincidences which would otherwise have escaped attention, or at any rate have impressed us with much less force. Such undesigned coincidences form one of the strongest links in the chain of those evidences which support the truth of the Christian Scriptures. They afford one of our most conclusive arguments for showing that these writings are authentic, and that the transactions narrated in them actually took place.

Most of our English works which treat of the Gospels, are sadly deficient in the materials for prosecuting this mode of study.

The remark is specially true in its application to those of a more recent origin. Some of our older commentaries are constructed upon the right principle in this respect; but not being adapted to the present state of critical science, they have now lost much of their value. The later publications are wanting, for the most part, even in a proper recognition of this correspondence of the Gospels to each other. They are here treated very much as if they were held to be separate, independent histories; each is explained in its own place and by itself, or connected with the others only at those more obvious points of contact, which thrust themselves into notice. We have no commentaries illustrative of this part of the New Testament, in which pains are taken to explain real difficulties that arise from a seeming discrepancy of the writers, or to improve those occasions that offer themselves, for illustrating their fidelity from instances of striking agreement. In the exegetical literature of the Germans, this subject occupies a very different position. The Gospels, particularly the first three, are very rarely separated from each other, in their modes of study, whether it be in lectures at the universities, or in published works. Some of them, it is true, labor at this work of comparison for the purpose of discrediting, if possible, the authority of these writings, and others, in order to defend them against such attacks; but this controversy itself shows both their sense of the importance and the importance in fact, which belongs to the subject in dispute between them. In some of their commentaries, as those of Paulus, Glöckler, Olshausen, the corresponding passages of the Evangelists are brought together and explained as parts of one continued narrative; and in those of them which adhere to a separate order, constant attention is paid to the manner in which the harmony of the writers is to be made out. In that numerous class of productions called forth in defence of the Gospels against Strauss, this becomes naturally one of the principal topics of consideration. These works furnish a rich fund of material for the study of the Evangelists generally, but for this particular investigation more especially. The results of the most exact philological science, of exegetical skill and extensive historical research, have been concentrated in these writings upon this portion of the Scriptures; and have thus placed us in a situation for illustrating them, superior to that of any preceding period. Among those who have labored in this field and may be consulted by the student with most advantage, are Neander, in his *Life of*

Christ ;<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, Kuhn, and Osiander, in their work under the same title ; Tholuck in his *Credibility of the Evangelical History* ; Krabbe in his *Lectures on the Life of Christ* ; Ebrard in his *Critique of the Evangelical History*, and Wieseler in his *Chronological Synopsis of the Gospels*. These works have all the common aim of establishing the true character of the Evangelists, as consistent in their statements both with one another and with the historical and political relations of the period in which they lived. It would be, of course, only in treatises professedly aiming at this ; that such a topic could be handled with the fulness which it demands at the present time. It would not comport with the plan of an ordinary commentary.

The publication of the new *Harmony of the Greek Gospels*, for which we are indebted to Dr. Robinson, will prove a seasonable help to the prosecution of this study. Archbishop Newcome's *Harmony*, which has been heretofore used among us, was out of print ; and the wants of the public required either that a third edition of it—two have already been disposed of—should be published, or a new work prepared. The reasons which induced the editor to decide on the latter course, appear to us decisive. A work was needed, representing the present state of biblical studies more truly than was possible for one which time has now placed so far in the past.<sup>2</sup> There was room also for improvement in some of the details at least of the arrangement adopted in the old work, and still more in the character of the notes attached to it. The experience of Dr. Robinson as a teacher, has enabled

<sup>1</sup> The last edition of Neander's work is the third and can no longer be had. A fourth is expected. The titles in German of some of the others which are probably less known to the public, are as follows :

*Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet* von Dr. D. F. Strauss. Geprüft für Theologen und Nicht-theologen von Wilhelm Hoffmann, Inspector des Missionshauses in Basil. 1839.

*Das Leben Jesu*, wissenschaftlich bearbeitet von Dr. Johannes Kuhn, Professor der katholisch-theologischen Facultät in Tübingen, 1838. Of this only one volume has been published.

*Apologie des Lebens Jesu gegen den neuesten Versuch, es in Mythen aufzulösen* von Johann Ernst Osiander, Professor zu Maulbronn. 1837.

*Vorlesungen über das Leben Jesu für Theologen und Nicht-theologen* von Dr. Otto Krabbe, Professor, etc., am akademischen Gymnasium zu Hamburg. 1839. He is now Professor at Kiel.

*Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Apologie der Evangelien und evangelischen Geschichte vom Standpunkte der Voraussetzungslosigkeit.* Von Karl Wieseler, Licentiat, etc., in Göttingen. 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Newcome's *Harmony* appeared originally at Dublin, 1778.

him to judge wisely in reference to the points which most needed elucidation; while his familiarity with the results of the latest criticism and his personal inspection of many of the scenes of the Gospel History, have given him uncommon advantages for the execution of such a labor. The work contains the entire Greek of the four Gospels and the few verses in Acts and Corinthians, which relate to the personal history of Christ. It is based upon the chronology supposed to be intimated in John's Gospel, that is, that the ministry of the Saviour embraced four passover-festivals, or a period of three and a half years. The arrangement in its general outline is that which has approved itself to the majority of the ablest critics, as most probably the correct one. The place of the more disputed portions has been determined with independence of judgment. The decision of the author in reference to this class of passages, accords with that of others where the grounds for it are approved; otherwise, a new position is assigned to them. The parallelism proposed between John 11: 54 and Luke 13: 22, is, so far as we know, peculiar to this Harmony, and strikes us as a very happy combination. The adoption of this order simplifies very much the arrangement of several other related sections, and throws an unexpected light upon the accuracy of the sacred writers in a particular which has not been generally remarked. A body of learned and instructive notes accompanies the volume. The student will find here precisely the information which he needs on the great points which require attention in an effort to harmonise the Gospels. This information is conveyed, according to the circumstances of the case, in brief paragraphs which dispose of the questions that arise in few words, or, where the occasion calls for it, in fuller discussions which are sometimes pursued through a series of pages. Special labor has been bestowed upon a conciliation of the genealogies as found in Matthew and Luke, upon that of the alleged discrepancy between John and the other Evangelists, in respect to the time when our Saviour observed the last passover, and also upon an examination of the difficulties, connected with the manner in which the circumstances of our Lord's crucifixion and resurrection are narrated. No parts of the evangelical history, it is well known, have been exposed to such frequent assaults as these. The discussions of Dr. Robinson in relation to these topics, we regard as the most satisfactory to which the student can be referred. The difficulties that exist are brought clearly into view; objections are fairly canvassed; and those results established, which vindicate



the claim of these contested portions of the Word of God to our fullest confidence. We must not omit to speak of the very convenient tables for reference with which this work is provided, and which constitute no slight addition to its value. We have one which enables the reader to turn at once to any passage of the Gospels, the place of which he may wish to find in the Harmony. We have another which presents a view of the prominent topics that are discussed in the notes, with a designation of the pages where they occur. And, finally, we have a third, which is of still greater importance, entitled *Contents and Synopsis of the Harmony*. Here all the events and transactions of the life of Christ, so far as they are related by the four Evangelists, are succinctly enumerated in the order in which they are supposed to have taken place. Each successive occurrence from the birth of the Saviour at Bethlehem to his ascension from the Mount of Olives, passes in review before us. It gives great distinctness to the representation that the locality or scene of the various events is specified, so that we accompany, as it were, the great Teacher as He moves from place to place, instructing the people and performing his mighty works. The use of this table will prove invaluable to those who wish to transfer to their minds a connected view of the Saviour's history.

In a word, this work of Dr. Robinson, confines itself to the legitimate sphere of a Harmony of the Gospels; and we do not hesitate to say that in this sphere it will be found to be all that a Harmony need or can be. The original text is printed with accuracy and elegance. It is a feast to the eyes to look upon a page of so much beauty. The arrangement is distinguished for simplicity and convenience; and, except in those instances in which a new combination of the author has introduced what we think will commend itself to most judges as an improvement, it accords with that which has been adopted by the most approved critics. The notes are a help, not an incumbrance. They are from the hand of an experienced teacher, and written with a just appreciation of the wants of the student. Several of the discussions relating to points of special difficulty may be ranked among the best examples of critical reasoning in our language. No one will ever be able to comprehend the relations of the Gospels to each other, or acquire an exact knowledge of their contents, unless he studies them with the aid of a Harmony. The present work furnishes in this respect just the facility which is needed; and we trust that among its other effects, it will serve to direct attention more strongly to the importance of this mode of study.

## ARTICLE II.

THE SCRIPTURES THE PROPER STANDARD OF APPEAL IN THE  
FORMATION OF THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor at Andover.

IN the culture of the moral powers, it is a question of great importance, what shall constitute the standard of appeal? Where shall we look for the guiding manual, for those principles which shall mould the character, for those prudent maxims that shall have the authority of law?

It is not enough to institute a severe scrutiny into the conduct, to watch carefully the motives, or the habitual deportment. There must be some standard of appeal, some external influences that shall be brought into contact with the character, in order to shape it aright; some elementary and suggestive truths, which shall, at the same time, act authoritatively, and be fitted to quicken and mould the moral and religious character.

The question, what this rule for the conduct shall be, has been answered variously. In actual practice, also, the sources of appeal in the last resort are different and sometimes conflicting. The most important of these sources may perhaps be included under five general classes.

1. In the first place, certain general, prudential maxims, which have been long current in the community, are regarded as a safe directory. They are partly written and partly unwritten. They are the result of a wide experience, of much sagacious observation. Some of them have come down through many ages, each generation proving their value, and adding the tribute of its applause. Certain individuals have become eminent as the authors of these economical precepts, and shrewd apothegms. Some of the most striking of these brief apothegms, or at least those which are most felicitously expressed, are embodied under the form of counsels for the young, or rules for the formation of the character.

The objections to this standard of appeal are two-fold. In the first place, it does not supply principles of action. It rather seeks to rectify the outward conduct. It is not so much a system of morals, or a part of one, as it is a collection of superficial rules.

It is the result of observation, rather than of reflection; or, if appeal be made to the motive, it is done in a prudential spirit, and in order to secure a fortunate and visible effect. It metes out its applause in proportion to the measure of actual success, not according to the purity of the intention. In the second place, it has respect to the present life. It confines its aims to what is seen and temporal. Its rewards are laid up in earthly store-houses, in gainful traffic, or in the proud consciousness which is felt by the worldly-wise man in the success of his sagacious speculations. It numbers among its great men the high-priests of fashion, the ministers of popular favor, those whose life is spent in efforts to please an undiscerning public, or to acquire the means of self-gratification. The whole system is shallow and unsatisfactory, often leading, in its boasted prudence, to a positive violation of the principles of virtue. The character which is formed under its influences may be totally selfish. It often creates a beautiful exterior, when beneath there is not one throb of virtuous emotion, one aspiration towards the disinterested rewards of heaven. Such wisdom can never be recommended as a safe guide.

2. In the second place, the appeal is sometimes made to what may be called the finer sentiments, to a class of feelings, partly the result of original temperament, and partly of education, which lead the soul to shrink, like the sensitive plant, from aught corrupt or degrading. The youth, when tempted to deviate from the path of virtue, is admonished to consult the better tendencies of his nature, to cherish a love for what is true and good and ennobling. He will find drawn in his own bosom a chart which shall guide him safely through every entanglement. Its lines may be obscure, but they are straight. They are not drawn by self-interest, but by self-respect. To trace them obediently and perseveringly will end in the formation of an elevated and finely proportioned character. Without calling in question the existence of these finer sentiments, it may be affirmed that they cannot answer the purpose of an adequate guide. They are wholly insufficient as a standard in educating the human soul. They have not enough of a fixed and ascertainable value. They are too delicate and evanescent. In order to attain a mature character, there must be stronger nutriment; to walk safely in the path of virtue, a firmer guide is demanded. In our better moments these finer feelings may visit the soul in their most attractive forms, and may appear competent to lead to the highest attainments in holiness; yet one hour has not elapsed before these beautiful visions seem

never to have had an existence, the soul is wholly abandoned to its selfish and earthward tendencies.

Besides, they are felt only by a limited number. They are in a great degree the result of an education to which the mass of men cannot aspire. They presuppose also a delicacy in the mental organization of which many of the educated are not conscious. Plato might have been attracted towards virtue by his sense of its fitness, congruity and exceeding beauty, while the thousands around him had no such perception and felt no such longing. To elevate, therefore, these rare and exquisitely formed feelings into the standard of right or a guide in morals, is vain. It is beyond their prerogative.

3. In the third place, the appeal may be made to an elaborated system of morals. To the interrogatory, wherewithal shall a young man form his character, it might be replied, by taking heed, according to the directions of the moral philosopher. A treatise on ethics will furnish a safe and sufficient practical guide. The conduct may be regulated by the embodied wisdom of the thoughtful moralist.

There are, however, some serious objections to this course. In the first place, these systems are not fitted for general use. They are designed for the student in his closet, rather than for the varied scenes of practical life. They are necessarily framed in a technical manner, and for their interpretation and application require more or less skill. They can never become a copious and living spring to which all thirsty souls may repair alike.

Again, the authors of these systems were more or less under the influence of prejudice. To prepare a sound and comprehensive ethical system, the moral sense of the writer must be in an enlightened and healthful state. All the other faculties of his soul should be so harmonized as to allow to conscience her supremacy, and minister to her the appropriate aid. A bitter fountain will not send out sweet waters. An ill balanced mind can never be a safe guide in morals. Mere intellect, however brilliant, can never furnish rules for holy living and dying. Now it is a notorious fact that some of the ablest ethical writers were men whose moral faculties had run to waste, the dialectic power completely overshadowing and dwarfing what should have been predominant.

Hence, thirdly, we might expect, what we find, irreconcilable contradictions between different systems, error arrayed against truth, error in opposition to itself, correct views cunningly inter-

mingled with those which are false, unsettled or hostile opinions in regard to the nature of virtue itself, disputes in respect to the source of moral obligation.

In such circumstances, it will be readily seen, that the religious character cannot be purified and perfected by adherence to these systems. Uncertainty cannot lead to certainty; a tranquil confidence is not the growth of self-contradictions. Some better manual is demanded than the most sagacious of these moralists can supply.

While each of the three sources of influence in the formation of character, that have been mentioned, has its peculiar and inherent defects, two observations apply to all alike. Neither of them is to be set aside as useless. Each may bear its part in the great process of educating the soul. No wise man will reject an inferior help. All accessible recruits will be pressed into this spiritual warfare. The thoughts of some of the greatest of the race, the collected wisdom of ages will not be despised, because it wears the badge of human imperfection.

The second remark is, that they are all wanting in authority. They supply advice, they administer counsels; but they cannot enforce a penalty or bind the conscience. We are at perfect liberty to assent to or disown their teachings. To infallible truth, they make no pretension. The fatal defect, that there is no umpire, no authoritative arbiter, inheres in all these methods. We are running along a dangerous shore, under the lead of an ignorant pilot.

4. Another source of appeal, which may be mentioned is the light of nature, the doctrines of natural religion. Some would direct the youthful inquirer to the works of God as the sufficient rule of life and source of moral influence. No thoughtful Christian will undervalue their testimony, in order to enhance the worth of a written revelation. The works of God are marvellous and are sought out by all them that take pleasure therein. The uses of the study of nature are manifold. It constitutes in a most important sense the basis of revealed religion. The Bible never attempts to prove some cardinal points. The being and some of the attributes of God, it takes for granted. He has impressed on nature fixed laws, not mere phantasms, not mere seeming substitutes for laws; and he has also made our minds capable of tracing effects to a cause, of inferring intelligence from design, and of entertaining settled convictions of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. To disparage and reject this testimony is in fact to take away the corner stone of all true theology.

Again, in the education of the Christian life, the services of natural religion are often invaluable. There are states of mind when its evidence is most convincing. There are moments when the heavens not only reveal, but declare the glory of God. Who, at the silent hour of midnight, can look at the hosts of stars, and not sometimes feel "immortal impulses?"

"Thick clustering orbs, and this our fair domain,  
The tall, dark mountains, and the deep toned stars,"

have an articulate voice.

It is mentioned of a venerable New England clergyman, now deceased, that, when in college he was called upon to demonstrate the truths of the Copernican astronomy, the evidence which it furnishes for the being of a God was so overpowering, that he fainted. The impression was never lost. It appeared to produce a permanent change in his feelings, and ever afterwards to constitute a characteristic feature of his mind.

Still, for a fallen race, natural theology is inadequate. It whispers of wisdom, not of grace, of a bountiful Creator, not of a redeeming Saviour, of *one* God, not the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Ruined man needs other provisions, powers of grace which can regenerate and sanctify his heart. The foundation of a moral and religious character must be laid in that law which converts the soul, in that Gospel which purifies the conscience.

I now come to the remaining source and standard of moral influence. The Bible is the rule of life. The moral and religious character is to be moulded in accordance with the principles and spirit of the inspired page. When practically followed, what bearing does it have upon the character? How does obedience to its precepts affect the human soul?

I. It brings it into harmony with itself. It readjusts its disordered faculties. It begins by laying the foundation well.

When we first see a complicated piece of machinery in motion, having a thousand apparently independent parts, operating over a wide surface, with springs of exceeding delicacy playing in company with those of great weight and enormous power, the whole animated with the breath of life, conspiring, almost with superhuman intelligence, to one finished and beautiful result, we are filled with admiration. It is simplicity in the midst of labyrinthine circuits, the reign of perfect order in the midst of the most deafening confusion.

At an oratorio some years ago, there were collected several hundred instruments of music, and nearly all the musical genius of three kingdoms. Yet amid this wilderness of sounds there was entire concord. From the harpings of these multitudinous harpers, only one volume of melody was poured forth. Infinite diversity and perfect unity; a thousand agents rational and irrational tasking their utmost capabilities, and yet not the slightest dissonance. We are amazed at this triumph of genius over what should seem to be invincible obstacles,—that feeble man can so copy that variety in unity which characterizes the works of God. Yet, when we view God's workmanship we can hardly call it a copy; it bears hardly a faint resemblance to its divine original. When we look at the mind of man, a simple uncompounded substance, yet with powers of the utmost variety and complexity, its states changing with the rapidity of light, with faculties different in kind as well as in degree, its delicate and diversified machinery, operating though unseen, under laws as sure as those which govern the stars in their courses, and unlike all the works of man, supplied with powers for indefinite self-improvement, with aspirations after a state which it sometimes does not even picture to itself, with glimpses into undiscovered lands into which no eagle's eye hath glanced, conscious of the absolute freedom of thought and will, yet pressed upon by a Being who foreknows and foreordains the first inception of a desire;—does the most exquisite and elaborated piece of machinery bear any analogy to this divine superstructure? Can the sublimest oratorio, that ever held the hearts of men in breathless admiration, be compared for one moment with this cunning living harp?

Besides, we know little yet of the powers of the soul. The soul of one man has, occasionally, certain moods, which may not, perhaps, find an answering chord in any other human bosom; certain states which it cannot fully explain to itself; thoughts which lie too deep for tears, and too deep to be interpreted. These peculiar moods of mind do not consist in the feelings which flow from refinement, knowledge, or piety, in the ordinary acceptation of these terms, but they are rather the yearnings of the soul towards what may be hereafter, dim foreshadowings of that joy which the disenthralled spirit alone can understand.

And yet such delineations have respect to what the mind has been and may be, not to what it is in its natural state. Its fine mechanism is strangely disordered. The original end of its creation is lost. We learn the nature of its structure by the extent and

melancholy grandeur of its ruins. Its sweet music, which once charmed the ear of its Creator, is now harsh discord. The powers that allied it to angels are now known principally by the terror of their movement.

Account for the fact as we may, its existence is beyond contradiction. Whatever be our connection with the original apostasy, whatever be the nature of the influence that has come down from Adam, be the preponderance of evil on the side of the first transgression, or of the actual personal offence, the fact admits of no qualification or denial. The proofs crowd upon us unceasingly and in broad day light. They are within us and about us. The consciousness of every moment has a tongue, every wind of heaven has its sad voices. History, with its unbroken chapters of blood and crime, only confirms what we hourly see and every moment feel.

The youth that crosses our path is full of buoyant hope. Life in its long vistas is to him the garden of Eden. He exults even in animal existence. It is delightful to see his bounding movements, to hear his joyous shouts. They are perfectly befitting his period of life, and they attest the goodness of his bountiful Creator.

More delightful still is it to see the unfolding of his intellectual powers, the ardor with which he opens the page of knowledge, the admiration with which he gazes on the discoveries of science, when all the walks of literature wear the freshness of the morning. He is developing another part of the nature that God has given him. It is always pleasant to see these transitions from a life of sensation to one of reflection and imagination, the blending of childlike feelings with those of youth and manhood.

And yet if we follow this ardent youth through the day till the shadows of night close around him, do we find that his thoughts and feelings spontaneously revert to his Creator and Redeemer? Does he sometimes *hasten* to the place of retirement and prayer? Does he sometimes gladly leave the society of his companions that he may converse with his invisible Friend and Father? Is this last duty of the day the most grateful? Does his heart sometimes seem like a flame of fire ascending to its original source? Nothing like this appears. The animal and the intellectual absorb the whole of his thoughts. His moral nature is a waste.

Now here is the point where the word of God comes in. It does not repress the animal instincts. It does not discourage the



highest efforts of the intellect, but it rectifies the moral disorder. It re-arranges the scattered pillars of the moral edifice. It brings the entire soul into harmony with itself. In short it establishes the character on an enduring basis. It begins with a foresight of the end. It builds a structure which the storms shall not overturn.

The maxims current in society, those finer sentiments possessed by a few elevated natures, together with all the formal rules of the moralist, and even the sublime teachings of nature, fail on this point. They do not touch the source of the difficulty. They do not mould aright the primary elements of the character. This is the prerogative of God's truth.

II. The Bible furnishes the appropriate knowledge for the formation of character.

This knowledge will be particularly serviceable in the formation of character in three respects. It is fitted to the enlightening and educating of the conscience. Its principal design is to affect our moral nature. It does not concern itself primarily, with the understanding. It has nothing to do with abstract, scientific truth. Its doctrines and precepts relate to us as moral and spiritual beings, to our duties towards our fellow men and to God. While, therefore, the eye is perusing these sacred truths, and the mind is apprehending their relations, the conscience is quickened, and the mists of prejudice being dispersed, it becomes quick to discern and authoritative to decide. It lives in its appropriate element; it has food congenial to its nature. We no longer mistake its enlightened conclusions for weak and unfounded scruples. Thus the way is prepared for unanimity in its verdicts, and the characters of all formed under its divine illuminations will have strong points of coincidence.

Again, this knowledge consists, in large part, of general principles. Many of the precepts of the New Testament are stated in the most comprehensive forms, as if they admitted no exception. The Bible teaches nothing dialectically. It has no system of definitions, no ingenious casuistry. It affirms broadly and without qualification, not informing us whether its statement has respect to this country, or to that age exclusively. It imposes no such shackles.

Now the advantages of this mode are manifold. We feel an interest that we could not in any other circumstances. It throws us upon our common sense and good judgment. It compels us to make limitations, to separate the local from the permanent, the

shadow from the substance. We are to carry out the principle into its details. We are to judge in regard to its applicability to particular cases. The intellect and moral sense are thus thoroughly awakened. We search the Scriptures. We dig into them as for hidden treasure. And not the intellect merely expands in the process; under this hardy discipline the character is formed to an excellence which could never be attained, did the Bible consist of minute detail, specific applications, and not of suggestive hints and fruitful principles.

A third peculiarity of this knowledge is, that where there is a living exemplification of a principle, no notice is given of the fact. There is no moral appendix to the story. We are not advertised of the object of the narrative. All is left to make its natural impression upon us. It seems to be a history, or biography, and nothing more. No ulterior purpose is apparent. In the most guileless simplicity every incident is recorded, as if the matter were to end with itself. Now such compositions always make the deepest impressions on the heart. We are taken captive before we are aware. The story has conveyed some abiding practical lesson. The account respecting Joseph is an artless memoir. Yet it fastens on the soul some of the weightiest articles in a scheme of theology. It is eminently useful because it makes no pretension. How unlike the wordy commentary with which vain man often covers up this beautiful narrative. This is peculiarly characteristic of the Bible. Its stories drop like the rain and distil as the dew. The writers never try to take the heart by storm. On the contrary, their words insinuate themselves among our deepest sensibilities, just as the preparatory influences in the winter and early spring silently pervade the soil,—the sure precursors of abundant flowers and fruits.

III. Another advantage of the biblical morality arises from the fact that it lays its prohibition on the first tendency to evil in the heart. It does not wait for the overt act, nor for the half-formed desire. It denounces the slightest parleying with temptation, the entertaining for the briefest moment of a corrupt wish. In its view, the apostasy did not consist in plucking the fruit. The race was ruined, when the first suggestion of the tempter was not instantly repelled. Death eternal hung on a moment's weakness in the will. All hope was gone when the moral principle wavered.

In the estimate of God's law, the high-way robbery is comparatively innocent. The crime was in the covetous glance of the eye—in not instantaneously crushing the avaricious desire. What

is called a fraudulent bankruptcy may be venial. The guilt was in the assumption of obligations which there was no reasonable prospect of discharging, or rather it was in the state of mind which first began to elevate riches into a god. The degenerating process began in the idolatry of gold, in the first turning of the feeblest current of the affections in the wrong direction. Men charge the deviation of the youth from the paths of virtue to some overmastering temptation, to some public and astounding offence. But the divine precept laid its finger on the desire, years before, to read a certain book, against which, at the time, the conscience remonstrated. Thus the word of God becomes the discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. No latent desire can evade its searching glance; no recess of the soul is so barred as to exclude it.

The heart educated under such discipline, the character formed under such influences, will have a delicate moral perception, a nice apprehension of moral distinctions, a kind of anticipatory dread of defilement, which no human systems of morals can produce. These, indeed, proceed on the ground that sin consists in the corrupt motive, or wrong intention. But they do not lay that stress which the Bible does, on the slight, inceptive movement, on the germinating desire. They often weaken their own teachings by their ingenious explanations and subtle casuistry.

IV. The observance of the precepts of the Bible secures a general purity in the *intellectual* faculties.

In the education of the young, sufficient attention has not been paid to what may be termed the purity of the mental powers. They may have an innocence and transparency as truly as the affections of the heart; or, they may be as real and, sometimes, as great an impediment to the attainment of holiness as a depraved will. Moral obliquity cannot, of course, be strictly affirmed of an intellectual power, yet the latter may be so conversant with degrading objects, as to appear to be itself hopelessly corrupt. It has so long lived in a pestilential atmosphere, that it has apparently changed its nature. It has borrowed an infection to which it should seem to have no *affinity*. How often is the memory tenacious of objects which one would thankfully forget! How often may her records become a swift witness against one in the adjudications of the great day! In how many cases, also, is the power of association the handmaid of evil! If in youthful days it gathered images which it ought not, if it revelled amid scenes where a fatal malaria lurked, if its wonderful capabilities were employed

on objects which, while they corrupted the heart, infected the mind also, a purification seems to be nearly hopeless. To banish these degrading associations, is sometimes far more difficult than to exorcise a moral faculty of its impure possessions. The love of holiness may be supreme in the heart, while the mind may be chained, like a galley slave, to early acquired and invincibly bad habits. Of the intellect it may not unfrequently be said, as really as of the desires or the will, *can* the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?

Now the Scriptures furnish a two-fold guard against this evil. They, themselves, supply pure and invigorating excitement for the intellect; they introduce it to objects and associations on which it may healthfully and forever meditate, while they prohibit it from stepping on the enchanted ground; they mark off, with ineffaceable lines, the territory on which it may not enter; they anathematise the first prompting of a desire to resort to places where the mind becomes like a cage of unclean birds; they would bind in iron clasps, or rather burn, every book which seduces the understanding, while it inflames the appetites and petrifies the feelings. Be ye holy, is their requisition, both in the movements of your intellect, and the impulses of your heart.

V. Under the influence of the Scriptures, a manly character will be formed. Some of the principal elements of such a character are self-knowledge, reverence and benevolent feeling.

Without self-knowledge we may entertain an opinion of ourselves below what the truth warrants. In an important sense there is a dignity in human nature. The language which has been used on this subject, is not altogether that of cant or of false assumption. No one can carefully study his nature, compare his various susceptibilities, or obtain any glimpses of the yet unknown energies which are wrapped up within him;—no one can look at those heights of knowledge and goodness, which a few men have reached;—no one can think, for a moment, what it is to be formed in the image of God, without a profound conviction of man's intellectual and moral dignity. The misfortune of multitudes is, that they undervalue themselves and possess no adequate apprehension of the immense capabilities of even a finite mind. They have little sympathy with that apostle who reached forth to the things which are before. They practically reject the doctrine of human perfectibility in any sense. There are many who need no lectures on the imbecility of human reason. They lose their salvation, possibly, by a too mean opinion of themselves.

On the other hand, self-knowledge is the parent of genuine humility. Every person, it is frequently said, has some weak points in his character, some peculiar mental and moral infirmities visible to every one except himself. But a patient examination will enable him to detect all these. By the light of divine truth, he will discern many humiliating deficiencies, many sad weaknesses. The domination of the lower appetites, the imbecility of the will, the unaccountable vacillation of the feelings, the darkness of the reason itself, the strange aversion to what is really of the utmost importance to him, will, with the coöperating grace of God, teach him that it is better to be of an humble spirit than to divide the spoil with the proud; will expel from his bosom those feelings which prompt to a supercilious demeanor, to arrogant assumptions, or to a contemptuous disregard of the rights and feelings of others. He will wish to be what he is, in the sight of God, no more and no less. In God's view, the most beautiful robe for man or angel is unaffected humility.

This accurate self-knowledge furnishes a firm basis for a manly character. Building on this foundation, one will be equally removed from a cringing servility, and from airs of self-importance, from the seductions of flattery, and from the despondent feelings which spring from a false shame.

Another important element is reverence towards God, and towards man also, so far as he is like his Maker, or real esteem for whatever is deserving of it, whether found in an individual now living, or on the page of history, in institutions and usages past or present, in abstract truth, or, as it has been exemplified in great and beneficent actions.

Recklessness, impatience in respect to whatever is fixed and ancient, is diametrically opposed to a truly manly character. This is founded in part on a discriminating knowledge of men and things. But a contempt for authority and for whatever is time-worn and venerable makes no such distinctions. It looks on all men in the light of its own mediocrity. He who has no reverence for others, cannot entertain much for himself.

A third element for a manly character is true benevolence, a disinterested regard for the rights and happiness of others. A predominating selfishness, be it gross or refined, is the parent of an ignoble character. Do good to others with hearty affection, if thou wishest to build a reputation on a solid basis. If thou wouldst possess the happiness that flows from true dignity,

“Pour blessings round thee like a shower of gold.”

It is when man is moving about the little circle of his own pleasures, that he gains the contempt of others, if not of himself.

Real gentility, true courteousness, is the product of a friendly heart. All else, which men name politeness, is counterfeit. If amenity of manners does not spring from good will, it is nothing but hypocrisy, for while the professions of kindness are on the lips and in the gestures, the motive is unadulterated selfishness. A character formed under such influences cannot have one ennobling trait.

Now the adoption of the word of God as the rule of life implies and presupposes self-knowledge, true reverence and disinterested affection. It bids us search our hearts, and judge, as the truth demands. It nowhere disparages our reason, nor speaks slightly of any faculty, except so far as we have perverted it by sin. It calls upon us to embrace its promises, and thereby act a manly part. God himself assumes the attitude of reasoning with us. In disobeying him, we are charged with unmanliness, with brutalizing our rational and moral nature.

At the same time, the biblical instructions are fitted to place our sins and weaknesses in the most convincing light, to reveal our guilt in contrast with God's spotless purity. It eradicates our pride by offering a gratuitous salvation. The reception of its gracious provisions cannot coëxist with self-ignorance, or an overweening conceit.

The Bible, also, is filled with objects which excite the deepest reverence. Its spirit is that of the profoundest awe. It utterly discountenances all unseemly familiarities with sacred things. On the other hand, it does not repress curiosity. It strikes the balance accurately between a blind admiration for the past, and an inconsiderate desire for change, between an indiscriminate veneration, and a passionate love of what is new. If the character be moulded in accordance with such influences, it will possess that accurate proportion, that appropriate adjustment, without which true manliness cannot exist.

We need hardly refer to the *spirit* which the Bible cherishes and enjoins—to the perfect disinterestedness which it breathes and inculcates on every page. The counteraction of selfishness, the implantation of liberal principles, is its unceasing aim. Poetry and history, doctrine, admonition and example, sealed and ratified in blood,—all conspire to the same end, promulgate the same lesson. There is nothing there narrow, ambiguous, mean, serpentine, unless brought out in order to put the brand of

reprobation upon it. The water of the river of life has not a more crystalline clearness.

Were we required to designate the principles of true politeness, we would not go to the pages of Chesterfield, nor to the usages of aristocratic society, nor to the ceremonies of royal courts. We would rather point to such men as Abraham and Paul, as specimens of true nobility. How nice a sense of honor had the father of the faithful! What a princely spirit shone out in his life! What a total forgetfulness of himself did the great apostle exhibit! His burning zeal in the cause of his Master, the stupendous labors which he performed, the depth of his insight into the scheme of redemption, are not the most interesting things about him. We wonder at his Christian chivalry, at his knightly bearing, at his delicate sense of what was due to himself and to others, at his Christ-like charity, over-leaping everything which commonly holds men in bondage. His courteousness was equal to his moral courage, his Christian generosity was more remarkable than his martyrdom.

VI The Bible supplies a perfect example for the formation of character. The benefits of having before the mind some lofty ideal, when attempting to accomplish a great object, are well known. The masters in the arts, men of the highest order of genius, have well understood the advantages of this imagined perfect form, floating before the imagination. It has lived in their dreams by night, and excited them to superhuman efforts by day. They had no hope of ever embodying it in actual form. Its pictured brightness no color could copy, yet not the less did the artist toil on, painting, as he said, for eternity.

So likewise when excellence of any kind has been exhibited in actual life. A few great men have been the teachers of the world. Their example shines with a never-setting radiance. Through the mists of ages, their defects are not visible, while their great and beneficent deeds have a more potent spell as time passes on. Washington's usefulness is not seen in the country which, under God, he saved; it is in his undying example. David Brainerd's field of labor was not the Delaware Indians; it was the plains of India, and the gardens of Persia where his great copyist, Henry Martyn, lived and labored. Howard's theatre was not the prisons of Europe; it is in the hearts of philanthropists that his memory is now influential in the four quarters of the world. The good that men do lives after them. The limit of human life is not forty or sixty years,—ages are its own. Not

simply by great men are its deeds contemplated and copied. A thousand lesser spirits take heart and hope. The mere recollection of a name often determines the will. The recorded or the living example becomes an important element in moulding the character of myriads, whose name perishes on the spot that gave them birth.

But all these, at the best, are very imperfect examples. In the character of our Lord, we have absolute, yet attainable perfection. We may study it forever with unabated interest. It has just those points which touch the heart. The stern characteristics do not bear disproportionate sway. These are softened and made attractive by his inimitable gentleness, by his lamb-like meekness, by all those softer qualities which form the foreground of the picture.

There is in the character of the Saviour that blending of qualities, that mingling of different colors, that fair and exquisite proportion—the study of which never tires. It has a feeble analogy in one of those old paintings which requires years of study to detect all its beauties, whose rare workmanship one life cannot adequately perceive.

The study of our Lord's character is eminently rich in its moral effects. While we gaze, we are attracted, while we contemplate, the chains of ignorance and sin fall from around us.

VII. The Bible furnishes the most urgent motives, for the formation and perfection of the moral character. These motives are diversified, and appeal to various susceptibilities of our nature.

One motive addresses our self-interest. In the possession of the character which it aids in forming, we become associates with all the truly good and great. We are admitted into an illustrious company. This character is the key which opens to us royal palaces, and introduces us to kingly companions. We are no longer solitary wanderers on the wastes of life. We are guests at an imperial banquet. We are citizens of a mighty commonwealth. Possessed of this character, actuated by the spirit which it implies, we can almost converse with the departed whose bodies the grave conceals. We can almost see those old, familiar faces, whom a thin veil only hides from us. We are one with them, for the living and all the dead but one communion make. We are allied to them yet by the closest relations. They seem to call us upwards by their well-known, human voices.



## ARTICLE III.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOURTH ECLOGUE OF VIRGIL.

By Rev. Leonard Withington, Newbury, Mass.

THE fourth Eclogue of Virgil has always been regarded as a remarkable specimen of Pagan spirituality. The poet has been supposed to have uttered higher strains than he understood; and to have borrowed his sublimity from Hebrew inspiration. The Sibylline verses were of great account in the estimation of some of the fathers; their forgery and falsehood are pretty clear before the light of modern criticism. Still the design of this Eclogue is by no means certain; so obscure was it to Lowth, that he even expresses a doubt whether it ever can be explained.<sup>1</sup> Yet we should never despair, because poetry is the language of the affections; and they are as permanent as the nature of man. If Virgil had any presages of his own immortality, he must have addressed his predictions to all generations.

My design is, to make some remarks on pastoral poetry in general, and then consider this Eclogue in particular.

Pastoral poetry is not intended to give us the most rigid representation of life and manners. It is not the design of it to hold the mirror up to nature, and to produce those feelings of recognition with which we read the dramatic writers. A pastoral is essentially a fancy piece by which we may obtain a distant glimpse of rural life, in those modes in which it plays before the imagination and exhilarates our hearts by relieving us from our present cares. As when we sail by some green island, or take a view from the sea of some Turkish city, we see nature and art dimly, with a few hints from reality for fancy to dress and adorn, and we contemplate the image while, at the same time, our reason tells us that a nearer view might impair the picture and dissipate the delusion; so, in pastoral poetry, the hint is taken from life, but we dress it at our pleasure; and the mind is delighted with the

<sup>1</sup> Quid fuerit ipsius poetæ consilium, quæ mens, quanquam hic multum sese exercuerint doctissimorum virorum ingenia, tamen nec adhuc sciri arbitror, neque spem habeo, fore, ut unquam clarè investigetur.—*Prelectiones XXI.* p. 284.

landscapes and personages of its own creation. Hence Mr. Pope has told us, that pastoral poetry "is an image of what they call the golden age. So that we are not to describe our shepherds, as shepherds at this day really are, but as they may be conceived to have been, when the best of men followed the employment."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson has denied this allusion to the golden age.<sup>2</sup> It is certain, however, that the thought which Pope was feeling after in this remark is mainly correct. He felt that naked nature here could not be pleasing, and his object was to show that descriptions of country life only charm refined minds when shown in distant perspective. The imagination must be permitted to dash them with the radiance of fancy and the colors of fiction. The tending of sheep can neither be romantic, nor pleasing to the man actually engaged in that occupation. A poetic excursion is commonly a migration from what we *are* to what we *are not*. The real shepherd knows too well the cares and toils of the employment, the noon-tide heats of summer, the rains and snows of winter, to relish the painting. Eclogues are the delight of those who dwell in cities and palaces; and to whom the country life seems pleasing because it is always in contrast with the art and excessive civilization around them. We all of us become tired of experienced life; we love to change the scene; to escape from the world of sensation to the world of fancy; and hence an age of refinement is always an age of pastoral poetry.

We find this remark verified by the whole course of literary history. The Songs of Solomon, (the piece of Hebrew poetry that comes the nearest to this species of verse,) were written at Jerusalem in the golden age of Jewish refinement. We know that Solomon was married to some of the Arab princesses;<sup>3</sup> and perhaps in the summer season he might leave the city, and go to the native mountains of his rustic wife and enjoy the brooks and breezes, the flowers and forests of her paternal land. The beautiful Idyls of Theocritus are supposed to have been written in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, long after the Greek nations had passed the acme of their glory and were verging to the excesses of civilization. The age of Epic and Dramatic literature was over. The Doric dialect was on the wane even in Sicily; and probably would

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on Pastoral Poetry prefixed to his *Eclogues*.—*Works*, page 4.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot easily discover why it is thought necessary to refer descriptions of a rural state to remote times, nor can I perceive that any writer has consistently preserved the Arcadian manners and sentiments.—*Rambler*, No. 37.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings 11: 1, 2.

sound to the Egyptico-Greeks very much as the phrases of Burns sound to us. It was looking through the shades of time to new modes of thought and a different organization of life. Virgil has followed the same natural law. He introduces his Greek shepherds on the Latin plains; he calls the Sicilian Muses to the banks of the Mincio; he gives the agreeable contrast between past simplicity and present refinement:

Et variis albae junguntur saepe columbae  
Et niger a viridi turtur amatur ave.

The Italian and French pastorals illustrate the same remark. Nothing can be more insipid than what is called nature in this kind of writing. The pastorals of Philips compared with those of Pope are an exemplification. We do not want the picture to be held too near. We wish to tend our sheep only on a sunshiny day; to shear them without greasing our hands; to sit under a tree without catching the rheumatism; to embrace poverty without its wants; and to find in rural labor only sweet recreation.

If these remarks are just, they show the perversity of that criticism which Niebuhr has aspersingly cast on Virgil.<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr is a man of profound learning, but certainly not always of correct taste. He has wonderful sagacity in gathering all the items of probability which bear on the civil constitution of the Roman State; to trace the laws of their history and the secret of their success. Sometimes, too, his remarks on literature have the rare union of originality and truth. But, in general, I should rather hear his investigations than trust his taste. He regards Virgil's Bucolic poetry as a total failure! The *Æneid* is bad, the pastorals much worse. The *Æneid* is laid too far back among the shadowy personages of mythology; though he allows it to be a tessellated pavement of beautiful pieces, where the polish of the parts scarce atones for the incongruity of the whole. He thinks also that in worshipping Greek literature, the Roman poet totally forgot nature; and to introduce Greek names into Roman lays, to make the Trinacrian rustic pipe on the Italian plains, and in his Bucolics to be such a servile imitator of Theocritus, not only impairs his genius but depreciates his judgment. Then his attempt to give such refined songs to such rural characters and to apply such artificial versifications to such rustic descriptions, was to encounter difficulties which not even his genius could conquer.

<sup>1</sup> In his posthumous Lectures on Roman History; I quote from memory and cannot refer to the page.

But does not the critic forget, in these severe remarks, the very origin and nature of the pastoral Muse? She is never born amidst the flowers and shades, which she pretends to celebrate. It is her duty and delight to throw the veil of refinement over the nakedness of nature. Pastoral poetry is essentially retrospective. It depends on *that* faculty in man for its enchanting power. Sailors never like songs about rocks and tempests. Farmers never wish to hear about the privileges and enjoyments of rustic life;

'Tis nature pictured too severely true.

The blended imagery of fact and fancy always pleases us most.<sup>1</sup> The poor love to inspect the scenes of the rich. On the other hand, Horace has informed us, that the rich delight occasionally in the grateful vicissitudes of a voluntary poverty.

Plerumque gratae divitibus vices,  
Mundae parvo sub lare pauperum  
Coenae, sine aulaeisque et ostro,  
Solicitam explicuere frontem.

Perhaps there is no poetry in which the deception is so complete (namely that while we are looking after nature we are really

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps there is no way in which we can so find the force of these remarks as in appealing to youthful recollections. The individual is a specimen of the race; and the literary history of our world is mirrored in the experience of the individual. I recollect when I was young (a country boy) and read Addison's Cato, the first play I ever read, the part which struck me most, was, not the soliloquy in the fifth act, not the stoicism of Cato, or the grandeur of his sentiments, but it was those few lines where Marcus describes to his brother, the position of Lucia. It was music to my ear.

But see! where Lucia at her wonted hour,  
Amid the cool of yon high marble arch  
Enjoys the noon-day breeze.

O that marble arch, with such a paragon of perfection on it, was a perfect picture to my juvenile imagination. Whereas a cottage nymph, though a Helen in beauty, would have been tame and uninteresting. Fancy loves innovation and hates experience. In my youth, two of the most popular writers were Richardson and Fielding; both of them, in themselves and in their effects on their readers, are exemplifications of our remarks. Richardson was a printer's boy; Fielding was brought up in high life; and yet the printer is always seated in the cedar parlor and the patrician is always among stables and inns; the one is all fastidious refinement and the other always revels in low life. Richardson's novels, in New England, owed as much to their aristocratic manners, their titles, coaches, masquerades, balls and servants as they did to their buckram imitations of nature; for Richardson *did* imitate nature, though he always dressed her up in stays and hooped petticoats and mounted her on a pair of high heeled shoes.

feeding for something better) as in the pastoral. We can better bear a defective palace than a justly represented field. Suppose a painter to draw a landscape with Damon and Phillis sitting under a tree, and suppose the accompaniments to be what may naturally be expected in real life—two or three toads shall be around them, a rattle-snake shall be coiled in the rear, caterpillars falling from the boughs and a drove of pigs shall be rooting up the soil. This would be pure nature, but who does not see that it would destroy the illusion?

Such then is the design of pastoral poetry. The history of literature shows us that it arises long after the rural age has passed away, that it takes those distant views of country life which please the patricians of literature in their palaces and gardens; that it delights in those embellishments of nature which exaggerate its beauties and conceal its defects; that it is allied to fiction; and paints a mode of life pleasing to the readers because conscious, on reflection, that it never existed; and though it may be said that something of this is the aim of all poetry, yet it is eminently true, that the Bucolic writer snatches us to the mountains brow,

Where sits the shepherd on the grassy turf  
Inhaling, healthful, the descending sun;  
Around him feed his many-bleating flock  
Of various cadence; and his sportive lambs  
This way and that convolved, in frisking glee,  
Their frolics play.

From this view, it will follow that the most polished writer—he that throws an air of refinement over his vernal scenes is the best. Virgil is, in our opinion, eminently happy in his pastorals. He wrote them at the right time and place; and was actuated by the right spirit. We like even his Greek names. He wished his pictures to have an historical remoteness. We have seen contrasts between him and Theocritus; giving the palm of art to one and of simplicity to the other. The truth, is they are both of the same school. They both held a polished mirror to the reeds and rushes of nature. Perhaps Theocritus had a little advantage in the directness of his path from high life back to simplicity. Virgil had peculiar difficulties to encounter; but the skill with which he surmounted them restores the balance and equals him in reputation to his more lauded competitor.

This view of the nature of pastoral poetry may prepare us, in some degree, to find the design of the Pollio.

The poem opens then by informing us that the poet intends to

strike a loftier strain; if he sings of woods they must be worthy of a consul's ear;—the groves and humble tamarisks delight no more. Thus to the usual fictitious character of this kind of poetry, something additional is to be expected. We are not to look for truth in the literal direction. The poem was written *Urbe conditâ*, 714, four years after the death of Cicero and about nine before the battle of Actium which gave Octavius the undisputed empire of the world. It was made just after the peace of Prusina, when Antony and Octavius held the empire between them. The star of the latter was rising to its predominance. He was about twenty-three years old. Now the suggestion of Servius is, that Pollio, consul that year, was about to have a son; and that the poet sung the blessings he was to see, not without allusion to Augustus. But this has been questioned, as such a son must have been a very inadequate personage, to meet the splendid predictions of this poem. Drusus and Marcellus have been brought forward, but neither of them was then in existence. Some have supposed that the poet alluded to the pregnancy of Scribonia, the wife of Augustus; and that Virgil prophesied, in hope that the birth would prove a son, which, however, turned out to be a daughter, the infamous Julia. We can hardly conceive, however, that a writer of such severe judgment as Virgil would hazard the ridicule of having his splendid predictions thus confuted.

In opposition to all these absurdities, Mr. Granville Penn has brought forth a new hypothesis. He supposes that Octavius himself is the progeny alluded to. He compares the Eclogue with the sixth book of the *Æneid* and finds a striking resemblance. See lines 780—807. But as Augustus was not born in the year when Pollio was consul, (that is, he was born twenty-three years before,) Mr. Penn supposes that the whole Eclogue, after the first four lines, is spoken not by the poet, but by the Sibyl, who being a long-lived, prophetic being, may be imagined to recount by retrospection, what she foretold of Augustus during the pregnancy of his mother. Such supernatural beings are not circumscribed by our modes of succession, and the Eclogue's being published in the name of Pollio, has no emphasis, no reference to his son; it is merely a note of time.

Now this hypothesis seems to me partially true, though as a whole, attended with unproved assumptions and great objections. It seems clear to me that Augustus is the subject of this prophecy; though we cannot agree that after the fourth line the speaker is the Sibyl.

In the first place, the transition is too violent from the close of the first four lines to the rest of the Eclogue; no notice being given of this important change of persons. *The last age of the Cumaean Song has now come; there arises a new and illustrious course of ages.* Who would conjecture that between these two lines the poet was sunk in the Sibyl? It is remarkable that in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, where the Sibyl really does speak, we have sufficient notice of her presence, as she accompanies *Æneas* through the infernal shades and teaches him the wonders of the scene. Why not the same explicitness here? In the second place, all the ancient grammarians and critics have understood it otherwise. Neither *Servius* nor *Macrobius* hints such a construction. Is it not wonderful that such a meaning should escape the Latins themselves, to be revealed to an Englishman? In the third place, some of the sentiments of the Eclogue seem natural in the mouth of the poet, and are very much out of place in that of the Sibyl. *O that I might live long enough to sing thy deeds; neither Linus nor Thracian Orpheus should surpass me in song; although Calliope was parent to one and beautiful Apollo to the other. Pan, if he were to contend with me, Arcadia being judge; even in the judgment of Arcadia, Pan would confess himself conquered.* Does this sound like the language of the Sibyl? Would the long-lived Sibyl doubt the continuance of her life, and enter into competition with these mortal poets? The *humanity* of the feelings here expressed is very striking. It suits *Virgil* and no other; and although *Mr. Penn* suggests that the Sibyls were mortals yet they were mortals of a peculiar kind. Such wishes hardly become them, and are the very expressions by which a youthful bard might pant after immortality.

Rejecting this part of *Mr. Penn's* theory, I should be inclined to adopt the other part, namely; that *Augustus* is undoubtedly the subject of this poem; and that the birth spoken of is a *mystical* one; his birth into the ranks of the celestials; the poetic way in which he became a god; or a figurative account of his *Apotheosis*; or in other words, his destination to the Roman Empire.

Nothing was more common than for the Romans to deify their Emperors, and for the ancients to deify all their great heroes. This was done in several ways; first by a decree of the senate; secondly in the strains of some flattering poet, and lastly, by tradition. In the case before us, the poet steps in; and at a time when the genius of *Augustus* was rising, and yet the result is somewhat doubtful, the bard by his well-timed flattery helps him to the

empire. He threw the golden weight of his Muse into a trembling balance. But how is a mortal to be made a god but by a fictitious birth? It was well known that he had a mortal father and mother. But the poet gives him a kind of celestial birth and thus brings him into the class of divine heroes.

But you demand evidence. Did the ancients ever have these fictitious births?

Pliny, in his natural history, Lib. II. c. 25, speaks of the comet which appeared after the death of Caesar, and says, while others were alarmed, Augustus beheld it with *secret joy, interiore gaudio*; because he interpreted it as born for himself and he himself born in it. Here we have an express mentioning of the mystic birth. Suetonius tells of several prodigies at the real birth of Augustus, such as his being snatched from his cradle into a high tower, lying exposed to the rays of [the rising sun, i. e. Apollo. While he was dining in a wood, an eagle came and seized his bread out of his hand and restored it again. Quintus Catulus after the dedication of the Capitoline temple, dreamed that he saw boys playing around the altar, one of them was secreted and bore the sign of the republic on his bosom; and afterwards this boy was found in the arms of the statue of Jupiter; and when Catulus commanded him to be taken away, he heard a voice saying that he was to be there educated for the protection of the republic; and the next day meeting Augustus, he was astonished to find that he looked exactly like the boy which he had seen in his dream; Vita Oct. § 45. What is this but a kind of celestial adoption? The same author tells us of a supper, where all the guests were habited like a god or goddess, and Augustus like Apollo; to which the Eclogue may allude when it says—*tuas jam regnat Apollo*. In the second ode of Horace we find Augustus impersonated in one of the deities.

Sive mutata juvenem figura  
Ales in terris imitatis, almae  
Filius Maiæ, patiens vocari  
Caesaris ultor.

Lastly Virgil himself is authority. The *Aeneid* was expressly written to compliment Augustus. Its hero is his emblem, and he is goddess-born, *Natus Dæd*. Now if we recollect that some of the ancients made a distinction, (for Plutarch tells us that the Egyptians<sup>1</sup> held that it was not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by a divine spirit, but that a man can have no cor-

<sup>1</sup> Life of Numa.



poreal intercourse with a goddess,) we may conclude that the very impossibility of the thing would give propriety to the fiction. Every reader saw that it must be figuratively understood.

In the poem itself, we find several indications that the birth is not literal. It is a law of celestial imagery that it must be like and unlike earth; it must resemble and excel the operations of time and sense. It must resemble, or we should not understand it; it must excel in order to exalt our ideas of the upper world. Thus Christ was clothed in white raiment, yet it was so as "no fuller on earth could white them." Before the throne of God there is a sea, but it is a sea of glass. Heaven is a city with golden streets and pearly gates. This rule is followed by all writers sacred and profane from Homer down to John Bunyan; and the same indication is given here that the birth is mystical and supernatural.

Jam nova progenies demittitur alto—  
 —incipient magni procedere menses—  
 Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores—  
 Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.

The last line is remarkable; it indicates no mortal mother. A hue of supernaturalism is thrown over the whole description, to make the flattery more delicate and the design more clear.

Horace has given us a view of these poetical deifications. *By this art, i. e. by valor and firmness of mind, Pollux and wandering Hercules became gods, among whom, reclining, Augustus shall drink nectar with purple lips. By such merits Bacchus was drawn by tigers; and thus Quirinus escaped from Acheron on the horses of Mars; Lib. III. Ode 3d. That is, they were adopted deities.* The closing ode of Horace to the second book is remarkable, not only as it shows this mystic and allegorical way of speaking, but as it approaches the very imagery which it is here contended has been used by Virgil. The sentiment, in simple prose, which he wishes to express is, that his works will be universally read and he shall be immortal. But he thus adorns it. *Already half transformed, I am borne through the liquid air with no mortal or slender wing. I shall not much longer linger on the earth; victorious over envy, I shall leave cities behind me. Not, I the progeny of poor parents; not I, whom you call friend, am doomed to die; and be imprisoned by the Stygian wave. Even now my wrinkled skin subsides. I am changed to the white bird; and the downy plumes are expanding through my fingers and shoulders. Now when he denies his parentage—Not I the progeny of poor parents—what is*

this transformation but a kind of celestial birth; the same imagery which is used in the Eclogue before us.

I have spoken of the laws of celestial imagery; perhaps I ought to explain the meaning. It is very evident that, logically speaking, we can form no conception of the mode of existence among spiritual beings in the future, or upper world. When the Angel in *Paradise Lost* begins to tell Adam about the revolt and defections in Heaven, he forewarns him;

I shall delineate so  
By likening spiritual to corporeal forms  
As they express them best.

This is more than poetry, it is philosophy. It is what is done throughout the whole Bible. It is giving us divine things in such resemblances as may express them best. Yet every nation and every individual, on the least improvement, has felt the conviction that it is only by a distant approximation that we can approach these sublime mysteries. We therefore find that all writers sacred and profane, from Isaiah down to the bard of yesterday, have fallen naturally and unconsciously into this expedient, that when they would give us any notion of the celestial world, they have resorted to earthly images, taking care however to dash them with some coloring of superiority. Their imagery must be like earth or we should not know their meaning; it must be superior to earth or it would not exalt our conceptions. This principle is engraven on every statue of Jupiter and every picture of the heathen Heaven. Thus the gods eat and drink like mortals, but their food and beverage are ambrosia and nectar; something like and something better. The palace of Apollo in Ovid<sup>1</sup> is like a real palace, but it is built with lofty columns flashing with gold and carbuncle, covered with ivory:

Argenti bifores radiabant lumine valvae.

The same god rides in a chariot and is drawn by horses; but such horses as were never seen on earth—*ignemque vomentes*. Jupiter and Juno go to bed together like a common husband and wife, but they sleep on flowers and all nature revives beneath their balmy couch.

Τοιγί δ' ὑπὸ χθονὶ διαφύεν νεοθηλέα ποιήν,  
Λωτόν θ' ἔρσηντα, ἰδὲ κρόκον, ἥδ' ὑάκινθον,  
Πικνὸν καὶ μαλακὸν· δὲ ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόθεν ἔργεν.

<sup>1</sup> *Metamorphoses* Lib. II. line 1—3.

Τῷ ἐνι λεξιόθεν, ἐπὶ δὲ μετέλυν ἱσσαντα  
 Καλὴν, χρυσεῖην· στιλπνὰ δ' ἀπέπιπταν ἔρρασι.  
 Iliad, Lib. XIV. 347—351.

When we pass to the Bible, the same law prevails. Moses caught a glimpse of the glory of God, though he saw no form, no mortal figure, revelation assuming this superiority over paganism; yet "they saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire-stone, and as it were the body of Heaven in its clearness."<sup>1</sup> In Revelation, there is a sea before the throne but it is a sea of glass."<sup>2</sup> The river in Ezekiel which gushes from the foundation of the mystic temple is remarkable. It seems to contradict the whole geography of the country. The limestone mountains had a little stony brook which ran through deserts and desolation into the Dead Sea in the rainy season, and was dry the rest of the year. Such is the real scene. But in the vision of the prophet is a river, with very many trees on one side and on the other. *Then said he unto me, these waters issue out towards the East country, and go down into the desert and go into the sea; which being brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed.*<sup>3</sup> The first chapters in Ezekiel are to be explained in the same way. It is a remarkable specimen of describing the majesty of the immaterial God by material symbols. Forbidden as the Jews were to make any image of God, the prophet describes the majesty of Jehovah by a confused machine, partly a chariot, partly a throne, drawn not by horses but by *living creatures*; producing the material figure which poetry must use without departing from the strict spirituality which his religion enjoined. Milton also is full of similar expedients. Now when I see natural similitudes thus dashed and colored by supernaturalism, I think it safe to conclude that I discern the writer's object. He is not literal; he is mystic and allegorical; and this is exactly the character of this Eclogue. We have no need to suppose a mortal birth because the child is a *new progeny, come down from Heaven*; *flowers grow around his cradle*; *the serpent dies*; *his mother passes through a supernatural period of gestation*; and finally we are told obliquely that the table to which he is to be admitted is *that of a goddess and a god*. We scarcely can have more notes that such a birth is not literal; it is a poetic adoption into the family of the immortals.

The last lines of the poem seem to seal this conclusion. They

<sup>1</sup> Exodus, 24: 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. 4: 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ezekiel 47: 8.

have always been obscure to me, and on the old construction are absolutely unintelligible. The lines are as follows :

Incipe, parve puer : cui non risere parentes,  
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

Two ways of construing them have been devised. Quintilian, instead of *cui* in the last line but one, reads *qui*, in the nominative ; and the meaning will be, *Those children, O ye parents, that have not smiled on you, will never be admitted to the seats of the gods.* But that reading is harsh and unnatural. That of Servius is much easier, as we have it in the common text. *That child will never reach the immortal seats, on whom (immortal) parents have not smiled.* That is, there must be a celestial birth to exalt a mortal hero into an immortal god ; “ If some god or goddess have not smiled on the child as parents, the god will not receive him to his table nor the goddess to her couch.” On the above theory the concluding sentiment is plain ; or the very obliqueness of the sentence makes the compliment more delicate and imposing.

It is certain that the idea of a mystic birth was very current among the ancients. Cicero calls his restoration from banishment a *παλιγγενεσία*, or a *new birth*. The persons initiated into the mysteries were considered as *new born*. The fable of the GOLD-EN ASS, written by Appulejus, was intended to figure this process. The term *renatus* is repeatedly used. He calls the day of his initiation his natal day ; and the priest by whom he was initiated his *father*. When a Roman slave was released, it was called his natal day, the day of his regeneration. It is also clear that the Julian family considered themselves as the descendents of the gods. When Julius Caesar pronounced the *laudation* or funeral discourse on his aunt, Julia, he said, “ that the maternal race of his aunt was from kings ; the paternal was found with the gods. The Marcii were descended from Ancus Marcius ; which was the race of his mother ; the Julian race were from Venus. Therefore in our race is the sanctity of kings, who have power among men ; and the ceremonies of the gods in whose power kings are ;” Suetonius, Vita Caes. Sect. 6. A frequent watch-word of Caesar to the army was *Venus Genetrix*. No doubt the whole of this family line, long before it reached the goddess, was, like the Roman genealogies generally, constructive and fabulous. But such were the claims of the Caesarian family ; and it is morally certain that when Virgil made Eneas *goddess-born* and descended from Venus,

or rather when he adopted that fable from Homer, he intended to pay a compliment to Augustus.

Consider now the circumstances under which the Eclogue was written. Octavius was yet very young, about twenty-three years old; not yet matured in wisdom, not yet confirmed in empire, but rising; connected with the greatest hero Rome had produced; belonging to his family and his adopted son. He had begun to favor Virgil; he was aspiring to empire, and the most auspicious prospects were opening upon him. What more natural than that Virgil, knowing the pretensions of his family, should sing his apotheosis by making him *goddess-born*? He has a celestial mother, probably Venus. He is a *new progeny sent down from Heaven*. We may compare this Eclogue with the Fifth, which is supposed to be the Apotheosis of Julius Caesar. *Him the nymphs bemoan, while the mother embracing the body of her miserable son calls the stars and the gods cruel*. Who is this mother? One of the critics supposes Calphurnia, his wife; absurd! Ruæus the Jesuit says, Rome. But surely he who gave the signal *Venus Genetrix*, could have no other than Venus for his mother.

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,  
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

I confess, I am not able to bring an exact parallel of an apotheosis shadowed forth in a mystic birth. The poem has long been considered as *unique*. But it seems to me that every probability conducts us to this conclusion; and it seems more probable from the fact that, if true, it would be a new proof of the delicate taste and good judgment of the most *selective*, if not the most *original* of the Roman bards.

Before closing, perhaps a word may be expected on the alleged coincidence between this pastoral and some of the Hebrew prophecies. It struck the ancient Christians and it has struck the modern. Constantine discoursed on it; Pope expressed his astonishment; and even Lowth hardly knew what to say. For so general an impression perhaps it may be said there must be some real cause. I must confess, however, for one, that I have rather wondered at the wonderers. Is there any necessity of supposing that Virgil, either through the Sibylline verses or more directly, caught his fire from the Hebrew prophets, when the same imagery and the same impressions prevailed throughout the world? There are certain convictions which seem to be common to the Jewish and Gentile mind. First, that man is a sinner; secondly,

that he has degenerated from a better state ; and thirdly, that he will be restored. Man has always looked back to a paradise and forward to a millennium. These impressions seem to be forced upon us from our ideas of justice and goodness in God, and from our convictions of guilt in our race. The coincidence between this Eclogue and certain passages in Isaiah is not greater than that between the chaos of Ovid and Moses, the deluge of the pagans and the Jews, the golden age of Hesiod and the history of Genesis. It is a remarkable fact that man always believes that he is a fallen creature ; and always fancies himself just on the verge of the millennium. As to the imagery here used, *the lion lying down with the lamb*, etc., it is too natural for us to say from the closest resemblance, that it must be borrowed. If we could sweep away every vestige of antiquity, and if from the waters of oblivion a new order of bards could arise, they would express moral happiness by material figures ; and it is vain to attribute that to tradition, which comes from the most established laws of human thought. It is a common inspiration ; it is the everlasting voice of nature.

These observations have been read in a company of literary gentlemen ; and it is due to the public to say that the writer failed of producing a conviction of the truth of his hypothesis. Several objections were urged. Some of them forcible ; all of them acute and ingenious. One of the company thought, that the pagans were accustomed to a magniloquent style ; at least what appears so to us ; that an apotheosis was a very cheap affair ; and that, therefore, such compliments paid to an expected son of Pollio, were not so inadequate as is often supposed. It appears to me, however, very clear that Augustus himself, and no son of his or any other person, is the auspicious hero of the piece. This is evident from the nature of the case ; and from a comparison of the Eclogue with the passages in the sixth book of the *Æneid*. If this position be fixed, we seem then to be forced upon the supposition of a mystic birth. But if this should be rejected, I should be inclined to take, as *second best*, the opinion, that the poet, rapt above time and succession, goes back in his thoughts, and imagines himself singing his predictions over the cradle of his celestial hero. At any rate, the poem is so dark that my suggestions cannot be completely absurd.

## ARTICLE IV.

LIFE AND DEATH OF MICHAEL SERVETUS.<sup>1</sup>

By R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

*The Early Years of Servetus.*

MICHAEL SERVETUS was born the same year with John Calvin (1509) at Villaneuva in Arragon. His father was a notary. Nothing is certainly known of his early education and training. It is said, that he was brought up in a cloister in his native kingdom, and although no proof of the fact is adduced, it is not improbable; for it was the custom of the time, especially in Spain, to devote children who were weak in intellect or feeble in health to the church, and Servetus' physical system was diseased.<sup>2</sup> In his fourteenth year, according to his account of himself at Vienne, he was taken into the service of Quintana, confessor of Charles V, who, himself a monk, probably took Servetus from the cloister. He was present at the crowning of the Emperor by the Pope at Bologna in Italy, and afterwards went in the suite of Charles V. to Germany. The splendor and parade by which the Roman Pontiff was surrounded, and the adoration which he received, exceedingly disgusted Servetus, and filled him with hatred towards the chief dignitary of the church.<sup>3</sup>

In Servetus' account of himself at the time of his trial at Geneva, he says that his father sent him to the University of Toulouse to study Law. If so, and there are some indications of knowledge of Law in his writings, he must have gone there immediately after his journey to Italy. At that University he probably first learned to read the Bible in the original languages, and acquired more familiarity with the dogmas of the Reformation, for he shows in his first work, published soon after, that he was no stranger to them. The question has been much discussed, wheth-

<sup>1</sup> Based chiefly on Henry's "Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators," Vol. III. pp. 95—276.

<sup>2</sup> He himself, says Henry, speaks of a "doppelten Bruchschaden und dass er zur Ehe untüchtig gewesen." III. 107.

<sup>3</sup> The following language is found in his *Restitutio* in reference to the pope on this occasion: *O bestiam bestiarum soeleratissimam, meretricum impudentissimam, etc., p. 462.*

er his first tendencies to heresy took their origin at this time, or were imbibed in Italy or Germany. But it is a question of little importance in respect to our present purpose. He was a free-thinker by nature, and could not have lived anywhere without exhibiting his peculiar characteristics.<sup>1</sup> The similarity of the circumstances of the early life of Servetus and John Calvin, is not more striking than the diversity of their developments. They both began their course with the study of Law, but Servetus at the same time turned his attention to astrology, and rejected with contempt the philosophy of Aristotle. But the desire to promote a reformation in the world, gave him no rest. He read the works of most of the church fathers, especially those who lived before Arius. In Tertullian and Irenaeus he thought he found the true Christian doctrine. He also turned his attention to the Catholic writers of the middle ages, and made himself acquainted with the works of the German reformers, which were extensively circulated in France. As the result of these studies, he renounced popery as a whole, but thought that the reformers had but half accomplished their work. A passage in his treatise on Justification probably gives a correct view of his position at this time: "I hold neither with the Catholics nor Protestants in all things, nor am I opposed to them. Each of them seems to me to have a part of the truth mingled with error. Each looks at the wrong views of the other and sees not his own. God grant, through his compassion, that we may know our errors and be free from stubbornness. It would be easy to distinguish truth from error, if it were allowed to speak freely, so that all might exert themselves to prophesy; if the ancient prophets [i. e. the teachers of the Catholic and Protestant church] would subject themselves to those of modern times [i. e. Servetus], and be silent, whilst these spoke what was revealed to them.—The Lord destroy all the tyrants of the church."

When Servetus went to France, he laid aside the name of Servetus and took that of Reves. The reasons for this change are variously given by his friends and enemies. He, however, did not long find Toulouse a place of safety for one adopting his views, and exercising the freedom of expression which he desired. He therefore went to Basil where Zuingli's dogmas had been embraced, in order to submit his own plans for the reformation of the church to Oecolampadius. But his impudent manner, as well

<sup>1</sup> See Mosheim, *Gesch. des M. Serveto* S. 9, and M'Crie's *Hist. of Reform. in Italy*, p. 178.



as his erroneous views, soon brought him into collision with one of so gentle and amiable a character as Oecolampadius. The principal point of difference between them was in reference to the person of Christ. Servetus denied the union of two natures in him, and contended that he could be eternal, only in the sense that the world is eternal, because the idea of it was from the beginning with God. This controversy was carried on by letters and in private conversation, and not publicly as has been sometimes affirmed.<sup>1</sup> Servetus attempted, a proceeding not unusual with men of his character, to quiet the mind of his opponent by a creed apparently orthodox, but he did not fully succeed. Oecolampadius in a conversation with Zuingli and Bullinger showed plainly that he understood his wily antagonist, and perceived the dangerous nature of his doctrines.<sup>2</sup>

In personal appearance Servetus was not unpleasing. According to an engraving in the work of Mosheim, said to be from a good portrait, he had rather marked features, a high forehead, a long and pointed beard, and large, bright eyes, which would at once give an attentive observer a premonition of the restless, fanatical spirit within. He was affable in his manners and ready in conversation, and seemed to attract notice wherever he went.

#### *Servetus' first Work upon the Trinity.*

Soon after the controversy with Oecolampadius (1530) Servetus went to Hagenau, to make arrangement with the publisher Sarcorius for printing his first work "*De Trinitatis Erroribus.*" The book, however, did not appear until some time in the following year. The starting point in this work is the indivisibility of the nature of God. He is simple and one, and consequently the modifications of his being must be merely in form and not in person. Still He is incomprehensible to man without revelation, and in order to make himself known he has assumed two forms, that of the Son and Spirit. Thus Servetus would retain the distinction of Father, Son and Spirit, but merely as modifications of external appearance. This trinity is not eternal, but ends with the world, as it came into existence with it. Like the world, however, it may be said to have existed forever in the divine pur-

<sup>1</sup> See Mosheim *Gesch. d. M. Serveto*, S. 14.

<sup>2</sup> He even said to Servetus: *Confessionem tuam simplex fortassis approbaret, quia autem mentem tuam declarasti, ut fallacem abominor.* See Henry, Vol. III., III, 115.

pose; and this ideal existence is the Logos. This book, when it first appeared, was the cause of general commotion with all parties. It was a matter of so much wonder where such daring heresies could have originated, that a journey of Servetus to Africa was presupposed in order to enable him to derive his dogmas from the Koran. This supposition was confirmed, perhaps originated, by the fact that he adduced proof-passages from the Mohammedan's Bible in substantiation of his positions.

The simple errors in doctrine and the reasoning in support of them, were not the only grounds of hostility to this work. The rashness and bitterness which followed him through life appeared here. And besides, for a young man in his twenty-first year, to attempt with full confidence an entire renovation of the religion and philosophy of his age, savored, it was thought, a little of arrogance. He professed to make the Holy Scriptures the source of all his knowledge and his reasonings, and attributed the corruption of true Christianity, to the philosophy of Aristotle and ignorance of the Hebrew language. This hurtful doctrine of the Trinity, he believed, crept into the church at the same time with the primacy of the Pope,<sup>1</sup> and Paul of Samosata first clearly proclaimed the true doctrine, which was but imperfectly comprehended in the time of the Apostles. The torrents of abuse which Servetus poured upon the doctrines received both by the protestants and catholics was still more annoying, and exhibited a want of reverence, to call it by no worse name, which stamped his character forever. The persons of the Godhead, he said, were delusions of the devil, and the triune God, a Cerberus. The protestants were specially troubled at the irregularities of Servetus, because he professed to be one of their number, and their opponents might attribute to them an agreement with him, or at least pretend that his doctrines were the natural result of their secession from the holy catholic church. Melancthon, Zuingli and others expressed a very decided opposition to his doctrine and his course, and their opinions will be alluded to in a subsequent part of this discussion.

It is probable, that Servetus after he had found a publisher for his book went to Strasburg, and it is even said that he heard the public addresses of Luther and Melancthon at this time, but it

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<sup>1</sup> Puto fuisse divinae punitionis judicium ut eodem tempore Papa efficeretur rex, quo est Trinitas orta, et tunc Christum perdidimus.—*De Trin. Error. Lib. 7, fol. 36.*

is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Where he was when his book appeared, seems also not to be definitely settled. It is however known, that in the middle of the year 1531, he dwelt for a time with his friend Morinus at Basil. Oecolampadius was not pleased at his return to that place, and sent word to the council of his arrival. He was so much opposed to the work which Servetus had issued, that in 1531 he urged Bucer to take ground against it. The author himself whilst the book was in press had explained his system to both Bucer and Capito, and they were decided in their convictions of the injury to be anticipated from him. Bucer even then began publicly to preach against him.

Servetus, notwithstanding the opposition which he met from Oecolampadius and others, and regardless of the inquisition, gave his name as author to the book, but the printer and the publisher, more wary, did not add their names or the place of publication to the title-page. After the book was issued, the inhabitants of Basil requested Bucer to make another answer to Servetus, and his indignation was so much aroused, that he proclaimed from the pulpit that Servetus deserved the most summary and disgraceful punishment.<sup>2</sup>

The general belief in the dangerous nature of the doctrines of this man long before he came in contact with Calvin should be borne in mind. Before he was allowed to leave Basil, he was compelled to make a retraction of his errors. This was done in the preface of a little work which he published at that time.<sup>3</sup> He humbly asks pardon for the offence which he had given, and retracts all that he had said, not however as being erroneous but as childish and imperfect. With characteristic impudence, however, he proceeds in the work to repeat the same sentiments with some little modifications of form. Mosheim says : Servetus did not even change or improve his doctrines in any respect, but merely repeated what he had said before and defended himself against the objections which had been urged against him by Oecolampadius and others.<sup>4</sup> His idea of justification which he gives in the latter part of this little volume, is about midway between that of the Catholics and Lutherans. Good works, he maintained, will

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Oecolampadius he says : *Aliter propriis auribus a te declarari audivi, et aliter a Doctore Paulo et aliter a Luthero et aliter a Melancthone.*—*Mosheim Gesch.* 393.

<sup>2</sup> His words are : *Dignum esse, qui avulsis visceribus discerperetur.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo ; de justitia Regni Christi Capp. Quatuor. Per Michaelen Servetum alias Reves ab Arragonia Hispanum.*

<sup>4</sup> *Gesch. des. M. Serveto*, 145, 6.

have their reward irrespective of faith, and both Jews and the heathen will be participants of future blessedness.

*Servetus as a public Lecturer and Physician.*

After this first unsuccessful effort, Servetus seems to have concluded that it was not so easy to effect a reformation as he had supposed. Without the least particle of a martyr's heroism, notwithstanding all his vauntings, he left Germany,<sup>1</sup> where so much hostility was shown to his doctrines, and determined to live in France. And in order to escape the inquisition he no longer retained either of the names, Servetus and Reves, by which he had been previously known, but called himself Michael of Villaneuva, from his native city. He says that in the year 1534 he studied mathematics and medicine in Paris at the Collège de Calvi and afterwards in the Collège de Lombards. It was in this year that the meeting was appointed for a discussion between him and the then youthful reformer, Calvin.<sup>2</sup> After leaving Paris, he went to Orleans. Joh. Wier relates that when the notorious imposition of the Franciscan monks in calling up the ghosts of the departed was practised at Orleans, he had several friends of some reputation there, among others Michael Villanovanus. It should seem from the preface to Servetus' edition of Ptolemy's Geography that he went, about this time, to Italy, but it is possible that his first journey with Quintana is referred to. It is at least certain that his works were widely circulated in Italy, for one of his apologists Postellus says, that he had disciples there, and Melanchthon thought his influence sufficient to require a confutation of his errors, which was addressed to the council at Venice: "He," Melanchthon writes, "proclaims the condemned dogmas of Paul of Samosata, and subverts the doctrine of two persons in Christ. It is granted that the reason cannot comprehend the personality of the word, but we must rely with faith upon the teachings of the early church and the apostles, which are in direct opposition to those of Servetus." Some time after leaving Paris Servetus went to Lyons, where he prepared and published his Edition of Ptolemy's Geography with notes and was for some time corrector of the press for the firm of Trechsel, distinguished in that age for their beautiful typogra-

<sup>1</sup> In the sentence pronounced against him at Geneva it is said: *Le dit servet rendu fugitif des dites Allemagnes à cause du dit Livre.*

<sup>2</sup> See Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 353.

phy. In 1537 he went again to Paris, took his degree of Doctor of Medicine, and lectured upon mathematics and astronomy. No one will affirm that Servetus was a man of inferior capacity. Although possessed of much theological learning, when he went to Paris, he applied himself with characteristic zeal to natural science, and was soon able to lecture upon it. He was also reckoned one of the most distinguished physicians in France. He even seems to have been the first to describe the circulation of the blood.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time he did not lay aside his theological pursuits, but was preparing for the press an edition of the Bible. At this time he must have felt himself more prosperous than at any other period during his life. His lectures were attended by multitudes, and it is exceedingly to be regretted that he did not devote the remainder of his life to literary and scientific pursuits. He was of the Greek school of physicians in opposition to that of the Arabians, and in 1537 published a treatise on the Gallenists and Averrhoists. He also published an Essay upon the use of syrups which was highly approved. These works as well as his notes upon Ptolemy were written in very respectable Latin, compared with his theological treatises, which were barbarous. But his pride and arrogance did not suffer him long to occupy his honorable position. The University and Faculty of Paris opposed him, partly perhaps from envy, but more on account of his attacks upon many of the scholars of the capital, especially the professors in Natural History, who returned the assault in their public discourses. He then published a defence, in which he called his antagonists pests to the world, and other hard names. The result was that he was prohibited from lecturing on astronomy. With his usual impudence, he voluntarily appeared before the tribunal of the inquisition, trusting to the anonymous publication of his book, although every page of it, if proved upon him, would have subjected him to capital punishment, and he was acquitted.

From Paris Servetus went to Avignon, and thence back again to Lyons and in 1538 established himself in Charlieu near Lyons, as a physician. But even there he could not long remain quiet. He was thirty years old, and after the example of Christ, it was necessary, he thought, to be rebaptized. He placed great stress upon this duty. Faith, he held, justifies but baptism alone sancti-

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<sup>1</sup> See *Christianismi Restitutio*, De Finit. Lib. V.; or an Extract from it in Henry, III. Beil. No. 3. a.

fies; faith is imperfect without baptism. It has indeed been supposed, that he was baptized again in secret by some anabaptist in Switzerland or elsewhere, but Calvin believed that he never troubled himself about it, although he maintained that it was a necessary pledge of eternal felicity. He also seems, from a passage in his *Restitutio*, to have belonged to a secret sect which partook of the sacrament in a different manner from either Catholics or Protestants. The same qualities which did not allow him to live in peace in Paris soon drove him from Charlieu.<sup>1</sup>

In 1540 we find Servetus in Vienne in Dauphiny. The Archbishop of that city, Peter Palmier, a distinguished patron of literature who had heard the Spaniard's lectures in Paris, received him into his palace. Here he lived in quiet, and hypocritically conformed to all the usages of the Catholic church. How different is the conduct of this man from Calvin. The latter went straight forward in the path dictated by his conscience, without deviating for kings or princes, or for any selfish interest. How noble is his conduct in contrast with the wavering, changeable and even contradictory course of one who could revile with the most opprobrious language at one time, that which he approved and sanctioned by his conduct at another. Soon after his arrival in Vienna Servetus published a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, dedicated to his patron, in which he suppressed a passage upon the barrenness of the promised land, which he feared might be offensive to the Archbishop.

In 1542 Servetus published, with a few changes, the translation of the Bible made by the learned monk Xantes Pagninus, to which he added his own ideas upon the interpretation of the Bible. His main object was, to show that the prophecies of the Old Testament were all fulfilled before the time of Christ, and only had respect to him in a spiritual sense. The ii. and xxii. Psalms, he supposed, referred directly to David, and the xlv. to Solomon, and designated Christ only as David and Solomon were types of him. The 'virgin' in Isa. vii. was Abia who was to be the mother of king Hezekiah. His remarks in the preface to this Bible, upon the Hebrew language and the impossibility of expressing the beauty of the original in a translation, make us regret that such fine talents as he exhibits, could not have been regulated by sound principle, and dedicated to the cause of truth, which so much needed them at that time. This Bible of course

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<sup>1</sup> Ob ea quae illic stolide ac insolenter designaverat.—*Bolsec.*

was not approved by the Catholics ; at Lyons it was placed upon the catalogue of prohibited books. Servetus remained in this quiet retreat twelve years, and was the regular physician of the city. But he could no longer continue in such pursuits. He must again launch his frail bark as a reformer.

*Correspondence with Calvin and the Preacher Pepin.*

The first direct communication between Calvin and Servetus, after the proposed discussion at Paris previously mentioned, was not until about 1540. They, however, had not been unmindful of each other in the mean time. Servetus felt that Calvin was the leading spirit of the reformation, and the great hindrance to the success of his own projects. He accordingly wrote to him and desired him to answer three questions : " 1. Is the man Jesus, who was crucified, Son of God, and how is he so ? 2. Is the kingdom of God in men, when they enter this kingdom, when they are regenerated ? 3. Must Christian baptism be received in faith like the Lord's Supper, and why are baptism and the Lord's Supper instituted in the new Covenant ?" Calvin answered each of these questions specifically and kindly. But Servetus was not satisfied with his answer, and wrote him again a refutation of his solution of the questions proposed, and urged another reply. Calvin wrote to him a second time in a friendly manner, although with warmth, and with decided reproofs for his unreasonable demands upon him, and for his erroneous views. " I neither hate," he says, " nor despise you, nor would I knowingly inveigh against you with too much severity. But I should be harder than iron if I were not moved, when I see you with such shameless impudence assailing the truth."

There is much in Calvin's answer to the third question of Servetus upon baptism and the Lord's Supper, which shows that the severity which has sometimes been ascribed to his system of doctrines, is not altogether merited. " I do not doubt," he says, " that when God removes infants from the world, they are regenerated by the secret influences of the Holy Spirit."<sup>1</sup>

In reference to several other interrogatories of Servetus, Calvin replied : " I would answer them if I could do it in few words ; but my other engagements do not allow me time to write whole volumes to you alone. Besides you ask nothing which you may

<sup>1</sup> Quos parvulos Dominus ex hac vita recolligit, non dubito regenerari aere Spiritus operatione.

not find in my Institutes, if you will take the trouble to look there. Still I would not spare my own labor, if I knew the exact point at which you aim. But if I should undertake to discuss the subjects which you propose, what a forest I should find myself in." The proud Spaniard was so enraged at this answer, that, according to Calvin's account, he sent back to him his Institutes with the most bitter and taunting remarks upon the margin, and addressed to him several letters one after another, filled with reproaches, abuse and insults. Calvin however bore them with patience. It is true, that it has been questioned, but, as it seems to us, without reason, whether he was not too severe upon Servetus in his account of the matter. Calvin throughout his whole life showed himself scrupulously conscientious, and not subject to the failure of his memory in the statement of facts, and it is hardly to be supposed that here alone he would be found in fault. This argument in favor of Calvin receives double force from the perfect correspondence of this course of Servetus with the spirit which he manifested, and with his conduct on other occasions. As far as is known, Calvin never wrote to Servetus but two letters. The manner of his antagonist was disagreeable to him from the first, and he could not be prevailed upon to continue the controversy. He seems to have consented to answer him at all, in consequence of the request of a mutual friend, John Frellon, a book-merchant in Lyons. In a letter to him enclosing one to Servetus, Calvin says: "Sir John! I am very ready to gratify your wishes, although I have little hope of availing anything with a man of such a disposition as he seems to possess; but yet I will try whether there is any means of bringing him to reason, which may be accomplished if God shall work an entire change in him. Since he wrote me in so haughty a tone I have wished to humble his pride, by speaking to him with a little more severity than is my custom; I could not do otherwise, for I assure you, that no lesson is more necessary for him to learn than that of humility, which will come to him only through the influence of the Spirit of God. But still we must use our exertions for it. If God shall be so gracious to him and to us as to make this reply profitable to him, I shall have occasion for joy. But if he shall continue in his present course, you will lose your time if you solicit me to exert myself for him; for I have other duties which are more imperative, and I shall scruple to occupy myself longer with him, not doubting that he is a Satan, to turn me off from other more



profitable studies. I therefore pray you to rest satisfied with what I have already done," etc.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of writing the above letter, Calvin hoped that Servetus might be turned to a better life by the influences of the Holy Spirit; yet he seems from a letter to Farel bearing date the same day, to have been quite exasperated by the numerous heretical documents sent him to read, and by the wish of Servetus to come to Geneva, if Calvin would afford him protection. "Servetus," he says, "wrote me recently, and sent with his letter a large volume of his reveries, full of the most pompous arrogance. He said; I should find stupendous things never before heard of therein! If I was willing, he would come here; but I am unwilling to give him my protection. For if he shall come, if my authority avails anything, I will not suffer him to go away alive."—This last unfortunate expression has given occasion for numerous needless calumnies and reproaches from the opponents of Calvin. The simple and unprejudiced state of the case seems to be this: Calvin had received and answered the request of Servetus and was giving an account of it to Farel. And this was a mere expression of impatience which he felt at Servetus' conduct, and the fear that he might give occasion for condign punishment. That he had deliberately designed to compass his death is confuted by the letter above quoted to Frelon, written the same day, in which he expresses the hope that Servetus may yet be turned from his errors to the truth. Besides, if he had desired the Spaniard's death, he would not have prevented him from coming to Geneva. It is to be regretted that Calvin gave way to his impatience, that "wild animal which he had not yet quite tamed," but we are not able to persuade ourselves that there was in this expression, a particle of deliberate malice. It was certainly much milder than the assertions of others who had not a tittle of the occasion for severity that Calvin had.<sup>2</sup>

The correspondence between Calvin and Servetus entirely ceased before 1548. For it appears from a letter from Calvin to Viret, that since Servetus could obtain no further answers from him, he had attacked Viret. "I believe," Calvin says, "you once read what I answered that man. I wished not to contend any longer with one so desperately headstrong and heretical; and it was certainly well to obey the injunction of the apostle Paul. Now he has made an assault upon you. How far it will be ad-

<sup>1</sup> Feb. 13, 1546.    <sup>2</sup> See the declaration of Bucer quoted above p. 55. note.

visible for you to withstand his frenzy, you can judge. He will extort nothing further from me."<sup>1</sup>

Servetus sent to Calvin the manuscript of his *Restitutio*, by means of the bookseller Frellon, in order to obtain his opinion upon it. He afterwards desired Calvin to return it, so that he might make alterations. But it was in the hands of Viret, in Lausanne, and was accordingly not sent. After all communication between him and Calvin was suspended, Servetus wrote to the preacher Pepin at Geneva, in order to obtain it through him; but as it did not come, Servetus made changes in another copy which he had, and gave it to the press. His third letter to Pepin has been preserved, and is well worthy of perusal, as indicative of the spirit of the man. It is as follows: "Although my letter (the twelfth) to Calvin shows very clearly that the law is no longer in force, yet I will refer to still another passage, in order that you may better comprehend the new order of things which has been introduced by Christ's coming. If you read Jer. xxxi. you will distinctly perceive that the obligatory force of the decalogue is superseded. The prophet there teaches, that the covenant with the fathers when they came out of Egypt, is abolished; so also Ezekiel, in Chapter xvi, and Paul in Hebrews viii. God does not now receive us as his, on account of this covenant, but through faith alone in Jesus Christ, his beloved Son. See now what sort of a gospel you have, entirely confused as it is by the law. Your gospel is without the One God, without true faith, without good works. In the place of one God you have a three-headed Cerberus, in place of true faith you have a hurtful fancy. Good works you consider as nothing more than vain shadows. Faith in Christ is to you a mere show without substance. Man is nothing more than a block of wood, and God a monster without free-will. The divine regeneration by water you do not understand, and it is only a fable to you. You close the kingdom of heaven to men, by excluding it from us as a mere imaginary thing. Wo, wo, wo to you. By this last letter I wish you to be warned, so that you may be turned to a better belief. This is the last of my admonitions. There is perhaps a feeling of vexation in you, that I join in this struggle of Michael, and wish you also to be a fellow combatant with him. Read attentively this passage (in the Revelation),<sup>2</sup> and you will see that men are there spoken

<sup>1</sup> A me nihil posthac extorquebit.—*Mss.* Gen. Sept. 1548.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xii.

of who, placing their lives in jeopardy, shall conquer in the contest by the blood and as witnesses of the Lord. That they shall be called angels is customarily said in the Bible. Do you not see that the church of Christ, already so long wandering in the desert, is here spoken of? Is not a future state of the church here intended, as John himself affirms? Who is that accuser who formerly complained of us for trampling upon the law and the commands? Before the struggle, John says, will the accusation take place and the corruption of the world. Then shall the conflict ensue—and the time is near. Who are those who shall obtain the victory over the beast? and who shall not have his mark? I am well assured that I shall suffer death for this cause, but I am not troubled in spirit on that account, so that I, a disciple, may be like my master.—I am sorry that I cannot through you obtain my manuscript which is in Calvin's hands, so as to improve some passages in it. Farewell and expect no more letters from me. I will stand upon my watch-tower and watch, to see what he will say; for he will come, he will surely come and will not delay."

*The Restitution of Christianity.*

Servetus' Work on the Restitution of Christianity<sup>1</sup> appeared in January, 1553. He attempted first to obtain a publisher for it at Basil, but did not succeed. The archbishop Palmier, his patron, had established some printers in Vienne, and to these he next turned. The overseer of the press, W. Gueroult, who had been banished from Geneva and was an enemy of Calvin, was easily induced to favor the work. The publisher, B. Arnoullet, hesitated to issue a book without the sanction of the clergy, but was finally prevailed upon by pecuniary inducements and by assurances of the harmless character of the book. Two presses

<sup>1</sup> This work was an octavo, 734 pages, and the whole title is as follows: Christianismi Restitutio, totius Ecclesiae Apostolicae ad sua limina vocatio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei Christi, justificationis nostrae, regenerationis baptismi, et coenae Domini manducationis. Restituto denique nobis regno coelesti, Babylonis impiae captivitate soluta, et Antichristo cum suis penitus destructo.

בְּצֶת הָיִיא רִעְמָד מִיִּכְאֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם  
καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

M. S. V.

1553.

were put into operation in secret, and Servetus himself corrected the sheets. After about three months the work appeared without the name of the author or the place of publication. Five bales of them were sent to Lyons, the same number to Chatillon, and several copies to Frankfort and Geneva.

The general character of this work may be inferred from the Introduction. "We design," says the author, "to disclose the divine revelation of the first centuries—the great mystery of faith which is beyond all controversy. The God who before was not seen, we shall now see; since the veil is removed from his face, we shall behold him shining upon us."—Then follows a prayer, the sincerity of which may be judged by his subsequent conduct. "O Christ Jesus, Son of God, reveal thyself to thy servant, in order that so great a revelation may be truly clear to us. Grant me now thy good Spirit and thy efficacious word; guide my pen and my thoughts that I may describe the glory of thy divinity, and set forth the true faith in thee. This is thy cause, which I, by an internal divine impulse, have been induced to defend, since I was zealous for thy truth. I indeed long since undertook this cause, and am now again urged to it, since the time is certainly now fulfilled. Thou hast taught us that the light must not be concealed, and wo is to me if I preach not the gospel." Servetus seems to have considered himself as especially designated by God, to make known truths which had long been lost, or rather had never been clearly revealed. The apostles had but dimly understood what he was about distinctly to make known. He was indeed in the succession of the apostles, but he towered far above all the rest in the series. That which was but obscurely understood and hinted at in the words: "In the beginning was the Word," now was to have its complete disclosure. How different this arrogant, profane, boasting spirit from the reverent, teachable, humble feeling with which Calvin always approached God and his word. After years of attentive study, he did not venture to attempt an explanation of the Apocalypse, but the wandering Spaniard, who was skilled in astrological science, considered himself altogether equal to the task. Listen to his explanations of the twelfth chapter: "The dragon that will destroy the woman and her child is the pope; the woman is the church; her son whom God rescues, the faith of Christians. 1260 prophetic days or years the church must remain under the dominion of antichrist; then the controversy against the dragon was to commence; Michael and his angels conquer after the dragon has slain many;

the good and the bad contend together upon the earth. This conflict is now going on, the hosts of Michael are the true witnesses of the church. At the time of Constantine the great, the dragon began to drive the church unto the desert. Christ ceased to reign when the true doctrine in reference to his person was mistaken at the council of Nice, and the divine Being separated into three persons." It does not appear that Servetus ever gave himself out as the angel Michael himself, but it is evident that he considered himself one of his most important and valiant combatants with the dragon. A biographer of Calvin says, rather pertinently, that if Servetus means by *with*, for the Dragon, his claim is a just one.<sup>1</sup>

It is not necessary, would the limits of one Article allow it, to attempt an enumeration of the contents of this work, oftentimes inconsistent with and contradictory to itself. Some of the dogmas of the author have already been noticed, and they will appear further in the account of his trial at Geneva. It is, however, but justice to Calvin to say, that it was not, as has been often maintained, his favorite doctrines, such as predestination and perseverance, that Servetus especially impugned. The Trinity occupied the first place in the book, and the author also showed himself an Antinomian, Pantheist and Materialist, and what is more than all in the opinion of his judges, an open and violent blasphemer.

#### *Trial and Condemnation of Servetus in Vienne.*

It is well known that the Restitution of Christianity was specially obnoxious to the Catholics, and led to the arrest and trial of Servetus in Vienne. It has been often alleged that Calvin was the occasion of this trial, but it is clear that if he was so, it was without design on his part. The accusation of direct communication with Tournon and the other officers of the Inquisition, is too improbable to deserve even a passing notice. The following seems to be the true state of the case. There lived in Geneva, when Servetus' book was sent there, a refugee from Lyons, William Trie, who had a friend at the latter place by the name of Arney, who was a zealous Catholic and attempted to persuade

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<sup>1</sup> Certes on trouvera que ce n'est pas sans raison que cet impie s'appliquait ces paroles, pourvu que par ces mots *avec le dragon* on n'entende pas contre le dragon, mais pour le dragon.—*Vie de Calvin*, Geneva 1830, p. 86.

Trie to return to the Catholic church. In answer to some of his arguments, Trie wrote to him on the 26th of February: "I cannot but wonder that you bring as an objection against us, that we have no church order and discipline. I see, praise be to God, that the blasphemer is better punished among us than in all your spiritual tribunals; and as respects doctrine, although there is more freedom here, yet it would never be endured that the name of God should be blasphemed, and impious doctrines disseminated without opposing them. I can mention an instance which in truth is a great reproach to you. A heretic is upheld among you, who richly deserves to be given to the flames, wherever he is found. I speak of a man, whom the papists as well as we condemn as a heretic; for although we differ in many points, yet we have this in common that we believe in three persons in one God, etc.—If now a man asserts that the Trinity in which we believe is a Cerberus, a monster from hell, and pours out upon it all imaginable filth,—in what consideration shall he be held among you?—What a disgrace that those who confess, that we must worship one only God, etc., [enumerating the articles of belief among the Protestants,] are condemned to death, whilst one who looks upon Jesus Christ as an idol, destroys the very foundation of faith and collects together all the dreams of the ancient heretics; who even condemns the baptism of infants, calling it an invention of the devil, is an honor among you, and is treated as if he had never erred.—The individual of whom I speak is a Spaniard or Portuguese, by the name of Michael Servetus. This is his right name; but he is now called Villaneuve, is a physician, and has caused a work to be published at Vienne by Arnoullet." After some other representations of the inconsistency of their course in the treatment of the books of the reformers, Trie adds to his letter the title page, contents and first four pages of the *Restitutio*.

This letter led to the arrest of Servetus; and because Trie happened to be at Geneva, and on friendly terms with Calvin, it has been maintained that he was the direct cause of this arrest, and furnished the leaves of Servetus' Book for this purpose; just as if they might not have been obtained except from Calvin, and were not the common topics of remark in Geneva. Calvin's own express declaration in his *Refutatio*, that if he had caused this accusation he would readily confess it, not counting it any disgrace to have done it, is sufficient to exculpate him, where all evidence is wanting, if indeed there was not direct testimony in his favor. The most difficult point to understand is, how Trie knew the au-

thor and publisher of the work, of whom he speaks. He might perhaps have heard Calvin mention the author, for he of course recognized the work at once; but how should Calvin know better than any one else where and by whom the book was printed? It seems most probable, that Servetus, who had taken such precaution to ensure privacy, had some false friend at Vienne, who had made known these facts at Geneva.

When Servetus, in consequence of the information given by Arney, was summoned before the Inquisition at Vienne, he presented himself cheerfully, and having had time in two hours to put aside the papers which would witness against him, declared that he was ready to open his house to be searched; since he had always wished to remain free from all suspicion of heresy. Whether a flat denial of the authorship of the work in question, and this declaration of attachment to the church, was quite in accordance with the pretended conviction announced in the preface, especially in the words of invocation to the Son of God, we leave for every one to decide for himself. The house was searched according to Servetus' wish, and as a matter of course nothing was found which would criminate him. Gueroult was also subjected to an examination, but from him nothing was elicited. The printers were all asked if they recognized the leaves which were sent to Arney. All denied that they knew anything of them. When the catalogue of their works, printed within two years, was demanded, not an octavo was found among them. The servants and their families in the employment of Arnoullet were next examined, but to no purpose. On the following day Arnoullet returned from a journey, and was instantly summoned before the judges, but sufficient evidence was not found against the Spanish physician to warrant his arrest. It was, however, thought best to go to the root of the matter, and the inquisitor Ory, who had himself come to Vienne to manage this affair, wrote to Trie, asking him for the whole work of which he had sent the first leaves; affirming that "if there were credible grounds for it, they should see in Geneva that they in France loved the honor of God and of the faith, and were not so lax in their discipline as it had been imagined."

Trie in his answer, directed to Arney, said: "When I wrote you the letter which you have given to those of whose remissness I complained, I had no expectation that the matter would go so far. My intention was only to remind you what a beautiful zeal these have, who call themselves the pillars of the church, whilst

they suffer such disorder among themselves, and persecute so cruelly the poor Christians who desire to serve God in all simplicity.—Since my private correspondence has been made public, I pray God, that this at least may serve to free the world from such defilement; yea from such a deadly pestilence. The book itself I cannot send, but I place in your hands a better proof for the conviction of this man, namely, two dozen of written leaves in which some of his heresies appear. If his printed work were shown him, he might not acknowledge it as his, but he cannot deny his manuscript. I will, however, confess to you alone that I have had great difficulty in obtaining from Mr. Calvin what I send you. Not that he does not wish to have such damnable heresies suppressed, but because it appears to him to be his duty, who bears not the sword of justice, to oppose heretics by argument, rather than by such means. But I have been so importunate with him, showing him that the reproach of being an unjust accuser would rest upon me if he did not give me his aid, that he has finally yielded, and furnished me with that which I send to you."

These leaves spoken of in this letter, as will readily be imagined, were those which were sent back to Calvin with remarks, when he directed Servetus to his Institutes for an answer to some of his questions. The contents of this letter are interesting in several respects. They show that the communication which caused the arrest of Servetus was not intended for that purpose, and that Calvin had nothing to do with it. They furthermore show his hesitation, since he was not clothed with civil authority, to employ any other means than argument for the correction of errors in belief.

The proof sent by Trie was not, however, sufficient for the detention of Servetus, since he was called Villaneuve in Vienne, and the hand-writing could be set aside by a denial on oath. Arney accordingly again wrote to Trie, to give him better proof of the facts which he had alleged. The messenger arrived late at night on the last day of March, and Trie answered the request of Arney that night, saying that the manuscript copy of the work of Servetus was in Lausanne and could not be sent, but that in the last of the letters sent, Servetus was identified by defending himself for assuming the strange name. It was finally decided, that although positive proof was not adduced that Villaneuve was the author of the work in question, and Arnoullet the publisher, yet that they should be put in prison to await their trial. After



dinner on the same day of the arrest, the tribunal was assembled in the apartment where capital sentences were pronounced in the palace of Justice. The accused person was introduced and according to the custom of the time made to take oath upon the Gospel, that he would speak only the truth. But instead of acting in accordance with his solemn promise, he spoke anything but the truth. How pitiable and base was such conduct! How unworthy the name of man and especially of Christian! How art thou fallen, thou who didst claim to be one of Michael's host!

The tribunal asked for some explanations of the remarks upon the leaves of the Institutes, and Servetus was incautious enough to give them, thus implying that he was the author. When he found that he was entrapped, and that his life was in jeopardy, he expressed doubts whether he was the author of the remarks, and renounced his views so often expressed upon baptism, professed himself a believer in the Orthodox doctrine, and subjected himself in all things to the church as to his Holy Mother.

At the second examination the next day, when Servetus perceived that his letters to Calvin were before the judges, he lost all courage and in order to free himself from the dilemma, invented a falsehood, which was as foolish as it was dastardly. With many tears he said: "My Lords I will confess the truth. Five and twenty years ago when I was in Germany, there was printed at Hagenau a book of a certain Servetus, a Spaniard. I know not from whence he came. Since I corresponded with Calvin at that time, he wrote to me as Servetus, because there was a similarity in our persons, and I sustained his character. But for ten years I have not written him, and I protest before God and these Lords, that I have never published anything against the church or proclaimed doctrines counter to the Christian religion." Several letters were then shown in which his heretical dogmas were plainly expressed. He did not disown the letters, but supposed he had expressed the thoughts which came into his mind at the time, but which were no part of his settled belief. When the examination was resumed in the afternoon of the same day, other letters were read, to which he gave substantially the same answers as before: He did not assert what was found to be heretical in them, but only what his judges and the church would approve.

So much has been said by the enemies of Calvin, in reference to his betraying trust, by giving up Servetus' letters, that we cannot forbear to enumerate two or three of the circumstances which

have a bearing upon the matter, leaving our readers to draw their own conclusions in regard to his criminality. In the first place, the letters were forced upon Calvin, after he had desired to have no more communication with Servetus, and of course were not confidential letters. In the next place, a friend of Calvin, in defending his fellow Christians whose heroic martyr-cries were wafted to Geneva on every northern breeze, had brought upon himself the unjust suspicion of preferring false charges against one, who richly deserved them; and if his charge was not sustained, reproach would fall upon the truth, and the persecutor would be armed with new courage and new instruments of torture. Ought not then his earnest solicitations that Calvin would furnish the necessary documents for substantiating his assertions, to have been heeded? Would not Calvin have been recreant to his faith, if he had left Trie unaided? Besides, the contents of the letters, as far as they would be used at Vienne, were of public interest, and according to Calvin's convictions, of vital consequence to the church at large, and especially to the civil and religious community in Geneva. If then, by giving up the manuscripts which had been so ungraciously urged upon him, he could prevent the farther spread of impious and heretical dogmas, could he in conscience withhold them?<sup>1</sup>

Considerable liberty had been granted to Servetus during his trial, and valuable presents, left for him by visitors who were permitted to see him in prison, show that he was not without friends in Vienne. Early the next morning after his last examination, he arose, dressed himself, and putting his dressing-gown over his other clothes, and a velvet cap upon his head, asked the jailor for the key to the garden in which he had been allowed to walk. It was readily given him, and the jailor went with the workmen

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<sup>1</sup> As a good illustration of the wholesale slanders and falsehood which are but too common in speaking of Calvin, I quote a passage from the Speech of Lord Brougham on the Maynooth Grant, as given in the Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser of Sat. June 28, 1845: "By acts of the most atrocious perfidy, by opening letters, he [Calvin] entrapped Servetus to Geneva, and there, because he suspected him of Socinian doctrines, after a mockery of a trial had him buried [burned?] alive." We suppose that "opening letters" must have reference to the giving up of the letters, mentioned above, for we have yet to learn that there is any special atrocity or perfidy, in opening letters addressed to one's self for personal perusal. That Calvin not only did not 'entrap Servetus to Geneva,' but even refused to grant him his protection if he came there, has already been seen. Furthermore, that there was something more than a "mockery of a trial," and that Servetus was far enough from being buried alive, we think, will appear in the sequel.

to the vineyard. Servetus had previously noticed, that it was easy to pass from this garden upon the roof of an out-building, and from that, upon a wall from which he could let himself down into the court of the royal palace, and escape thence through the gate and over the bridge of the Rhone. He accordingly made good use of his time and had been gone some hours before his absence was noticed. When it was found that he had gone, a frightful tumult was made about the prison and in the city. Doors were broken open and houses searched; but the captive was free. Nothing was heard of him until three days after, when a country-woman reported that she had seen him pass.

The trial proceeded after Servetus' escape, as if he had been present. The judges were at last persuaded that the *Restitutio* was printed in secret in Vienne. They then proceeded to make a synopsis of the errors contained in it, and on the 17th of June condemned its author to be burned at the stake. Until they could get possession of him, they decided that he should be burned in effigy. Arnoullet made it appear that he was assured by Gueroult that the *Restitutio* was an entirely harmless book, and was set at liberty. Gueroult probably saved himself by flight. On the same day in which the sentence was passed, the executioner carried the effigy of Servetus with five bales of books upon a cart, from the palace to the market place, and thence to the Place de Charneve, and there suspended it upon a gallows and caused it, with the books, to be slowly consumed by fire. The wealth which Servetus had acquired was found to be so considerable, that a nobleman applied to the king for it for his son, and his request was granted.

#### *The Arrest and Trial of Servetus at Geneva.*

Servetus, after his escape from Vienne, designed to go to Naples and establish himself as physician there. He did not venture to pass through Piedmont lest he should be discovered by his popish persecutors, and after wandering for a month in France, he took the route through Switzerland. About the middle of July at evening, a man was seen silently entering the gate of the ancient city of Geneva on foot, having left his horse at a small village near, where he had passed the preceding night. He stopped at a little Inn called Auberge de la Rose, upon the banks of the lake. There was something in the bearing of the stranger, in the enthusiasm which shone through his dark, glowing, south-

ern eye, in the ease and familiarity of his conversation, which attracted the notice of the people of the Inn and led them to attempt to learn something about him by questions. In answer to the inquiry whether he was married he replied: *On trouve bien assez de femmes sans se marier.* This man was soon seen going to the church where Mr. Calvin preached. To any one acquainted with the life of the stranger, the circumstances of his escape from Vienne, the admonition which he received in respect to coming to Geneva, especially if they had heard him say as he was accustomed to do, that it was by means of accusations made by Calvin that he was first arrested, his conduct should seem so unaccountable as to suggest the suspicion that he was

Insensate left, or to sense reprobate,  
And with blindness internal struck.

No wonder is it that Calvin himself said: "*Nescio quid dicam, nisi fatali vesania fuisse correptum ut se praecepitem jaceret.*"

After remaining a month in Geneva, Servetus proposed to go to Zurich, and ordered a boat to convey him over the lake. But just as he had made preparations for departure on the 13th of August, 1553, a sheriff appeared and arrested him in the name of the council. How it became known that Servetus was in the city, does not appear. Some relate that he was recognized in church. Musculus says, that he wished to take advantage of the disaffection of some of the principal citizens against Calvin, in order to disseminate farther his own heretical principles and make disturbance. If it were so, his presence in the city would not probably long remain a secret from Calvin. Be this as it may, it seems that Calvin was the immediate cause of the arrest. He speaks of it in several letters, and expresses the firmest confidence that by taking measure, for silencing or causing a retraction of the blasphemous teachings of this man, he was rendering a service to God, to the church and to humanity. It is perfectly evident that Calvin felt it to be his imperative duty to inform the council that Servetus was in the city. Not only his love for the truth, but the civil law of the city which had come down from the previous dominion of the Emperors, requiring the infliction of the same punishment upon heretics and those guilty of high-treason, made it his duty to give this information to the council.<sup>1</sup> It appears, how-

<sup>1</sup> He says in his *Refutation of the Errors of Servetus*: *Nec sane dissimulo mea opera consilioque jure in carcerem fuisse conjectum. Quia recepto hujus civitatis jure criminis reum peragere oportuit, causam hujusque me esse prose-*

ever, that Calvin had little expectation that the issue of the trial would be such as it proved to be, in consequence of the obstinacy and blindness of the Spaniard. Calvin wished only to prevent the evil which he believed the dissemination of such impious dogmas was causing, and had no malicious designs upon the life of his enemy. He says: "No danger of a more severe punishment threatened him, if he had only been reclaimable (*sana-bilis*)."—"I wish this only to be known, that I felt no such hostility to him that he could not have saved his life, by the simple exercise of discretion (*sola modestia*), if he had not been insane." He also later exclaims in sorrow for his fate: "if we could only have obtained from Servetus as from Gentilis a retraction!" Still he all the time felt that Servetus was deserving of the most summary punishment if he did not change his course. And thus during his trial, when speaking of his dogmas and his conduct, in letters to Farel, he frequently expresses the hope that he will receive capital punishment, but wishes it to be in a mild form.<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas de la Fontaine, a student and scribe of Calvin, who had been six years with him, and was well grounded in theological knowledge,<sup>2</sup> immediately appeared as complainant, according to the Genevan law, that the accuser, in case the accused is found guiltless, shall subject himself to the punishment due to the crime for which the accusation is made. His arrest met with general approbation, for Servetus was looked upon by all good citizens as an outlaw. The next day after the arrest, La Fontaine, in order to show his heresy, brought forward thirty-eight (or forty) propositions which Calvin had prepared. To the first thirty-six articles Servetus freely answered, acknowledged himself the author of the *Restitutio*, and said that he did not think that he had uttered anything blasphemous, but if it could be shown that he had, he would retract. When objection was made to the seventh article, upon the Trinity, he professed to believe in a Trinity, but understood by person something different from the modern doctrine. His book was adduced as a proof, that by inveighing against Cal-

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cutum fateor. And again: Qui non dissimulo, me auctore factum esse ut in hac urbe deprehensus ad causam dicendam postularetur. Obstrepan licet vel malevoli vel maledici homines, ego libenter fateor ac prae me fero, (quia secundum urbis leges aliter cum homine jure agi non poterat,) ex me prodissse accusatorem.

<sup>1</sup> Spero capitale saltem fore judicium, poenae vero atrocitatem remitti cupio. Letter to Farel, Aug. 20, 1553.

<sup>2</sup> Not an ignorant servant, as the opponents of Calvin pretend.

vin he defamed the doctrine held in the city, and he replied : " that since Calvin had inveighed against him in many books, he had answered him and shown that he had erred in various respects."

At the second and some of the following examinations the attendance of all the clergy of the city was requested. The principal enemies of Calvin, the leaders of the Libertine party, were also present. Calvin defended all the points of the accusation with so much power and justice, that Servetus was driven to consequences, especially in reference to his pantheistical notions, which seemed little else than nonsensical and contradictory. In opposition to the principle of Servetus that all things were made of the substance of God, Calvin answered : " The devil then is substantially God." " Do you doubt it ?" said Servetus scoffingly. — " God dwells in the devils. Yea more, in each devil are several Gods ; since the Deity has been committed equally to them [in the process of formation] and to wood and stone."<sup>1</sup> Servetus addressed Calvin in this examination with unreasonable violence, and heaped reproaches and abuse upon him in the most insulting manner. In fine, not his dogmas only, but his whole bearing was such that his judges felt that he deserved punishment. La Fontaine was dismissed from prison upon the bail of Anthony Calvin, and Servetus was placed in close confinement.

It should be kept distinctly in mind during all this trial, that Calvin's authority was not dominant in Geneva. The Libertines had the ascendancy in the council of the Two Hundred, and used every exertion to destroy the influence of Calvin. But Calvin maintained a trusting and conciliatory spirit, notwithstanding the abuse which poured in upon him from all sides. His letters show that he was far more agitated by the disordered state of things at Geneva, the prevalence of vice, and by the frequent accounts of the wholesale butchery of the Protestants in France, than by anxiety in reference to the trial, which was managed by the government and not by himself. He, however, felt called upon to preach against the doctrines of the Spaniard, so as to prevent the farther contamination of the citizens, which the Libertines were exerting themselves to bring about. But it is ridiculous and false in the extreme, when he is reproached with rendering the prisoner's condition in captivity uncomfortable. In the first place the

<sup>1</sup> It is not strange that Servetus was thought guilty of blasphemy during this examination. He speaks of the Godhead as a "*Monstrum impossibile, Cerebrum, monstrum Geryonis, tres illusiones Daemoniorum, bestiae trinitatem ignem infernalem esse apud Deum. Deum esse ipsam rerum universitatem.*"

care of him did not devolve upon Calvin, nor did he assume it; and further, the situation of Servetus was not so utterly comfortless as it might have been. Pen, ink and paper were furnished him, and Calvin loaned him whatever books he wanted from his own library, or obtained them for him from other sources.

During several of the examinations which soon ensued after his committal, different accusations were brought against the prisoner. The opinions of Capito and Oecolampadius, and of Melanchthon, expressed in his *Locis*, were adduced. But Servetus replied that their opinion was not a judicial sentence upon him. His declaration of the false representations of Moses in the *Pentateuch* in reference to the fertility of Canaan, was also brought before the court. At first he denied, with truth, that he was the author of the words, for he had adopted them from a previous editor of Ptolemy; but when Calvin represented the dishonesty of using the works of another without credit, he angrily replied, that if he were the author of the passage in question, there was nothing wrong in it. This declaration called forth an able defence of the ancient historian from the Genevan reformer. Servetus' false interpretations of Scripture, especially the Messianic portions of the Old Testament, his blasphemous language in reference to the Trinity, his heresies in reference to baptism, his pantheistical views, all passed in review before the tribunal, and the consequences of such dogmas were expounded by Calvin. Servetus sometimes defended his positions and at other times, when he found no other way of escape, modified his earlier views. For example, he had affirmed previously that God's being was in all things, but now, he said, he would express himself differently: "God through his omnipresence is necessarily present to all things, yet these things themselves are not a part of God, but the prototype or idea or conception of all things is in God." On the fourth day of the examination the Syndics decided that the accusation was substantiated, and the judge Colladon proclaimed that there had been sufficient proof adduced, and the prisoner, according to custom, was given over to the chief procurator for further trial, as required by law.

After four days (Aug. 21) Servetus was again brought before the council. Calvin had not arrived, and a letter was read from Arnoullet to Vertet, bookseller at Chatillon, requesting him to burn all the copies of the work of the Spaniard which had been sent to Frankfort, for he had been deceived by Gueroult in reference to the nature of the contents of the book. When Calvin

and the rest of the clergy arrived, the examination commenced. Servetus, in a previous trial, had maintained that he advocated, in his *Restitutio*, the same doctrine in respect to the Trinity, which was held by the primitive Fathers. Calvin now came prepared to show that Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Tertullian and others before the council of Nice, taught the same doctrine which was generally held by the church. When he argued from Justin, holding the volume in his hand, Servetus called for a Latin translation. Calvin answered that there was none. This apparent ignorance of the Greek language in one who was the editor of learned works, and made so much pretence of deriving his doctrines from the Fathers, appears very strange, and was not satisfactorily explained. The controversy turned upon the use of the word *ἐνότης* among the Fathers, Calvin maintaining that it indicated a real distinction of persons in the Godhead, and Servetus, that it only designated an external appearance. The discussion was a warm one, and Servetus finally dealt so much in personal invective, and was so devoid of all respect for either Calvin or the council, that even the judges were ashamed and grieved at his conduct.<sup>1</sup> Calvin, mindful of the dignity of character which belonged to him, rose up and with the other clergy left the tribunal. Thus this examination closed. Servetus desired to purchase several of the books which Calvin had brought in, and they were readily delivered to him.

At the commencement of the examination on the following day, Servetus presented a request to be released, since in the primitive church heretics were not tried before a civil tribunal, and besides, he had not made any trouble within the jurisdiction of Geneva. The procurator, however, proceeded with the examination of the previous day, and laid thirty questions before the prisoner, who now, seeing the danger of his position, begged with tears to be set at liberty; excusing himself for his last work, by pleading good intentions, and saying that he had no reference to the church of Germany or Geneva, but to the questions of the schools, in his harsh censures. He also retracted his errors upon infant baptism. The milder bearing of Servetus on this day, has been attributed to the absence of Calvin, who was never present at the trial, except in accordance with the request of the council.

The council was again assembled a few days after. The pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Cum plenis buocis convitia subinde evomeret, quorum iudices ipsos pudebat ac pigebat, ab ejus insectatione obstinui.



curator decided, that the request of Servetus previously made, could not be granted, that the laws of the church required that heretics should be punished wherever found, and that he was not entitled to the services of an advocate. Servetus from this time began to show more courage and self-control. Yet he did not cease from his bitterness to Calvin, and sought every means of escape from his fate. He did not, however, entreat for favor as he had done before, when the decision in reference to his petition was made known to him, but declared that he would remain firm in his convictions.

It was decided to give the prisoner still another opportunity to plead his cause, and thirty-eight new questions were added to those before propounded to him. Calvin was present on this occasion, and Servetus again defended the position, that the ancient church did not punish heretics, excused his calumnies against the reformed preachers, and attempted to maintain his claim of agreement in opinion with Capito and Oecolampadius. He however affirmed that if he could be convinced by the Scriptures, he would change his opinions. As this had all along been the chief object of the trial, it was desired that an opportunity should be given for this purpose. But in the midst of these discussions, on the last day of August, the overseer of the prison where Servetus was confined in Vienne came, and requested that he might be given up to him, to be taken back to that city. The council decided that Servetus might have his choice, to go to Vienne or remain in Geneva. Falling upon his knees he begged, with copious tears, that the Syndics of Geneva might be his judges, and do with him as they should see best. On this day he repeated the unjust accusation which he had previously made against Calvin, that his hatred was the cause of his first arrest at Vienne and of all his sufferings. He however expressed his penitence for his hypocrisy, in pretending among the Catholics to adhere to those usages against which he had written with so much warmth. "I have sinned," he says, "the fear of death was the cause." The messenger returned to Vienne, after he had obtained proof, that Servetus escaped from prison without the knowledge of the officer under whom he was placed.

On the next day (Sept. 1), a messenger arrived from the lord in Vienne, whose son had received Servetus' property from the king, requesting him to name all his debtors, which he refused to do, as some of them were not able to pay. He was sustained in his refusal by the Syndics. On this same day Calvin went with

the clergy before the council, and began an argument to convince Servetus of his errors. To prevent any evasion he had taken all the questions out of the prisoner's own works. Servetus now pleaded that he was prevented by internal anxiety from employing himself about such things, and that the church, and not a civil tribunal, was a suitable place for the hearing of matters of faith; and besides, it was not proper to examine such questions while he was in prison. Calvin replied, that he, believing the cause to be a good one, would willingly defend it in the church, before all the people, but that it was lawfully brought before a civil tribunal according to the code of Justinian; and furthermore, the church were there by their representatives, the clergy. Servetus answered that the church first lost its innocence and purity in the time of Justinian, and that the church of Geneva could not judge him, as his enemy Calvin was its soul; he would joyfully submit himself to the decision of other churches. Calvin readily acceded to the proposition, that other churches should be consulted, but he and Servetus could not agree upon the manner in which the case was to be brought before them. Finally, in their absence, the council decided that Calvin should briefly state the errors of Servetus in Latin, and that he should answer them in the same language. An indefinite time, they decreed, should be given to the Spaniard, so that he might retract erroneous statements and correct those which were distorted, and the whole should be laid before the Swiss churches for their decision. The mildness and consideration of the council in this arrangement, is certainly deserving of commendation, and is a decisive evidence that they did not wish to condemn Servetus "after a mere mockery of a trial."

Calvin did not present his abstract of the heresies of the Spaniard, which was the work of one evening, until the end of fourteen days, in order to give him time to collect himself and become entirely calm. But this delay, which was intended for the benefit of the prisoner, proved his injury. He became impatient, and sent a petition to the council, in which he stated that he had been six weeks in prison in a wretched condition, and wished to have his cause brought before the Two Hundred, to whose decision he would submit. But a little while ago, it will be remembered, a civil tribunal was not a suitable place for deciding upon matters of faith; now it is demanded in preference to the churches. Why this change? If it could be made to appear that Servetus was guided, in any considerable degree, by firm principle, his

course would be a perfect enigma. But selfish ends are too prominent in his whole career. This change of views is accounted for by turning the attention, for a moment, to the party of the Libertines. They desired to make use of Servetus in crushing the influence of Calvin. Perrin was able to command the majority of voices in this council, and had undoubtedly communicated to the prisoner the situation of the city, and his reasons for hope of escape by means of the larger council.<sup>1</sup> The Syndics who had been so lenient and so ready to grant any proper request of the prisoner, now refused to accede to his wish, but gave command that he should be better cared for in prison.

Calvin finally presented to Servetus thirty-eight propositions, all taken from his last work without addition or remark. These of course did not include his objections to the inspiration of the Pentateuch, or his erroneous interpretations of Scripture, as these were contained only in previous works. Servetus' answer was more like the ravings of a maniac than the words of reason and truth. He exhibited a surprising indifference in regard to the erroneous doctrines which were imputed to him, and sought mainly for hard epithets to apply to Calvin. He accused him of being incapable of understanding the truth, of ignorance, of attempting to stun the hearing of the judges, merely by his noisy barking, of being a murderer and a disciple of Simon Magus. The margin of the paper containing the propositions, was covered with such expressions as the following: "Thou dreamest, thou liest," "Thou canst not deny that thou art Simon the sorcerer," etc. This spiteful answer<sup>2</sup> was handed back to the clergy for an reply, and the council, whose patience was becoming quite exhausted, allowed Calvin only two days in which to prepare it.

Calvin again confuted the errors of Servetus, especially in reference to the Trinity, showing that many of the proof-passages which he had adduced from the Fathers were directly against him, and that tried by their standard he was manifestly heretical in his views. He also reproached Servetus with his want of proofs for his dogmas, and his indulgence in personal invective against himself. Servetus sent in reply a writing to the council, in which he attempted to excuse himself for the marginal notes

<sup>1</sup> See proof of this in Henry's Calvin, III. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Waterman, in his *Life of Calvin*, p. 118, says of this reply of Servetus: "It is no presumption to say that in point of abuse and scurrility, this defence stands unrivalled, by any one that was ever made by any defendant, however infatuated, in the most desperate cause."

upon the propositions of Calvin, and another to Calvin himself, but they were of little importance in respect to the points in question. No further answer was made to him. All were dissatisfied and disappointed at his course, and his sincerity seemed almost impossible. His assertions of his convictions of duty and apparent firmness were too evidently the result of angry feeling towards Calvin, obstinacy in error, and especially a false hope of safety from the Libertines.

On the twenty-first of September, the writings interchanged between Calvin and Servetus, were sent with the *Restitutio* to the churches of Zurich, Berne, Basil and Schaffhausen. About a fortnight before, Calvin had written to Bullinger and acquainted him with all the circumstances of the case. He now wrote to Sulzer, preacher at Basil, in consequence of the enemies of the Genevans there, especially Castalio. After the communications were sent to the Swiss churches, the enemies of Calvin were unceasing in their exertions. They induced Servetus to issue a most singular protest against Calvin. He complained of him as a false accuser, an unworthy servant of God in consequence of his persecuting spirit, an enemy of Christ and a heretic. He says in the conclusion: "Therefore, my Lords, I demand that my false accuser be punished, 'poena talionis,' and be detained prisoner as I am, until the cause is determined by my death or his, or by some other punishment. For this purpose I inscribe myself against him on the said 'poena talionis', and am ready to die if he is not convicted of this [false accusation], as well as other things, which I shall allege against him. I demand justice of you my Lords, justice, justice, justice.—Done in your prison at Geneva, Sept. 22, 1553." The council did not of course give heed to the accusation, but merely committed it to the public registers. Servetus asked also, repeatedly, for audiences with the council, which were not granted. He also issued a complaint in reference to his unpleasant position in prison. Calvin in the mean time wrote to his friends, expressing his belief that the hostile party would attempt to carry some measure against the church by tumult, and he wished, at this most important juncture, for the aid of Farel and Viret. Yet he exhibited his characteristic reliance upon the justice of his cause, and the aid of a supreme Disposer of all events. He even mentions in his letters passing events, as a marriage, or the occasion of a festival, with all the ease and naturalness of one in perfect quiet. He did not seem like one standing upon ground where he knew were planted nets and

gins and all the paraphernalia of destruction, which a thousand eager eyes were watching to put in operation.

The case had not long been submitted to the Swiss churches, before the clergy had come to a decision, and it was noised abroad that they were opposed to Servetus. As a consequence, expositions were sent to the magistrates to oppose the clergy. An anabaptist who lived at Basil under a feigned name, was especially active in this matter, saying, if the good and pious man as he thought Servetus to be, were a heretic, he should be admonished in a friendly manner, and then banished. But these admonitions were unavailing. Substantially the same answer was returned by all the churches: They wished that Servetus should be prevented from exerting an evil influence either in Geneva or elsewhere. Calvin says, and his assertion is borne out by the original documents which remain: "With one mouth, all declare that Servetus has again revived the impious errors, by which Satan in earlier ages distracted the church, and that he is a monster which cannot be endured." The Zurichers, he says in a letter to Farel, are "*omnium vehementissimi*" and the Basilians, "*cordati*." None of the churches specify distinctly in what manner punishment shall be inflicted, but they all feel it necessary that Servetus should in some way be prevented from doing further mischief, and that the Genevans by punishing him, should free themselves from the charge of holding heretical dogmas.

#### *Servetus' Condemnation, last Days and Death.*

After the answers were received from the churches, the Synods and the Council of Sixty were assembled, as sentence of death could not be pronounced but by a majority of the votes of these two bodies in joint session. Their deliberations continued three days. They were divided in opinion. Some preferred perpetual banishment, some imprisonment during life, but the majority desired the infliction of capital punishment, unless the prisoner should retract. But in what way should the execution be performed? The greater number finally decided, in accordance with the ancient law, in favor of punishment by fire. During these deliberations, Perrin feigned sickness and the factious party seemed to lose courage. But they again rallied, when it was too late. Perrin appeared, and attempted to obtain a reversion or suspension of the decision. "Our comic Caesar,"<sup>1</sup> says Calvin,

<sup>1</sup> Calvin was accustomed, according to Beza, to call Perrin "Caesar comi-

"after he had pleaded sickness for three days, finally showed himself again in the council, in order to free this wicked man from punishment. He did not blush to demand that the whole matter should be committed to the Two Hundred."—As soon as Calvin learned the decision of the council, he assembled the clergy, and they with him unanimously petitioned to fix upon a milder form of punishment. Thus Calvin showed until the last, that he had no malicious or vindictive feeling towards Servetus. The good of the church, he erroneously judged, required the destruction of so impious a heretic; he therefore rejoiced in the decision, but desired the object to be accomplished in the way that would cause the least suffering to the victim. He had previously expressed the same opinion to Farel, who was then in favor of severe measures. After this petition, he again wrote to Farel: "We have attempted to mitigate the severity of the condemnation, but in vain; the reason I will give when I see you." The entire refusal of the council to comply with so reasonable and merciful a request, was probably occasioned by the difficulty, in the distracted state of the little republic, of coming to such a decision, and the desire to avoid the protracted discussions which would ensue, if a change was attempted.

On the twenty-sixth day of October the jailor opened the door of the prison and the beadle entered unexpectedly to Servetus, and read to him the decision of the council, that "he should, on the following morning, be burned alive until his whole body become ashes." He was at first as dumb, as if a thunder bolt from on high had fallen upon him. Then, after deep sighs which resounded through the whole room in which he was, followed by most terrible moanings and howlings, he cried aloud: "mercy, mercy." But he soon composed himself, and showed signs of a repentant spirit. It is not related in what manner he passed the night following. The twenty-seventh of October dawned brightly and cheerfully upon that so variously agitated little community. The snow-capped mountains around, contrasting so beautifully with the greenness which still lingered in the valley, neither assumed a darker hue or sent forth a more chilling blast in sympathy with the sad scene that was that day to be enacted, and the distant glaciers clothed themselves even in unwonted brilliancy. Farel, deputed by Calvin to accompany the unfortunate man to his place

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cus" and "Caesar tragicus," to designate his boldness, his love of power and his empty pretension. Mosheim, (*Gesch. Servet.* S. 192,) thinks that "tragicus" and "comicus" had special reference to his manner of speaking, at one time solemn and pompous, and at another sportive.

of execution, was present at seven o'clock and left an account of the occurrences of the day. The hearty old man was soon introduced into the prison, and, with all his roughness, surely a better companion for the last stage of his journey could not have been found by Servetus. Little asperities are easily passed over when a way is so soon and so abruptly to terminate, and a new course of existence so speedily to be entered upon.

Farel in his desire to lead the soul of the doomed man to true faith, began once more to confute his errors in respect to the Trinity, and then passed to an admonition to Christian affection. Servetus retained without change his previous explanation, and desired it to be proved from the Scriptures that Christ was called Son of God before his assumption of human nature. Farel argued with him, but he would not give up his delusion. "He had nothing to answer," it is said, "and yet he remained unyielding." This controversy continued a long time and as the hour of execution approached, Farel and some other of the clergy who were present, warned Servetus that if he would die like a Christian, he must become reconciled to Calvin whom he had treated in so hostile a manner. He assented, and Calvin was called in. When he appeared, attended by two of the Syndics, the prisoner received him quietly and with composure. The seriousness of his last hour aroused his conscience, checked his arrogance and subdued his anger. Calvin says: "When one of the councillors asked him what he desired of me, he said he wished to ask my forgiveness. I answered frankly and in accordance with the real truth, that I had never pursued any personal offence in him; with much mildness I reminded him, that sixteen years before I had used all my exertions even with apparent danger to my life, in order to enlist him on the side of our Lord; and it was not my fault that all the pious did not extend their fellowship to him, if he had only shown any discernment; that, although he took to flight, I still readily exchanged letters with him; that finally, no office of kindness was omitted on my part, until he, embittered by my free admonitions, had delivered himself up not so much to anger as to a real rage against me. But averting the conversation from myself, I besought him rather to direct his thoughts to the attainment of forgiveness from the eternal God whom he had terribly blasphemed, by striving to annihilate he three persons," etc.—Servetus made no reply, and the conclusion of the interview is given in the words of Calvin: "Since I by persuasions and warnings availed nothing, I wished not to be wise beyond the

direction of my master. I drew myself back from a man who sinned as a heretic, and in my heart I pronounced the judgment in Titus 3: 10, 11: 'A man that is an heretic, after the first and the second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.' After Calvin left, and some hours before his execution, Servetus smote upon his breast and invoked God with tears, calling upon Jesus Christ for pardon, and recognizing him as his Saviour. "The unfortunate man could not, however," says Farel, "be prevailed upon to confess that Christ is the Eternal Son of God, but only that he is the Son of God because of his miraculous conception."

The council was in session the whole morning, in order either to receive the retraction which they hoped Servetus would give, or to read to him the sentence that had been passed. He was brought before them, and the staff broken over him. When the sentence of the judge was read, he fell down at the feet of the magistrates and besought, that they would put an end to his life by the sword, in order that he might not through great pain be driven to desperation, and thus lose his own soul. If he had sinned he had done it unintentionally,—his desire had been to promote the glory of God. Farel interposing told him that he must in good faith confess his misdeeds, before he could hope for mercy. Servetus answered, that "he suffered unjustly and was led as a victim to slaughter, but he prayed to God, that he would be merciful to his persecutors." Farel felt so strongly that this was mere mockery in one who would act the part of martyr, that he could not silently endure it. He accordingly threatened Servetus if he continued in that strain, that he would leave him, and give him up to the judgment of God. Servetus was afterwards silent and no longer attempted to justify himself. This deeply affected the excitable Farel, and he now besought the council with tears to mitigate the severity of his punishment. But the council were so firmly convinced of his wickedness, that they remained immovable, and replied that the sentence could not be changed.

The hour for the execution having nearly arrived, Servetus might be seen with Farel and many others, descending with hesitating steps from the council-house, and proceeding towards the place of execution, on the Hill Champel, at a little distance from the city. Several times while on the way, he exclaimed, "O God, save my soul! Jesus, Son of the eternal God, have compassion upon me." But he could not be persuaded to call upon



the eternal Son of God. When they arrived in sight of the pile of oak-wood, which had been hastily prepared for the execution, Servetus threw himself upon the ground, and remained for some minutes in silent prayer. In the mean time Farel addressed the assembled multitude, saying: "You see what power Satan has when he takes possession of any one. This man is eminently learned, and perhaps supposed that he acted rightly, but he is now possessed by a devil, which may also happen to you."<sup>1</sup> Servetus then rose up, and Farel urged him to speak to the people. Deeply sobbing, he exclaimed, "O God, O God!" When asked by Farel if he had nothing else to say, he replied, "What else can I speak than of God." After saying to him that if he had any will to make, a notary was present, and inquiring if he had any messages to send to near friends, Farel again asked him if he would not request the people to implore God for him.<sup>1</sup> He finally was prevailed upon to make this request of those about him.<sup>2</sup> Farel then once more urged him to call upon the eternal Son of God, which he would not do; yet he did not again repeat his own belief, which Farel, in accordance with the spirit of the times, believed to be a special interposition of providence, whereby "Satan was hindered from uttering his blasphemies."

Whilst they were placing Servetus upon the pile, Farel admonished the people to pray for the unfortunate man, that the Lord would have mercy upon a creature lost and condemned, unless he was turned from his sad errors.—Unfortunately for Servetus, and as if to entirely thwart the wishes of Calvin and the other clergy, that he should die an easy death, the executioner of Geneva was less skilled in his terrible work, than those of many other places in that age. The pile was constructed of green oak wood covered with leaves, and Servetus was fastened upon it with the manuscript and a printed copy of his *Restitutio* tied to him. As soon as this had been done, the wretched man requested that his sufferings should be ended as speedily as possible. The fire was brought and soon enveloped its victim, who shrieked so piteously that the whole assembled multitude was exceedingly moved. And in consequence of the slow progress of the fire, persons from the crowd brought bundles of wood and threw

<sup>1</sup> See Mosheim *Gesch. des. M. Servet.* S. 449.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been urged by Farel, because Servetus had said, that the church at Geneva were without a God, and prayed to the devil.

them upon it. When the fire had well nigh accomplished its work, with a powerful voice the miserable man cried out : " Jesus thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me." Thus, by the form of this petition, as was supposed, proclaiming with his last breath, the dogma, which more than any other had been the means of his wretched end, this ill fated man passed to receive an unerring sentence before a higher tribunal.—Sad indeed is the whole scene from the first examination before the council, until the fire had gone out upon Champel. But we do not see, if there must have been such a trial, how in the circumstances, it could have been conducted more fairly and kindly, both on the part of Calvin and the council. It is true, an advocate was refused Servetus, but it does not appear that it was from any ill-will to him. The whole examination, we suppose, was considered rather as a discussion or arbitration. The object was first to find what Servetus' views were, and then to attempt by argument to induce him to retract. Surely there was little occasion for an advocate in such a process.

#### *Calvin's Defence of the Execution of Servetus.*

In consequence of the execution of Servetus, much hatred was exhibited towards Calvin and the council of Geneva. Pamphlets in prose and verse were issued against them. They were reproached with establishing a new inquisition. Even if Christ should come to Geneva, it was said, he would be crucified. There was a pope there, as well as in Rome. At the same time the clergy preached against Servetus, and in justification of the course pursued in his punishment. But others contended that heretics should be confined in prison, or banished, or be allowed to go entirely free. Calvin did not for a time show that he took any notice of this ebullition of hostile feeling. He considered his opponents to be, as they really were at the time, although right in principle, enemies of good order who were best answered by silence. He did not think it important, he said, " to refute calumnies invented to asperse him by factious, foolish or malicious men or drunkards." But this feeling of hostility spread so much, that Bullinger urged him to defend the position, that it was the duty of magistrates to punish heretics. The danger of disunion in the church, which Calvin had labored so much to prevent, finally influenced him to publish, in French, his *Work against Servetus*. He first endeavored to show that magistrates were

under obligation to punish with death not those who were simply errorists, but those who wickedly and obstinately persisted in heresy and blasphemy. Even Servetus with all his boasted love of freedom, as appears from his *Restitutio*, defended this same principle.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, Calvin showed, from his life, his relation to himself, his trials before the civil authorities of Vienne and Geneva and from his works, that Servetus was justly denominated an irreclaimable heretic and a blasphemer, and consequently deserving of the punishment which he had received. All the Genevan preachers, fifteen in number, signed this writing and it was published.

This work caused much dissatisfaction, even among some who were not favorers of Servetus. It was objected that it was too brief for the difficulty and obscurity of the subject, and Calvin himself says in a letter to Bullinger, that his efforts to make the subject clear in so short a space are not entirely satisfactory. Some also reproach him for making Servetus' character a subject of remark after his death. A passage in a letter to Bullinger shows that he was far from any feeling of hatred or ill will to Servetus in this matter. "But I count it fortunate, that I have you as a partaker with me in this sin, if indeed it be a sin, for you are the proper author and *instigator* of it." Answers appeared to this work from various quarters, and the Libertines made use of the excited state of feeling for attempting to crush the influence of their enemy, but their efforts, as is well known, were fruitless.

*The Voice of the Age in reference to the Execution of Servetus,  
and upon Toleration.*

It has already been mentioned that the Swiss churches virtually recommended the course pursued by the council of Geneva. They seem to have believed that Servetus was possessed by Satan; and they accordingly desired to free themselves from the reproach of participation in his errors. The clergy of Zurich in their letter, after enumerating some of the proofs of the "pestilential errors and insufferable blasphemies" of Servetus, say: "We therefore judge that you need to exercise great faith and diligence in opposing this man, especially as our churches are reported abroad as being heretical and as favoring heretics. Surely the holy providence of God has, in the present case, afforded you an opportu-

<sup>1</sup> Hoc crimen [i. e. obstinate wickedness and blasphemy] est morte simplici-  
ter dignum et apud deum et apud homines.

nity of freeing both yourselves and us from the vile suspicion of this crime, if you shall be vigilant, and promptly take care, that the contagion of his poisonous errors spread no further by his means." The letter from Schaffhausen is perhaps even more decided: "We doubt not," they say, "that you, in the exercise of your distinguished prudence, will suppress his attempts, in order that his blasphemies may not, like a cancer, feed upon the members of Christ. For what else is it, to oppose his ravings by long arguments, than to be insane with one who is insane."<sup>1</sup> But neither the opposition of the churches to him, nor that of the clergy and council of Geneva, was founded merely on his defence of dogmas, which they considered heretical. Laelius Socinus at Zurich was suffered to defend nearly the same dogma which was made most prominent in Servetus' trial, without molestation. If Servetus had only attacked the doctrine of the Trinity by arguments, he would have been answered by arguments; and without danger of persecution by the Protestants, he might have gone on defending it, until called to answer for his belief by him whose character he had impugned. Argument was not that which Calvin and his contemporaries opposed by the civil tribunal. It was insult and ribaldry, and that too, against the Most High, whose character they would defend in the midst of a perverse and rebellious generation. It cannot be denied that Servetus had done all in his power to provoke the feeling of the Christian church. It has been well said that "if ever a poor fanatic thrust himself into the fire, it was Michael Servetus."<sup>2</sup>

It has also been stated that the civil law, which had been in operation at Geneva from the time of the emperor Frederic II, required the punishment of heretics. This law, it should also be mentioned, was not repealed until long after the time of Calvin. The spirit of the Catholic church at this time is too well known to need any comment. Their whole course is stained with innocent blood. The year of Servetus' death is signalized by the triumph of a great number of martyrs in France. In May of that year, five students, who had gone from Geneva to proclaim the truth in different places in France, were burned. The condemnation of Servetus at Vienne was delayed by the Catholics, only by the want of proof that he was really the author of the work im-

<sup>1</sup> See the letters from which these extracts are made, as well as those from the other churches, in Calvin, *Opp. Omn. ed. Amst.*, Tom. IX. *Epistolae*, p. 73 sq.

<sup>2</sup> S. T. Coleridge, quoted in the *Bib. Repertory*, Vol. VIII. p. 94.

puted to him. This fact was known by the Protestants at Geneva, and yet months passed before they could decide upon his fate. How different the spirit manifested by the two parties, even where the Catholics had interest in showing unusual lenity!

But it is not necessary to go to the Catholic church to find parallels to the execution at Geneva. Scarcely three years had passed since the death fires had been kindled at Smithfield, in England, and the good bishop Cranmer had solicited Edward VI. to sign the death warrant of Joan of Kent and of George Van Pare. Let any unprejudiced person examine the conduct of Cranmer and his associates and that of Calvin, and say if he can, that one tithe of the cruelty and bigotry is exhibited by Calvin, that appears in the conduct of his neighbors across the channel. Observe, for a moment, Cranmer in company with the young king, who finally yields to the bishop's "arguments and eloquence," and with tears in his eyes says, that if he does wrong, the bishop must answer for it to God, as he signs the warrant for the burning of Joan of Kent only "in submission to his authority;" and then turn your attention to Calvin, as seen after the decision of the council, pleading before that body for a mitigation of its severe sentence. And yet the one case is scarcely known, whilst the other is in the mouth of every opponent of a system of doctrines, which is frequently as little understood as the private character of their author. The Lutheran church, too, cannot wash its hands in innocence in respect of this matter.<sup>1</sup>

But our present object is rather to adduce the opinion of the other leaders in the Reformation, in reference to the punishment of Servetus. Zuingli, the year before his death, 1630, and consequently long before Servetus' character and dogmas were fully developed, in a conversation with Oecolampadius, said: "This is intolerable in the church of God; therefore strive in whatever way you can, not to allow his horrible blasphemies to spread abroad to the detriment of Christianity."<sup>2</sup> Reference has already been made to the opinion of Oecolampadius and Bucer.

Bullinger admonished Calvin in a most decided manner, to use his influence for the punishment of Servetus as a heretic. "The Lord," he says, "has delivered this Spaniard into the hands of your Senate. If then the council shall decree to this miscreant and blasphemer the punishment which he deserves, the whole

<sup>1</sup> See an account of the execution of Nicholas Crell and Peter Günther, Henry III. 223 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Mosheim *Gesch. des M. Serveto*, p. 17 note.

world will see, that the Genevans hate blasphemers, that they pursue those heretics who persist in their obstinacy with the sword of righteousness, and avenge the honor of the Divine majesty." Again he says: "My mind is filled with horror when I recollect his heresy and his blasphemies, and I am persuaded that if Satan should come from hell and preach to the world according to his inclination, he would use many of the phrases of the Spaniard Servetus." In a letter written somewhat later to Calvin, Bullinger defends the principle that heretics must not only be restrained and imprisoned, but be put out of the way of injuring others, and expresses the thanks of his church for Calvin's work upon the subject, and adds: "I see not how it was possible to have spared Servetus, the most obstinate of men and the very hydra of heresy." Farel's exhortations to Calvin in favor of severe measures, have been repeatedly noticed, and the feeling of Viret and Beza, it is hardly necessary to say, was entirely in accordance with that of Calvin.<sup>1</sup>

Three years after the execution, Peter Martyr gives the following judgment in reference to Servetus: "I have nothing else to say of him, than that he was a genuine child of the devil, whose pestilential and horrible doctrine must everywhere be put down; and the magistrates who condemned him to death, are not to be blamed, since no indications of amendment could be seen in him, and his blasphemies were in no manner to be endured."

But there is one other opinion upon this case, which is still more to the point, and may be taken as an exponent of the feeling of the German reformers; that of the good and gentle Melancthon, then so far advanced in age and experience, as to exclude all danger of hasty judgment. "Most honored man and very dear brother," he writes to Calvin, "I have read your work in which you well oppose the horrible blasphemies of Servetus, and I thank the Son of God, who has been an arbiter and guide of your struggle. To you the church of Christ is now, and will be in all future time, under obligation. I am entirely of your opinion, and I also affirm that your magistrates have acted rightly, in putting this blasphemer to death, after having gone through the trial according to law." In a letter to Bullinger, after commending the piety and judgment exhibited in his writings against Servetus, and expressing his own decided convictions in favor of

<sup>1</sup> See Henry, III. 215 sq.; Beza, *Calvini Vita*; and *Epistola et Responsa*, Calvini Opp. Omn. Tom. IX. ed Amst.

the Genevan council, he adds: "I have been surprised that there are men who blame this severity."<sup>2</sup>

We have given but a small part of the testimony which might be adduced to show that the course of Calvin and the council of Geneva was approved by the leading men of the time, but it is deemed unnecessary to dwell longer upon a topic, which is far from being a pleasant one. It is exceedingly to be regretted that this remnant of popery had not been cast off with many of its other errors, but it is not strange that the accumulated contaminations of the dark ages were not all purged away at once.

*Degree of Calvin's Criminality in respect of his treatment of Servetus.*

We have endeavored to give an impartial sketch of the Life of Servetus and Calvin's relation to him, as far as the limits which we have assigned to ourselves would permit. A recapitulation of some of the principal points of the discussion, with special regard to the conduct of Calvin, may not be inappropriate before we close. The character of Servetus is not without interest. It is cheerfully conceded, that he was possessed of superior powers of mind, a versatility which falls to the lot of but few of the children of men, and varied acquirements. But he was restless and unstable, obstinate under restraint, ambitious of distinction, and not sufficiently conscientious in reference to the means of accomplishing his purposes. He seems to have been desirous of signalizing himself as a reformer, and was impatient to find his course entirely hedged up by another. Becoming more violent and contumacious by opposition, he impugned with ribaldry those doctrines which were held sacred by the church. He was finally arrested at Vienne by the Catholics, without the knowledge or connivance of Calvin. But in order to enable a friend to defend his character for integrity, which was brought into jeopardy, in defence of the persecuted Protestants in France, Calvin, by presenting leaves of his Institutes, which had been sent to him with blasphemous and insulting notes upon the margin, and by giving up letters which had been forced upon him contrary to his will, furnished proof that Servetus was the author of a vile book which had been secretly issued. After the clandestine escape of Servetus from Vienne, and after he had been condemned and burned in effigy there, he was arrested at Geneva, at the acknowledged

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<sup>2</sup> See Henry, Calvini Opp. Omn., etc., as quoted above.

suggestion of Calvin, and every means was used to convince him of his errors. Although he often attacked Calvin during his trial with the most abusive language, he received from him kind and Christian treatment. Calvin always showed himself free from personal animosity, or desire of personal revenge, and sought only the advancement of the cause of truth. He says in his Defence of the treatment of Servetus: "I wish his errors were buried. But while I hear that they are spreading, I cannot be silent without incurring the guilt of perfidy.—Those things which were done by the Senate, are by many ascribed to me. Nor do I at all dissemble that by my influence and advice, he was by the civil power, committed to prison. For having received the freedom of this city I was bound to impeach him, if guilty of any crime. I confess that I prosecuted the case thus far. From the time that the articles were proved against him, I never uttered a word concerning his punishment. To this fact all good men will bear me witness, and I challenge the wicked to produce whatever they know."<sup>1</sup> These declarations of Calvin himself, made and published at Geneva, and to the world, very soon after the trial, are substantiated by the minute accounts which remain, of all the proceedings against the prisoner. It is believed that not a single well authenticated fact can be adduced, which is inconsistent with the sincere and earnest desire of Calvin for the retraction and repentance of Servetus; but on the contrary, all proper exertions were made by him for this end. At the request of the prisoner, the case was submitted to the Swiss churches, who were unanimous in recommending the suppression of his heresies in some way or other. The execution took place after the repeated solicitation of Calvin for a milder form of punishment, and the conduct of the council in condemning and executing Servetus, was approved by all the leading men among the reformers. Similar punishment was inflicted upon heretics in Germany, England and in other countries where the tenets of the Reformation prevailed.

What then is the decision to which we come in reference to the guilt or innocence of Calvin? It is deemed entirely unnecessary even to mention numerous slanders which have been repeated against him in reference to this matter. The facts in the case are a sufficient confutation of them. Why should Calvin be singled out, as he has often been, as the only person in all

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Waterman's *Life of Calvin*, p. 93.



antiquity who was in favor of intolerance? Why is the case of Servetus alone mentioned, whilst many others, who were at least no worse than he, suffered the same punishment, without anything like so equitable a trial. It certainly cannot be because there was any peculiar atrocity in this case. Mr. Waterman challenges an opponent<sup>1</sup> of Calvin "to name, not merely in the annals of persecution, but even in the records of criminal justice, an instance of more moderation and liberality, than was exercised by the magistrates of Geneva in the trial of Servetus. Let this learned historian," he continues, "lay his finger on the page of the history of any man, who has been burnt for his religious opinions or writings, that was not a victim to more cruel tyranny and treated with less moderation than that Spaniard." It cannot be denied that the prominence of the actors has contributed to the notoriety of this case. But that the hatred of some of the doctrines of Calvin, has had much more influence seems equally indisputable.<sup>2</sup> Errorists of different grades, have for a long time been accustomed, when all other arguments fail, to come back upon this, "Calvin burned Servetus." Even the Catholics have shielded themselves, when reproached for want of tolerance, under this poor defence, "Calvin burned Servetus;" as if this one death-fire at Geneva, outshone the myriads that were kindled by their hands throughout Christendom, and this one victim overshadowed the hecatombs of their offerings, the smoke of whose burnings, has gone up as a loathing and an abomination before the Most High God.

The testimony of such men as Francis Turretin and Bishop Hall, who entirely approved of the course pursued in the punishment of Servetus might be quoted, but we will conclude our discussion, already perhaps too much protracted, after quoting the opinion of Dr. Thomas M' Crie, who had thoroughly examined the subject, and had commenced writing a life of Calvin before his death. "I have no doubt," he says, "that, according to the laws in force at Geneva, as well as elsewhere, the punishment of Servetus, on his being found guilty, was a matter of course; nor do I think it can be proved that Calvin did anything in that affair but what he was bound to do, agreeably to those laws, and his own views of Scripture and civil jurisprudence. My objections are

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Roscoe, whose unjust attack upon Calvin, in a note to his *Life and Pontificate of Leo X*, Mr. Waterman has very warmly and triumphantly repelled in his *Life of Calvin*, pp. 106—120.

<sup>2</sup> See Waterman, p. 127 sq.

to the law itself, which authorizes the capital punishment of heretics.— Had the law been against blasphemy, or heresy assuming that form, much might be said in favor of punishing those who rail at or revile the Being whom the State adored, and certainly Servetus was chargeable with this high offence.—Considering the nature of the heretic's conduct, the odium which Geneva had contracted as a receptacle of heretics, and the outcry which had been made against Calvin as an anti-trinitarian, I would have justified the council of Geneva for punishing Servetus, or detaining him in prison. But besides the horror that I feel at blood or fire in anything immediately connected with religion, I am afraid of any principle which leads either to persecution, or to a confounding of the objects of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”<sup>1</sup>

Is it right, we ask, to try a man belonging to the sixteenth century by a jury belonging to the nineteenth? Nothing is plainer than that in order to judge intelligently of a person's conduct, we must know the influences which act upon him and the motives by which he is urged to action. It cannot be denied that the measure of Calvin's guilt is that of all the best men of the age. If he deserves the reprobation which he has often received, not one of the early reformers can escape it. We should not forget, in making up our decision upon this case, that Roger Williams had not then lived, and that the great secret of toleration which was first discovered on our own shores, was then shrouded in darkness. Who is sure that if he had lived at the same time, and in the same circumstances, he should have conducted, with as great moderation as Calvin. Who will cast the first stone? If any, let him look well to himself and inquire what manner of spirit he is of. For intolerance in judging those, whose motives we cannot fully appreciate, is allied in its nature to persecution for heretical opinions. Fortunate are we in living at an age when we are not exposed to the temptations which assailed the pioneers of the reformation. We ought ever to rejoice that a more excellent way is discovered, for the treatment of those who differ from the established maxims of the community in religious belief. Where arguments are of no avail, neglect is a far better antidote for heresy than the civil tribunal; and the insane retreat is often a good substitute for the criminal prison, and kind treatment, for the gibbet or the flames.

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Thomas M'Crie, D. D., by his son, Edinburgh, 1840, pp. 381, 2.

## ARTICLE V.

## THE YOUTH OF THE SCHOLAR.

By Rev. Noah Porter, Jr., Springfield, Mass.

THE theme on which it is proposed to present some free observations, is the youth of the scholar, or the early training which is best fitted to form the useful and accomplished scholar.

I shall enter into no direct argument to prove, that a genuine scholar holds a most important position in human society, and that the higher and more perfect is his scholarship, the greater and the more salutary is his influence. These two points I shall consider as conceded; though my remarks may tend still farther to vindicate their truth. Still less, shall I argue, that if scholars are to be had, they must be educated. How this may be done at the college or the university, it is not my business to inquire. The inquiry is most important, and much may be said upon it; but it is not a question with which I have any concern at present. My concern is with the scholar in his youth, before he enters the college; and the questions which I would discuss all relate to the *early* training of one set apart to a finished and genuine scholarship.

But what is genuine scholarship? What is it to be a scholar? Opinions upon this point are very diverse. Often are they indefinite and confused; often they are little better than strong and bitter prejudices. I seem forced therefore to define my own views, in order to save myself from being misunderstood; certainly I am, if I would be rightly understood.

The scholar is more than a man of great natural genius or native force of mind. He may be a man of genius. It is desirable that he should be. His native force may, and must be respectable, and it is well that it should be commanding. But this of itself does not make him a scholar. One may accomplish much by this native force, that educates itself upwards and onwards; but he would have done far more, had he strengthened and sharpened and regulated this natural power by the discipline of the schools.

He is also more than a man, whose powers have been called forth by the stern discipline of life. The discipline of life is not

to be despised or overlooked. Its large observation, its close and shrewd insight into men, its contact with stern realities that put all a man's mettle to the proof, and often call out giant energies whence they were least expected; all these give an education, such as the schools can never furnish, and without which, the teachings of the schools are often well nigh in vain. But important and essential as this discipline is, it is not the discipline of the schools, and cannot supply its place.

The true scholar is also more than one who is thoroughly qualified for a particular profession. A man may know enough to be useful and successful in one of the liberal professions, without a scholar's accomplishments and a scholar's power. He may be learned even, in his department, certainly he may be skilful and shrewd, and yet lack the method, the dignity, the force, and the nameless graces that are peculiarly scholarlike.

He is even more than a universal reader; more even than one acquainted with a vast variety of facts upon subjects in literature and science. A man may know the principles and facts in Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Zoology, Botany and all the sections of Natural History. He may speak "of trees, from the cedar of Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." He may know all that Chinese Chronologists would pass off for facts centuries before the world had any facts to record; and all that lying Zodiacs utter from Egyptian monuments. He may be decent in mathematics, and read in a certain way ten or twenty or fifty languages, and yet possess but little of a scholar's power, and possess but small claims to a scholar's name. In short he may be as great a wonder for a man, as the learned pig is for his species, and be almost as far as that very learned animal from being a true scholar. The reason is that he might be all that has been described, and yet lack most of that which makes scholarship of priceless value, and which gives it its peculiar advantage. These are the scholar's method, that arranges all knowledge by its principles; his insight, that looks through a subject at a glance; his power, that scatters the arts of the sophist by a keen and fearless eye; his resources, by which he marshals the splendor and the force, the majesty and the might, that there is in human language, and gathering up all that he needs of illustration from the wide field of varied attainments, and condensing all into one resistless and eloquent argument, brings it to bear upon its point with the skill and energy of Napoleon or of Napoleon's great conqueror; and last of all *his self-re-*

*spect* that after achieving a triumph more memorable than that of Austerlitz or Waterloo, leaves the field that he has won, with the modest and simple bearing that the man of highest culture cannot but assume.

These peculiarities are the fruits of culture. They are the results of the discipline of the schools, and of that generous and life-long pursuit of literature, for which the schools are but the beginning. They are the matured and purple clusters, which hang from a vine of generous kind, that has been reared under the choicest cultivation.

The scholar then is one who, to the greater or inferior advantages of genius, of discipline in life, and of professional skill, adds the discipline and knowledge that is gained by a training in the schools, and a close and long continued contact with books.

I hardly need add, that the scholar is not necessarily a pedant, but that the more scholarlike are his feelings and his taste, the less of a pedant is he. Nor is he a recluse who cherishes a proud disdain of man's ordinary doings and interests, or gives but a cold sympathy to his ardent enterprises. He is and must be a man of solitary studies, but these studies are mainly interesting, as they cast light on the present and give him power to connect himself with it, and guide it to a more glorious future. It is by more than a figure that letters are called the *humanities*, from their humanizing tendencies, and their generous and elevating influence.

Nor is the scholar of necessity ignorant of men. He may be ignorant of the doublings of craft and the narrow and fox-eyed policy of selfish cunning. For such skill, his studies may give him deficiency both in taste and capacity; but it cannot be that the knowledge of man through books, renders a man unable to read living men, if he will but study them.

Least of all does eminent and thorough scholarship unfit for practical usefulness. The history of the world will show, that in all trying exigencies, in those sublime crises on which has turned the destiny of ages, it is men who have been trained as scholars, who have given forth the oracles of profoundest wisdom, who have laid the wisest and most practicable plans, and have carried them through, by their skill and eloquence, by their faith and martyr-like devotion.

A product so rare and precious as the one I have described, the scholar as he ought to be, is from its very nature, the result of training. But youth is preëminently the season for educa-

tion of every kind, and of necessity the season for the education of the scholar. For some of the elements of a scholar's education, youth, *early youth*, is the peculiar and the only season. To establish this point I shall not linger, but trust that it will become apparent as I proceed to describe under several particulars, what the youth of the scholar should be.

The youth of the scholar should be early and largely employed in the study of language. Language is thought made visible and tangible. It is through language that it is seen and felt, in a great measure by the thinker to himself; entirely so from him to others. Language is to thought as the body is to the spirit, not only giving it shape and outward being; but contributing most effectually to its development and growth, or hanging upon it as a heavy and clogging incumbrance. The study of language is the study of thought. The close analysis of a sentence in one's own or a foreign language, is to retrace step by step, the successive footmarks of the mind that constructed it. To be familiar with the writings of Plato and Demosthenes, of Milton and Burke, is to be familiar with the men themselves. As we do justice to their felicity of expression, to the power of their words, to the force and grace of their wondrous creations, so do we call into being the mind that shaped the structure, and the heart that breathed into it its fire.

The office of language is twofold. It aids in the discovery of truth. It makes truth known, when discovered. Or in other words, by language we express our thoughts to ourselves, and by language we express them to others.

It is by language, that we express our thoughts to ourselves. It is not uncommon for children to say "I know the thing but cannot tell it. I have the thought, but cannot utter it." We have now and then known grown-up children to say as much. But nothing is more false. No one, be he child or man, knows a thing in the sense of the scholar, until he can speak it. If he cannot say what he thinks, he has not fully mastered it. He may be conscious that he can find the thing, but he has not found it yet. If it be a subtle distinction, which he is certain should be drawn, there is a word for the distinction; but he has not made it till he has reached that word. Is it a grand conception or a glowing idea? He has not reached it till he has formed the body and enshrined therein the spirit. Is it a cogent and resistless argument? He has not framed it, till he has found the words, and made the propositions, and linked the whole into an iron chain of resistless logic.

If this is true for one's own mind, how much more is it for the mind of another! If it be necessary for himself, that a man should put his thoughts into words, and thus bring himself out in visible shape before his own eyes; certainly must he do this, if he would influence others.

How wondrous is the power of words. There have been instances like this. A people that have long been groaning under the oppressions of Church or State, are beginning to feel their strength, and to sigh and half hope for deliverance. The wrong upon wrong which they have suffered, has waked a low murmur, that is now a half-stifled voice crying out all over the face of the land. In the noisy capital it mingles with the din of business, is muttered in the closed dwelling, and fiercely rages in the dark and under-ground gathering. The remotest hamlet hears it, and responds to it with a quiet but decided answer. The cottage that is perched high on an Alpine precipice, or that is shaken by the stroke of the thundering cataract, this too has heard it. But this murmur is waiting for a voice. It expects with fear, yet with impatience, to hear its own utterances spoken clearly forth and ring out as through the trumpet's brazen throat. It calls for the power of expression to give it embodiment. It finds it. An obscure writer is penning a slight pamphlet. He traces sentence after sentence upon the sheets that swiftly fly from his hand, till it is done. The press scatters it as does autumn the falling leaves; secretly in mockery of the closest espionage, or openly in provoking defiance of *gens d'armes* and policemen. What is in this pamphlet? A few words of power, that simply declare the thoughts that every man has been thinking, but which till now, no one has fitly spoken; arguments concerning the rights of the citizen or Christian, which every one has felt, were convincing, but which no one has shown to be true; appeals glowing and fiery, which seem to gather and concentrate the fire that has been burning in ten thousand hearts, into one burning tongue of flame. What is the power of this pamphlet? The people are electrified, they rise, they are free!

Or the living speaker faces an assembled multitude. Their "upturned faces" inspire him with an energy well nigh superhuman, as he clothes with becoming words the thought that lives in every man's bosom, or gives back to each and every one his own glowing emotions in words that burn. They start from their seats, they stand upon their feet. If it is in a season of strong but misguided religious enthusiasm, they will march to the

rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hand of the Infidel. If a period of frenzied rage for liberty, they cry "à bas les nobles," "à la lanterne;" if of purer love of country, "let us march against Philip." Or which is best of all, the conscience wakes into life, responds to the voice that utters its own fears, the spirit is aroused to its nobler self, speaking from the mouth of God's ambassador; the man is redeemed, the soul is reconciled to itself and to its God.

We need not select uncommon instances, that occur but rarely on so grand a scale, to realize the influence of words that speak to the purpose and with power. Instances of this influence, meet us at every turn. They are the most familiar events of life. Thus are decided the greatest and the least events in man's destiny.

This twofold power over language, it is the duty and glory of the scholar to attain. It is for him to use it with the highest effects in discovering and communicating truth. He must be the master of his own thoughts and through them, of the thoughts of others. He should rise from the point at which he feels unable to say anything that he knows, to the other, at which he knows nothing which he cannot utter in words appropriate and in words of power.

How shall he study language, so as to gain this power? The experience of centuries, of all the centuries in which modern scholars have been trained, answers, that the study of the classics, is the most perfect training in the study of language. A thorough and generous discipline in the ancient languages, and the literature which they embody, gives the scholar the highest power over language and the minds of men. This question thus settled, we do not propose to argue over again. Experiment has answered under every variety of its tests, that there is no sufficient substitute. The most confident and contemptuous efforts to find and employ one, have resulted in mortifying failures.

But while we do not give the reasons for this at length, one consideration we take leave to offer. The student of Latin or Greek, does by the very act most directly and thoroughly study his mother tongue. The very process of analysis and translation, is the bringing out in English all that corresponds to it in the Latin or Greek. If the usages and laws are the same in the English as in the Greek, the Greek is explained by calling up the English usage; if they are not the same but similar, the nearest English usage is referred to. But that which is used in explanation, must of itself be understood. The scholar not only



has occasion to understand it, but he *must* understand it. He not only finds it convenient, but he cannot avoid it.

If from the usages and principles of Greek or Latin, we go on to acquaint ourselves with the beauty or power of the language as used by its great writers, we are at once put upon comparing the secret of its beauty or its strength, with anything corresponding to it in English writers. If we find it, it is well. If we do not find it, we gain the habit of observing closely, of seeing nicely, and of feeling warmly, and we carry it, how can we help it, into all our reading of English. Demosthenes prepares us to appreciate Burke and Webster. Sophocles and Homer to admire Milton and Scott.

But we are told that Demosthenes studied his native language by studying Greek directly, that he copied Thucydides nine times over. Franklin, too, studied English in Addison, first writing off his thoughts into his own rude English, and then comparing the result with the polished English of the Essayist; and we are asked, why not take their method so direct and simple as it is; why go the round about way and not aim immediately at the result? To this we reply, that if Demosthenes had had a Thucydides in a language as noble as the Greek, from which to copy and recopy, the advantage to him would have been vastly greater even than it was; and if our would-be orators would do the same with Demosthenes, turning him backwards and forwards from Greek to English for nine successive times, their profiting would greatly appear. This is done now and then in these days. This was oftener done in the days of Roman education, as appears from the direction :

Vos exemplaria Græca  
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, it is exceedingly difficult for a man to study his mother tongue at all, except as he measures it by another. A man can hardly see himself without having a mirror, in which to be reflected. It is rare that one can lift himself over a fence, by pulling at his own boot-straps. So of language. The scholar cannot take in pieces his own mother tongue, as he can one foreign to himself; certainly he cannot do it, till he has learned how, by building up one language at least from the bottom. His own tongue is a part of himself. It is a part of all the thoughts that he has ever thought, from the tiny notions of infancy up to the

<sup>1</sup> See also Cicero De Oratore 1. § 34.

sublime conceptions of enlightened manhood. It has entered into the substance of every feeling that has fired his heart. It cleaves to himself as the bark of certain shrubs, that seems a part of the very wood. You cannot analyze it, any more than you can criticise your own mother. The ancient languages are highly artistic. Their structure is as nicely jointed as the most polished machinery, not a joint of which can be seen; but as you unloose a screw, it falls in pieces. Or like a pure crystal with its lamina arranged by a given law; its seams cannot be traced, and yet the whole may be made to fall asunder like the quarters of an orange. The noblest works of the Latin and Greek writers were written by men, whose intellects were *clear* as well as *deep*, and who brought out their conceptions even when most profound, as Lake George reveals the crystal depths of its lowest bottom. Their taste was so severe that their sentences are like chiseled statues, well defined and sharp in their outline, and yet enveloped in the mysterious haze of spiritual beauty. Then their world of thought was most diverse from our own. Of course language was applied to different uses, on themes new and strange, and with a genius far other than that which animates modern writers. This makes the language more conspicuous, turns the attention of the student more strongly upon it, and makes him a more thorough master of its laws and resources. On this ground alone, for their use in the study of English, the classics must be studied by every man, who would get a scholar's mastery over his own tongue. The other reasons for their study, we shall not stay to give.

But if the classics are to be studied, how shall they best be mastered? How shall the golden hours of youth, lay the heaviest burden of gratitude on the later years for being most faithfully employed? How shall the peculiar adaptation of the earliest years of life, for the acquisition of language, be turned to its best account before these years are forever gone?

We propose the following plan, with some hesitation, as it is novel, and novelty is in our view no recommendation to anything; and with more, as it is a theory, and we are well aware, that in education the theory is far easier than its realization. The principles which the plan involves, however, we are sure are true and important.

At the age when the young student is to be earnestly put to the business of study, say from nine to twelve, let the German language be thoroughly mastered by the oral system so success-

fully drawn out by Ollendorff.<sup>1</sup> At least let it be taught so thoroughly, that the scholar can speak and write the simpler sentences, and be familiar with all the peculiarities of its construction. We select a modern language, because it is more akin to the vernacular of the child, and because it has names for all the thoughts and things, which are already familiar,—and the German in preference to the French or Italian, because its structure is so artistic, and the laws of its grammar and construction are so rigid and uniform. Indeed, as far as structure is concerned, it is ideally perfect. With proper attention and no excessive labor, this language may be learned at an early age. Childhood and early youth, is the period set apart by nature for remembering words and phrases. The infant before the age of four or five, has mastered with ease and delight a language far more complicated, and it is no uncommon thing for it, under favoring circumstances, to learn two, as unlike as the German and English.

This work being accomplished, two great objects have been gained; first, the acquisition of language has been commenced by the verbal memory, under circumstances not repulsive; for the language is applied to the sports and the occupations of childhood. The other is that you have taught or rather broken in the pupil to the analysis of language, and have given him the notion of grammatical structure. The process of breaking in to the grammar of the Latin or the Greek, is most terrific to the majority of youthful scholars. They are furnished with a grammar and confined to its principles, with the promise that by and by they will understand their application. What they are studying for they know not, except that it is to learn Latin; and they often wish that Latin and the tower of Babel, were both at the bottom of the ocean. The reason is, they know not that language has a structure, any more than a healthy child knows that he has lungs or a stomach. They may have studied English grammar, and have been broken to the exercise of parsing; but parsing a lan-

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<sup>1</sup> "Ollendorff's New Method of learning German, etc." Of this work there are four editions, as follows: London, Whittaker & Co., 2 vols. 8vo.; Frankfurt, Charles Jugel, 2 vols. 12mo.; London, Hyppolyte Bailliere, 1 vol. 12mo.; New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1 vol. 12mo. The last is to be preferred.

"Ollendorff's New Method of learning French, etc." We have seen two editions only of this work; London, Whittaker & Co., 1 vol. 8vo.; Frankfurt, Charles Jugel, 1 vol. 12mo. It is to be regretted that, owing to some claim of priority in respect to the application of the oral method by the publishers of Manesca's System of Teaching French, we are not likely very soon to see an American edition of Ollendorff's French Grammar.

guage already known, gives but a superficial insight into the structure of a language to be learned. Their Latin grammar may be relieved by exercises, but they cannot receive the idea that it was ever a language of living men.

These two objects being attained, the way is open for the natural and rapid acquisition of Latin and Greek. The memory has been accustomed to hold the words and phrases of another tongue, and the idea of what it is, to know and to use the principles of a language, has been fairly introduced into the mind.

Let the scholar now be introduced to the Latin or Greek. We would begin with the oral method; not so much to teach him words, or to enable him to converse in good Latin, as by constant repetition, to grind into his mind the paradigms and the syntax. This will lead him, if he would express an idea in Latin, to do it in the Latin idiom, and never to know any other than the Latin way. As he reads authors who wrote pure Latin, and he should never read any other, as he first makes himself master of the historians, and goes from them forward, with that perpetual review, so admirably described by Wyttenbach, and connects therewith frequent composition, in exercises carefully adjusted to his power to perform them with ease; the formidable heights, as he approaches, will be surmounted by easy gradations, and he shall wonder, as he stands upon the summit, at his own progress upward. The laws of structure in the Latin and Greek, will not be invested with that barbarous and scholastic terminology which so confounds our best grammars; but be seen as the natural method of construction, just as the Romans or Greeks build their houses after a different style from the moderns.

The advantages growing out of such a method are, not that it saves hard study, but that it prepares the way for hard study that shall be effective. It does not dispense with hard blows, that shall make the muscles strong, but it dispenses with misdirected blows, which strike in the wrong place, and sometimes upon the striker's own fingers. It would relieve many an honest and industrious student from the painful feeling, that he labors for nought and that his labor will never end by making him the master of the language. It would send our students to college, something more than lucky blunderers in Latin, and unlucky blunderers in Greek, to come out of college unlucky ones in both. It would raise the style of instruction at the university, and give it the literary and moral interest that should be attached to the study of the classics there. It would elevate the teacher above

the mere drill-master which he altogether refuses to become, or submits to be, with an impatient grace. Last and not least, it would give those mighty minds of Greek and Roman name, that influence over our professional men and our literature, which they ought to exert, purifying the taste, enlarging the knowledge, refining the manners, and adding weapons of ethereal temper to the armory.

It is pitiful to think of the attainments of our best scholars, compared with what they might be, and compared with what an English or a German boy even counts but the ordinary furniture of a common establishment.<sup>1</sup>

The Mathematics next prefer their claims to our attention. No one who has a right to judge will doubt in the least, that these are to enter largely into the training of the youthful mind. The discipline which they give is peculiar. It acts directly on the framework of the mind. If the languages give strength and grace to the muscles, the mathematics harden the bones. If the gymnastics of the one give the man a graceful air, a quick movement and dexterous strength for ordinary occasions, those of the latter spread out the frame and knit the joints, and prepare for the desperate encounter with other minds. Nothing can supply the place of a thorough drill in all sorts of mathematics, to bring out and

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<sup>1</sup> Since this manuscript was forwarded to the press, the writer has been gratified to find the views here advanced, expressed in an article "On Teaching the Languages" in the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 69, April 1845. The attention of teachers is invited to the suggestions therein contained. The writer contends that the oral or natural method should be followed in teaching every language, especially in the beginning. Its elements are four: "1. There is a direct appeal to the ear, the natural organ by which the language is acquired. 2. This appeal is made in circumstances where there is a direct relation, *ipso facto*, established between the sound and the thing signified. The sound makes directly for the thing like an electric flash, or it rests upon it like a graceful mantle. 3. The same living appeal to the ear is continuously and for a considerable length of time repeated. 4. The appeal is made under circumstances which cannot fail strongly to excite the attention and to engage the sympathies of the hearer." He afterwards gives a particular statement of his plan of teaching Greek and Latin under eighteen specifications, which is worthy the attention of all interested in the subject of teaching.

It is to be hoped, that Greek and Latin will not long be taught in this country, without large and long continued occupation in *constructing* from the very beginning; and that to write and speak both these languages may be esteemed as within the reach of the youthful scholar. The publication of such books in England as "Arnold's Series," and in this country of "Weld's Latin Lessons," and "Kreb's Guide for writing Latin," is a token for good.

fix these grand and commanding intellectual characteristics. Without it, eloquence is declamation, or if it have propriety in its appeals, it lacks condensation and method;—reasoning is repetitious and confused, debate is wordy, indiscriminating and pointless, and the whole course of mental effort is superficial and short-breathed, for the lack of capacity to take and hold the long breaths of patient thought.

But where is the place for mathematics in the early training of the scholar? When should they begin, and how large a place should they occupy, before he enters the college? We answer, they should be prosecuted so far as to give him a thorough idea of the method of their study. The student should be thoroughly broken into this branch of study, so that he knows what to do, and how to proceed, and this should suffice. Youth is peculiarly the period for acquisition; reflection has not yet come on. The memory with its quick and ready reasoning, that turns upon language, is then in its season. Bye and bye comes reflection, with her grave and introverted looks; and acuteness with her sharp finger and sparkling eye; and reasoning, with her hard and angular features, and her step so square and positive, asserts her right to be the presiding spirit. It is well that her day does not come too soon, to divert the easy method of the verbal memory, which with tiny tendrils lays hold of the slenderest objects, and to dry up the warm flowing of the ardent affections; themselves so important to all recollection. But by all means *let her not come too late*, to infuse the woody fibre into rank and juicy growth, and to strengthen all its parts by the wiry filaments that she will send along its tiniest branchlets. If she begins not early, she will not begin at all, and the frame beautifully rounded, and to the eye finely developed, shall be useless for all the working purposes, for which every mind should be educated.

The next inquiry relates to the study of facts; to the treasuring of the remembrances of events, of names and of dates. Every scholar is sensible of the convenience of a memory of this kind. Many there are, who deplore their own deficiency in this regard. They can remember principles but not names and dates and events. They can call up laws and facts that are grouped around them, and things on which their own ardent interest has been fastened, but they desire that easy and natural memory, which, like the mysterious chemistry of the daguerreotype, fastens every picture that the sunlight paints upon it. This species of memory is in its bloom and freshness in childhood and youth, and too of-

ten does it fade with the blossoms of youth. Let it be improved while it lasts. The youth sees but to retain, and regards but to remember. Let him be tasked to commit those facts, which he shall never forget; those facts which should be as familiar to every scholar as his alphabet, but which many a scholar finds it hardest of all things to retain, because not early learned. Especially let the great events which have made the history of the race so memorable, in their order, their periods of time, and their most illustrious circumstances, all be imprinted upon the mind. Let the past stand before the eyes as a map with its grand outlines, fixed and inefaceable. Let the men of Judea, of Greece and of Rome be familiar names. Let the great scenes of ancient time be understood in their place, their time and order, so that they shall never be forgotten. Let modern history, too, be distinctly and clearly learned. We do not recommend that history should be taught philosophically, for it cannot be, till the mind of the learner can reflect; nor that a multitude of facts should be forced upon the attention, which interest the teacher, but which cannot interest the scholar, as he cannot appreciate their value; but we do contend, that it is a priceless gift, which the teacher imparts to the pupil who is hereafter to range through the fields of human knowledge, if, when the memory is fresh, he shall weave into it those great facts which every scholar is supposed to know, but which so few know accurately and well. This too is the time to teach geography, till the world is as familiar to the learner as his native village, and all that eager interest with which the young mind studies books of travels, is used by making books of travels a study. At this period, too, the modern languages may be learned, and who that would call himself a scholar now, would care to be ignorant of them; especially who would be, that is to be a scholar during the generation that is now coming forward. At a time when the world is so rapidly mingling all civilized nations in mutual acquaintanceship, and the literature and science of one nation touches the literature and science of every other at so many points. At a period when travelling is so common, even for scholars not over wealthy, and when the power to acquire language is so indispensable an accomplishment to the Christian missionary, there should no time be left idle on the hands of the boy, that has mastered his Latin and Greek, that should not be filled up with French, German and Italian. These are not college studies, they ought not to be. The university has other services to render, and with moderate zeal, the boy who has leisure

and teachers and the means of being educated, should learn these languages in his youth, as they are learned upon the continent of Europe. Let Natural History and the Natural Sciences be taught at this period. Especially let Botany lead the young scholar into woodland walks and up the adventurous precipice, into swamps with which it will not harm him to be personally and inconveniently acquainted. Thus let the love of boyish sports, the joy in the fresh and bracing air and fondness for wild adventure, be turned to its account, and teach habits of close observation of things as well as of books, and harmonize the softened taste with the amenities of nature. If at this period the memory be tasked to learn choice selections from the English orators and poets, a habit will be strengthened which many scholars complain that they want, readily to retain words and phrases. These selections from Scott and Byron, from Milton and Shakespeare, will be none the less a treasure, that the scholar at first neither understands nor appreciates them. He *will* bye and bye, when they shall come up in lonely journeys, or in the long night-watches, to cheer him with their fulness of meaning till now unappreciated, and above all, to bring with them joyous remembrances of the buoyant spirits and sunny hours when he learned them. Perhaps too, they may flash out upon him in the inspired moments when he shall write or speak, to express what he would say in words and phrases better than he can find or frame. Perhaps, they may save him in the hour when temptation is just ready to yield him up to crime.

Here let it be observed, that the memory of the youth is different from the memory of the man. The one is verbal, the other the joint result of the intellect and heart. The first holds its possessions by a feebler grasp than the other. What the youth remembers easily, he forgets almost as soon. What the man cares to remember, he does not easily lose. Let not the youth then be overburdened out of zeal to give him valuable stores. Above all, let him not be expected to reflect on principles and to care for the philosophy of history, or to understand the pathos and force of the selections, that he learns. But let him learn in youth, what it will be hard for him to learn when he is older; let him repeat it often enough to hold it fast, and what shall interest his mature mind, that mind will digest and retain in its own good time. Let the early harvest be reaped in its season. Then shall the later one be gathered with ease in the abundance of its mellowed fruitage.



We must observe too by way of caution, or rather we enter our earnest protest against the doctrine, that the business of education is to communicate knowledge; and that that is the best education, which equips the student with the largest variety and the heaviest burden of treasured facts. Nothing can be further from the truth. The office of education is primarily *not to give knowledge, but to develop intellectual power*. It is to form the mind to that of which it is capable. It does this by means of teaching it serviceable knowledge. But its first and foremost aim is to give it power to know. The complaint is often made of colleges and higher seminaries, by those who ought to know better, that students are sent forth from them with marked deficiencies in some very important branches of knowledge, as for instance, in history, in book-keeping, in agriculture or surveying; and the claim is constantly urged that these seminaries must furnish more and more professorships for these practical matters. Nothing can be more absurd. Nothing can be more subversive, not of thorough scholarship merely, but of the whole object of education, than to comply with these demands. Nothing would tend more effectually to lower the interest of these practical departments themselves. How long prithce, do you think it would take a mind, thoroughly trained to see a subject in its principles and to follow it in its applications, to master the whole matter of agricultural chemistry, so as to use it? Yes, how long, compared with what would be required by a mind, untrained to study, unused to seeing a science in its method? Why it would take the one a week or a month, and the other a six-month or a year. And now which is the better, the power to know anything that a man chooses to know, in a short period, or the actually knowing of one particular thing, and the not more than half knowing that, with the capacity to know nothing else, except at great cost and pains? Which is the better for a near-sighted man, to grope about with his face to the earth, mastering the landscape by inches, or to spend the time and exercise required for perfect eyesight, and then to open those eyes, and see all that he wishes at a glance. Which is the better, to keep busy a spinning wheel, that shall reel off its handful per day, for the sake of saving time, or to spend a little time in turning that spinning wheel into one of those moving monsters, that in an instant, do the work of a day. To educate a mind is to give clear and far vision to the dim-sighted, and to arm a weak and blundering instrument with a giant's power, and a godlike precision and skill. The business of the university is, to send

out minds that know how to know anything and that speedily, and that are eager to know all that they need to use. Then if there are practical sciences to be compassed, whether chemistry or agriculture or what not, bring them along!

We would not be misunderstood on this point. We do not object to the multiplication of such departments, in the natural or other sciences. On the other hand, we rejoice in them. It is most desirable that every college should be thus expanded into a university, that every facility be furnished for the prosecution of each department of human knowledge; that the devotees to all the arts and sciences be attracted to it, and give by their presence, grace, dignity and inspiration. Only let the college be held fast to its original design, as a *gymnasium*, and let it not be swallowed up or overborne by the *Real-Schule*. Let not Minerva be frightened from her own temple by filling it with the soot and noise of the smith's shop, nor dazzled out of her own self-respect by the brazen glitter of the show-room.

The points which we have considered, all relate to the intellectual training of the scholar. They concern the perfection of the instruments which he wields, the strength and the finish of the machinery which he has at his command. But what is a weapon, even if it be a blade of Damascus, if there be no arm to use it? What the most perfect of all machines in power and beauty, if there be not the force, the moving power to drive it to its work? And what is a mind most consummately disciplined, if there be not the man in the armor, a strong and living man, that is master of it all, and in no sense mastered by it? The training of the springs of action then, the awakening and regulating of all the dynamic forces, or in a word the calling out and creating of the living man, is a most important matter in the forming of the young scholar. Were it right to make comparisons between elements every one of which enters into the essence and idea of the perfect scholar, I should say that this management of the forces, this forming of the man, is the most important condition to complete success. In the youth of the scholar it is the most essential, if for no other reason, because the character influences, if it does not decide, the discipline and development of the intellect. Without a right spirit in the boy, without a wakeful, eager, appropriating, persevering disposition to study, the *material* of scholarship cannot be gained, and the discipline and acquisitions of which we have spoken, can none of them be secured. You cannot drive

a boy to study. Least of all can you drive study into him. The attention must itself awake and pant with eagerness for knowledge. The affections must lay hold of it with a grasp, that nothing can unlock, and the man must appropriate it, turning it into the very substance of the mind. You cannot force open the attention, as you must the jaw that is locked, nor bind on enthusiasm, nor infuse the results that come, if they come at all, from the personal activity of the scholar. The appliances of masters and text books and illustrations and rules and supervision and the most perfect system of gradations, one and all of them are in vain, unless you can find or make a generous enthusiasm and a wakeful spirit. Still less at college will the scholar carry forward the work, however well begun at school, unless with his growing capacity to labor and to learn, there grow likewise the desire to labor and to learn. Still less, after he leaves the university, will there be the overmastering desire to be the thorough and finished man, unless there be an iron energy and a burning enthusiasm. To success in acquiring, then, there is needed a strong and active spirit. Indeed without it, study becomes a mechanical process, books over-master the mind that should master them, the love of learning is a morbid habit, an unnatural craving, and the highest attainments of scholarship, are as useless and as unnatural as a monstrous lion, or a heart that palpitates when it should beat.

This is not all. The training of the forces in the scholar, is not only essential to success in scholarship, but it gives the scholar all his best materials with which to move his fellow-men. Is he an orator? What avails his power of language, if he had not something to utter, and how shall he have acquired that something, except by his own active spirit? Whence his own views that shall strike and convince, unless he has learned himself to think. Whence his illustrations, if he has not read man and nature with an open and suggesting eye. Whence, above all, the fervid and fiery spirit that drives home all that he presents, if no enthusiasm has burned in his own soul, if he has cared for nothing, and loved nothing, and never swelled with eager and ardent longings, and acted the young enthusiast.

Is he to be a poet? Ah! he must have dwelt apart from men, and thought his own thoughts and conned over his own musings, and loved and aspired and hoped and prayed, and looked on nature and man, as arrayed in colors that his own eye has dressed them with, in order to have a song which men shall listen to or care to remember.

Is he to be a philosopher? What can he do without the love of truth, and the strong determination to find it out, and to this end, the living and breathing, with an acute and patient desire to see and know what is the reality; and having found it, he must have candor and skill and patience to establish it to the minds of others.

Is he to go into the ordinary employments of life, and to carry into them the force and might that becomes a man truly educated, and to exert that commanding influence which should belong to the scholar? How can he as a farmer or a trader or a mechanic, show this superiority and vindicate the importance of this training, unless he be also a man, and stand upon his own intellect, and act strongly out his own character?

In a word, the *man* must be formed as well as the *intellect*, in order that the scholar be more than a mere intellectual result. There are scholars who are little better than lifeless intellectual machines, accurate, powerful, polished even, but with as little humanity, as is possible, to entitle them to a place in the *genus homo*. They are useful, but not as they use themselves. It is only as they are used by other scholars who are of a higher order. They have not force and fire of their own. It is such scholars who furnish arguments concerning the uselessness of the study of books. It is the stifling and cramping effects of study upon the force of an active spirit, that leads men to conclude, that the highest scholarship can be attained, only by the loss of the power to use it to any good purpose, as the heavy armor benumbs and paralyzes the man that puts it on.

Let me refer to the examples of two well known men; to Walter Scott and Daniel Webster. Neither of these was a scholar in the technical and most appropriate sense of the term. Both of them, however, attained to the high power of mental application, and to high success in using the mind, such as should be the aim of every student. Both attained to this by discipline, by iron diligence, by indomitable energy, by the sharpening of the powers by use, by calling up the whole man to do his utmost. Both were men of high genius indeed, but no words can do justice to the contempt, the loathing even, which one did, and the other does feel for those youths of genius, who trust to intuitions and despise mental labor, who aspire to mental superiority without severe mental application. They are therefore fair examples of the importance of character in the training of the scholar.

Look then at Scott, the poet, the novelist, the critic and the

historian. Where lies the secret of his power? Whence is the fountain of his inspiration? Not alone in his knowledge of various languages, nor in his exact and ready memory, nor in his amplitude of information, nor in his natural and graceful style. These all do their part towards the result, and the office of none can be dispensed with. But there is something more, there is the manly sense; the just taste for all that is good and true in human character; the universal sympathy with man, that not only recognizes, but loves all that is warm in the human heart, however humble or high the rank in which it moves. There is the kindling interest in whatever is great in the past, the wondrous imagination that not only makes the past to exist again, with all the freshness of present life, but invests it with a purple haze, and makes it to burn with golden colors. There are the private opinions, the peculiar and even the perverse prejudices of the man, that by their very intensity give him a nearer and warmer interest in the objects of love and hatred, and dress them out for others in brighter or darker hues. What are his fictions, so wonderful as creations of the fancy, and pictures of the past? What are they, but the results of the strong and intense character of the man,—of the universal yet peculiarly individual human heart of his? Whence the power and disposition to write them, where the exhaustless stores from which to bring them out, except in the strong feelings, the earnest opinions, and the intense manhood, that made up the tory gentleman of Abbotsford. That character was fixed in his youth. His boyhood was peculiar. It was formed under the influences of a rigid domestic discipline, to which strong sense and kind feeling and fervent piety, each lent its part. He was secluded from the sports of childhood, and early became a thoughtful child. Above all, imagination with her purple robes and godlike mien visited him early, and fed him on stories of knights and heroes, and thus awakened within him the creative power. It is most interesting and instructive to think of that lame and weakly child, to watch the infant germ of the character which has spread itself over the civilized world, which has made its sense, its genial humanity, its love and hatred, and even its private caprices and its strong prejudices, to be known and cared for by all christendom. The character of Scott, his individual manhood, was his greatest strength. Out of his own heart did he write, as must every man who will move the hearts of his fellow-men.

It was his character too, the strength and direction of the mov-

ing forces which inclined to the labor, in which he was so wonderful. This led him to select his studies. This gave him energy and perseverance to master them. And this, after it had furnished him with his ample materials of knowledge, gave him his marvellous and untiring industry to draw them forth, till he fell a martyr to his superhuman labors.

Turn now to the other instance, to the great orator of New England, and not of *New* England only, for if the older England hath one greater, or so great, let her bring out her man. Who that has ever heard Webster speak, or read a speech of his, needs to be told, that in him a great soul wields a great intellect, and that the force that moves, is in this case, as important to the result as the force that is moved. Whence the massive sense, the condensed energy, the astonishing justness of thought, the entire mastery of the subject, the deep sounding to its bottom. Whence its easy and natural development, the felicitous yet powerful expression, and above all, the fire, the force, the intimation that the lion had best be let alone, the easy yet terrible stroke that is given if the intimation is not regarded; whence all these but from the living man, as he has been formed by circumstances and formed himself upon them? Surely in eloquence such as his, it needs no argument to show, that the character is a commanding element. Nor need it be reasoned out that nothing short of a strong heart, and forces the most commanding, could put such an intellect to the work which it was forced to do; to be the instrument of power, which it has become. This character was trained in New England. And the man who could go through the history of Webster's boyhood and youth, and bring out the secret story of all that moved the man onward and upward could explain the secret of his greatness.

I have lingered thus long to illustrate this truth, that the education of the character, is a legitimate part of the training of the scholar, because it seems to me of the highest importance. Of itself it is of the utmost consequence, all will own. Its bearings upon the happiness of the man, and its moral and religious relations entitle it to the most serious regard. Its connections with intellectual discipline and intellectual greatness, has not been so prominently urged.

The education of the character being allowed to belong to the training of the scholar; how shall it be prosecuted?

This question, like many others, is more easily asked than answered. It does not admit of a specific plan, that may be rigidly

applied to every case. It cannot be drawn into exact rules. If I can but illustrate its high importance and indicate the style of character most favorable to scholarship, I shall be content.

A youth spent in the country, and familiar with the realities of a country life, presents peculiar advantages. The country is secluded. It shuts out a youth from the constant excitements that divert him from himself, and plunge him prematurely into the outward world. It saves him from such a collision with his fellows, and perhaps with those of the ruder sort, as forbids him to grow into that for which nature designed him, or teaches him by cunning or violence to make them bend to his will. It gives imagination room to paint to him visions of eminence, to which he may rise, and lets young enthusiasm kindle and dilate at the thought, and hardens the youthful powers to manly effort, while as yet truth does not oppose the imagination by her coarse reality, and repress enthusiasm to a cold selfishness. We love to think of the thoughtful boy, in some secluded hamlet, in whose mind the love of study has been implanted, and in whose heart the noble ray of genius has begun to burn. We love to follow him in his ramblings in some lonely pasture, by the gentle stream, beneath the dashing cascade or on the wild mountain top. There does he nourish the thoughts that have just been called into life by his books or his teacher, or suffers noble aspirations to kindle and glow. There is he fixing some high aim, or maturing some cherished plan, and nerving himself to some new effort of laborious study. Bye and bye these boyish thoughts and feelings followed out, shall conduct him to some high place among his fellow-men, from which he shall speak them out, and they shall enter into the heart and influence the destiny of others. Whatever conduces to early thoughtfulness, favors the development of a strong and earnest character, and as the seclusion of the country does this in an eminent degree, so does it produce more than its proportion of men of commanding genius.

There is something, too, in the strong attachments which the country forms, because it has but few objects to present, that favors the same result. A few scores, or at most but few hundreds of souls are all the world to him. He can tell them all by name; their joys are his joys, their sorrows his woe. There is not a disaster, a sickness, a stroke of death, which does not fix his attention, fill his young heart, stamp its impress on his memory and make its mark upon his character. In the city or the large town, there are countless individuals of whom he has no know-

ledge, and multitudes of events pass before him in which he has no interest. His attention is but slightly fixed on anything, and his heart adheres to nothing except what most closely concerns him. The boy in the country, also, is early acquainted with the realities of human life, and feels a warm and earnest sympathy with man in every rank in society. Whereas in the city, he knows only the concerns of his own friends, and sees scores or thousands whose sufferings and sorrows, whose hopes and fears, are rarely brought home to his feelings.

Besides all this and more than all this, there is something in the changing face of nature in one day even, from the gray breaking of the morning to the gentle hush of evening; and in many days through the constant round of the advancing seasons, that interests and makes a strong impression on the character. I do not say, that the boy too oft unthinking and rude, pauses to gaze on the changing face of the mother of us all, or is smitten by it with a poet's enthusiasm, but I do say, that there is something in the warmth of her genial sun, and in the fury of her winter's storm, that makes its impress that is not forgotten, and that it is eminently favorable to form the scholar. Then too there is in the sports of the country a variety of excitement, a romance and an ardor, which tends to the same result.

We are not insensible to the advantages which may come from a boyhood in the city. We freely grant that there may come of it an earlier and more finished development, an intellect more finely polished, and a grace that is more easy and refined. If, however, we look for earnestness, enthusiasm and strength, with capacity to improve that is most enduring, and a power to use the mind that is most slowly exhausted, we go to the country to find the material.

But whether it be in the city or country that the young scholar is trained, let him by all means contract a relish for active sports in the open air. Let these form a part of his daily life, not as a task but as an amusement; not as he is driven to them by his teacher, but as he rushes out upon them from the confinement of the school-room. We ask them not for the sake of his health, though without health there can be neither energy to acquire nor to use a scholar's power; but we do ask and demand it for that elasticity of spirits, that high enjoyment of life, and that untamed energy, without which, the scholar's life becomes a melancholy curdling of the blood, and the scholar's enthusiasm flags in its eager steps, then drags its slow length, and dies at



last by inches. Why, too, should a man prepare himself to exert a commanding influence over others for good, and find that he has spent in the preparation, both the capacity and the desire to employ his powers thus disciplined? Why should he bring to the high place appointed him among his fellows, a disciplined and furnished mind, only to feel that he has consumed the fire in preparing, that he needs in the using of that mind? Why is it that there are among us so many well trained men, who are trained for every purpose except the purpose for which they ought to be trained, that of influencing their fellow-men? Why is it that the superficial man rushes by or displaces the profound, the stupid takes precedence of the wise, and the man without knowledge enough to sound the depths of his own shallowness, takes the high place and the wide field of influence, appointed by nature and by God for those who are fitted to stand there? We may say in answer, that the many prefer the superficial to the thorough, and the ignorant to the wise; that they like better to be amused and flattered, than to be instructed and reprov'd; it is doubtless true. But a most important reason is, that men are pleased with enthusiasm and awakening energy, and that as scholars are trained, the tendency of their habits is all to deaden the forces of nature and to quench her fires. Yea, we pile upon the altars of knowledge, an offering so profuse and indiscriminate, that we extinguish the sacred flame that shall send its incense to heaven!

This fault is peculiarly American; and one prime reason is, that our scholars are so indifferent to the active and eager sports which are so essential to a buoyant youth, and a happy and vigorous manhood. In the public schools of England, as of Eton, Westminster or Rugby, the play-ground is no mean appendage, but a provision as essential as the class-room; and there till the age of nineteen the English boys, (for they are not educated so as to be prematurely men,) give sinews to the energy, that shall bye and bye be felt in St. Stephens or the Halls of Westminster. In England and Scotland, too, great scholarship is attended with the power to use it; and stores of learning that would stagger and appal an American scholar, are lifted as easily as Achilles bore upon his shoulder his far famed shield.

We would encourage, in young scholars, the love of the open air and of manly and exciting sports. We rejoice to see them in the field and upon the water and in the play-ground. We would provide for excursions on the holidays, and long and lonely pedestri-

an trips in the vacations, and when the season for relaxation comes, we would forbid all books as eagerly as we would open them in term time. Happy the scholar, with whom habits of this kind early, acquired, are never lost; but who renews his strength by daily and cheerful exercise abroad, and thus is borne through the depressing toil which his life imposes, and as his learning increases, gathers new force and fire with which to use it.

To develop a strong and manly character, an early and close contact with men is of prime importance. To men in ordinary life, this will come of itself and no special pains is required to secure it. But to the scholar, it is not so. His life is secluded. His world is his books; and instead of the cheerful companionship of living men, he has the society of the dead, that by strange and mysterious spells he must call again into life. Hence is he exposed to ignorance of real life and of living men. He is strong in speculation and weak in action. He is a giant among the dead, but an infant among the living. He is wise in the past, but for the present he is well nigh a fool.

Nothing hinders these tendencies and corrects them more certainly, than an earnest sympathy with all classes of men from early life. Nothing brings out the practical more effectually than the leaving of a boy to provide for himself in his early years. So does he best learn not to be a shy and timid stranger, but an easy and self-relying man. Let the boy then be early introduced to all kinds of men and all sorts of scenes that are innocent, till his eye is taught to observe and his heart to sympathize with living men. Let him be thrown upon his own resources, as far as it safely and kindly can be done, till he learns his own strength by using it.

The love of labor, too, is of prime importance. Without labor, patient and long continued labor, no man can be a scholar. Without cheerfulness in toil, toil becomes drudgery, and treads under its own feet the richer half of the harvest which it should reap. To be buoyant in study, to go to it with an elastic spirit, and to learn it with a thankful heart, there must be a clear discernment of its indispensable value, a conscious joy in the acquisitions. Let the scholar then be disciplined to effort from the earliest days. As soon as books become his daily task, let the secret of gain by effort be effectually imparted, and as he comes from the field at evening laden with his sheaves, let the parent or teacher shout with him the harvest home.

Let the scholar be early taught the uses of scholarship. Not only let him be earnestly told the fact, but let him be clearly

shown, *how* the toils of school and its painful discipline take hold of power over his fellow-men for their highest good. Let him clearly feel, that without high attainments and skill attained by use, his triumphs will be short and his success doubtful. Let him be taught to despise the ranting declaimer, the gaudy rhetorician and the impudent and lying charlatan, whether in the pulpit, at the bar, or in any profession or occupation. Let him be fired with the certainty of success if he will but take the pains, and let him be shown *how* that pains takes hold of success.

His studies are dry and repulsive. The cheerful and patient teacher may easily enliven them by illustrations from what the pupil already knows, may sympathize with the dryness and severity of his pains-taking, and help him by a recital of the teacher's own discouragements in the same position. Especially may the study of the classics be made genial and interesting, by connecting it with his reading of modern literature, and if the scholar cannot see how there is beauty or grace in a Latin or Greek sentence, he may be excited as he sees that his teacher regards the classics with more than the eye of a drill-master.

Especially should an interest in English literature be engrafted upon instruction in the classics, that the scholar may be taught a warm and personal interest in his studies, and his reading be directed so as to form and strengthen his manhood. The reading of the young scholar, as he advances towards and through the college, is of immense influence on the maturing man. He will read, and read too much, and read that which enervates and corrupts. It is in vain to tell him that it is of little use to read, or that this or that is a corrupting and dangerous book. But if he is led to see, as he may by slow degrees, that a book has the living spirit of a living man, that he should weigh and test its sentiments as he would the opinions of an associate, and mark its power and elegance of language as he would the words of living speakers, and above all receive into his own character, and make a part of his own life, the spirit and soul of a book, as he would catch the inspiration of a man, then does he learn to take a genial pleasure in all literature, and what is of more consequence, make literature form and fix his character.

To form the character of the scholar, as of every other man, the moral and religious should assume the highest place, and be the commanding element. The voice of conscience is the same commanding voice to the scholar which it is to the most unlettered man. His responsibilities are the same with those of other men,

for time and eternity. His joys and sorrows, his hopes and fears, are the same with theirs, and the motives that affect them, are fitted to affect him. Thrice happy is the young scholar, who from his earliest years, carries the fervor of youthful piety into the aspirings of youthful ambition, and while he burns with an ardent love of knowledge, hallows the flame by a higher love of the end of all knowledge, in love to God and love to man.

The scholar has his peculiar dangers here. His course is beset with these, not so much in its earlier as in its later passages. Knowledge brings her peculiar exposures. She tempts his pride. She leads him through the chaos of doubt, and as he sounds there his dim and perilous way, and seems often to find no foothold, he wishes that he had never been born. The witchery of imagination invades his purer desires. She would first seduce him, by the fame of standing conspicuous on some bad eminence, that she may afterwards damn him by its infamy. A worldly ambition would tempt him to misuse or sell the power which he has gained, for some inferior or base price.

But if knowledge has her dangers, she has her securities; if her weakness, she has also her peculiar strength. She teaches reflection, and secures thereby from mere frivolity. She unrolls the page of history, and, by the example of each succeeding age, distinctly affirms the unalterable decree of heaven, that the name of the wicked, however great in philosophy, in science, in history, poetry, statesmanship or art,—that the name of the wicked, however splendid and powerful, *it shall rot*. It is her solemn testimony that however vice may be excused in the intellectually great while they live, or however skepticism may get a splendid renown in the present generation, it is rejected and loathed by the generations that come after. Such is the testimony of knowledge. Her voice is to the young and the older scholar. Let this voice be made to resound in all the schools of learning, let the peculiar notions which may thus be brought to act, be added to those other considerations that are common to man as man, and we give the highest security that we can give to man, who is liable everywhere to fall.

These remarks upon character as a prime element in forming the scholar, and the suggestions as to the manner in which the character should be trained, are far from being precise and dogmatic. It is, however, of prime importance that the springs of action should be developed and regulated. They enter largely into the training of the young scholar, quite as largely as the work which

we bestow on the intellect alone. Let this then be understood and held up and insisted on, to all teachers, all scholars, and all schools, and very much will be gained.

Happy is the pupil, happy also the school, which is blessed with a teacher whose own scholarship and character combined, exert on all within his reach, a kindling and inspiring influence; the very contact of whose mind and the magic of whose presence wakes, as by an electric fire, the intellect and the manhood of his pupils; who creates intellect and creates character by the strength, the justness and the ardor of his own. Such a man was the late Dr. Arnold, an eminent and inspiring example to all scholars and all teachers, the record of whose life should be held in the memory of all such, till a brighter example shall arise.

It was his to dwell in the past with the accurate knowledge of the exactest and the most thorough scholarship, and yet be alive to the present, as an earnest man,—to concern himself with the readings of Thucydides, the minutest point respecting Rome, with the enthusiasm of the merest man of books; and to engage upon the great questions which agitated England, with all the eagerness of one who had forgotten his books forever, in the hot and busy strife of politics. It was his to be interested alike in the drill of the class-room, the sports of the play-ground, and the adventurous and exciting ramble through swamp and wood. It was for him to rejoice in that nice appreciation of the classics, which the master of the ancient tongues alone possesses, and to esteem the study of the classics of highest value, as they enabled his pupils to read with higher enthusiasm and a better taste their own English writers. It was his as a teacher, to strive earnestly to make his pupils scholars, and still more earnestly if possible to make them men, and through the men whom he sent to the university, to spread himself over all England. What was highest and best of all, it was his peculiar glory to be as wakeful as a boy to all that was good in the present life, and yet to keep an eye open full and clear upon the things which faith beholds in the world which is to be, and to demonstrate by his own example and his own success, that a life of letters may be a life of the manliest and most fervent piety, and that a school of literary training may bring the best appliances to form the noblest Christian character. Would that his name might be honored and his example imitated in all the schools of our land.

## ARTICLE VI.

THE TIMES, CHARACTER AND POLITICAL SYSTEM OF  
MACHIAVELLI.<sup>1</sup>

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Among the most remarkable phenomena of mediæval history, may be reckoned the rise and fall of the Italian republics. In the course of what, for most of Europe, was the night of the dark ages, Italy, by a more rapid revolution, had its own early night; then its dawn, its noon, and its second decline; another cloud of darkness gathering over it just as the returning light was chasing away the lingering shades of barbarism from the rest of Europe. It was midnight in Italy when it was but evening in Britain and France; again it was morning in Italy when it was hardly midnight in the neighboring countries.

As early as the 13th century Italy contained an almost incredible number of separate republics—independent cities, some of which were respectively possessed of greater wealth, power and foreign influence than England, France or Spain. Their merchants were princes, the islands and coasts of the sea their possessions, the whole commercial world their tributaries. Literature and the arts also shone forth with a short but magnificent effulgence. The great poem of Dante—one name for all, was written about the year 1300, in a language which differs not so much from that now spoken in Italy, as Shakspeare's does from the present ordinary English; while in Dante's time the English language could hardly be said to exist.

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<sup>1</sup> Opere di Niccolò Machiavelli, 10 vols. 8vo.; Firenze, per Niccolò Conti, 1818.

Besides the Preface of the learned editor to the above mentioned collection of Machiavelli's Works, the authorities consulted in the preparation of this Article are, among others, Botta, Guicciardini, Sismondi and Tiraboschi. Some of the passages translated from these authors, and interwoven into the text are not accompanied with any marks of acknowledgment. Particular references to volume and page have not been thought necessary. And, perhaps, it is equally unnecessary to add, that for the opinions, whether true or false, expressed and defended in this Article, the writer alone is responsible. The subject, though not coming within the narrowest scope of this Review, will be found to have many points of contact with its general objects.

While the great warlike and maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were under an aristocratic form of government, Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Siena, Bologna, Modena, Ferrara, Verona, Padua, Milan, Parma, Mantua and a host more, were democracies more or less pure. In the course of time, Florence subjected or subordinated to herself most of the other Tuscan republics. In her most flourishing periods her wealth was almost incredible. Her revenues were many times greater than those of the crown of England. Some idea of her population may be gathered from the fact that in the great plague of 1348, which has been immortalized by the *Description* and the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, more than 100,000 of her inhabitants died; and again, in the long mortality which prevailed from 1522 to 1527, of which Machiavelli has left an almost equally graphic description, more than 250,000 of her citizens perished; and in six months of the year 1527, there died within her walls no less than 40,000 persons. Yet she survived, and, but for other causes, might have soon recovered from the blow.

Like all the other democratic republics, Florence was subject to many violent revolutions, constantly torn by factions, often under the control of tyrants; but her liberties were not entirely extinguished till 1530, when the overwhelming power of Austria, instigated and backed by the pope, finally reduced the city and gave it into the hands of the Medicean family, who had been exiled as dangerous citizens, and who soon after their return assumed the title of Dukes. Here ends the history, not only of the Italian republics, but of the Italian nation.

As to the rest of the democratic cities, before the 14th century they had all fallen under the iron rule of *signori*, i. e. lords or *tyrants*, who have been not inaptly compared to the men that sprung from the serpent's teeth sown by Cadmus, and that went on fighting one another until they were all killed. Foreign allies were called in to decide their contests. Italy, which had recovered from the desolations of Goths and Vandals, and become once more the garden of Europe, was made the battle-field and war-prize of the most powerful nations of Christendom. Rome, that had often been captured by the barbarians in the early part of the Christian era, never was so savagely treated by any of them, as when sacked by the troops of Charles V. in the 15th century.

The republics of Italy and those of Greece present a striking analogy in their character, history and fate; with this important difference, that while those of Greece were subjugated by a sin-

gle master, Philip of Macedon, who was himself proud to be called a Greek ; those of Italy were a bone of contention for the neighboring potentates, who had all learned to despise the Italian name, and who seem to have conspired to do their utmost to degrade still lower the object of their contempt.

Machiavelli was born at Florence in 1469, and died in 1527. A contemporary of Christopher Columbus and Martin Luther, his life corresponds precisely with one of the greatest crises the history of Europe has ever experienced—one of the most fortunate crises, too, in many respects, though some of its results are not a little to be regretted.

At this period all was in movement and expectation. There was a universal longing and struggling for light and liberty. The mind of Christendom, roused from the stupor of its long slumber to a state of semi-consciousness, shook violently off the shackles of superstition and ghostly tyranny, though in the convulsive effort of blind impulse and gigantic might, what wonder if in too many instances it shook off also the wholesome restraints of truth and soberness and legitimate authority? With instinctive repugnance it stripped away the garments of corruption, whose loathsome aspect met the dim vision of its opening eyes ; but what wonder, if with them, in its hasty zeal, it rejected, in too many instances, the decent habiliments of social fitness and beauty?

Physical science lighted her torch, and speculation sealed up her visions ; the secular spirit ascended the throne of human affairs, while the predominance of the religious idea (in external institutions) passed away. Common sense began her reign. New worlds were discovered. Commerce was extended. The fine arts rose to their highest pitch of splendor. In short, so great was the change, that many historians have considered the discovery of America, as the most appropriate epoch from which to date the commencement of modern history.

But while this was in many respects, and especially in material well-being, the period of general renovation for Europe ; for Italy it was the season of unmingled degradation and accelerated decline. Language fails to convey an idea of the deep-seated and wide-spread corruption, and of the inextricable, infinite confusion of Italian society at this period. St. Paul's terrible description of the state of the heathen world before the introduction of Christianity, never could have applied more exactly in all its lineaments, parts and particulars to any people or state of society than to the Italians of this period. They were addicted to vile



affections and to the most debasing lusts and vices; *being filled with all unrighteousness, licentiousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful; who, knowing the judgment of God that they which commit such things are worthy of death, and adding to that catalogue of vices the most presumptuous hypocrisy, not only did the same and had pleasure in them which did them, but professed to be Christians, to be the very centre and model of Christianity—nay, to contain the very head of the corner and keystone of the Christian edifice.* Popes administered poison to cardinals, and cardinals conspired against the lives of popes; princes disarmed their foes by treachery and then murdered them in cold blood; cardinals' caps were sold to the highest bidder; even the pontifical tiara in two flagrant instances, those of Alexander VI and Clement VII, (Julius II and Leo X. might be added to the number,) was bargained for and bought with gold. Varchi, the most indulgent contemporary historian acknowledges that Clement was elected with manifest simony.

Treaties sanctioned by the most solemn oaths in war, impudently violated in peace, ostentatious luxury and licentiousness, unblushing incest, fraud boasting openly of its exploits, virtue everywhere neglected or oppressed, right trampled on by force, prostitution, violence, assassinations, increasing the more as they were the more notorious and sure of impunity or even honor—these, says a modern Italian Professor of History, offer to the pencil of the historian such a deep coloring of baseness, that he must needs soften or reduce it, or his tale would be incredible, not to say intolerable.

This was the age of Caesar Borgia, a natural son of pope Alexander VI; endowed with extraordinary talents, but probably the most monstrous specimen of depravity that ever existed under the human form. Fratricide and incest were the A B C of his morals, poison and the dagger his escutcheon. He never made a promise with any other design than that he might gain an advantage by breaking it. He acquired sovereignty by assassinating his rivals, and popularity by destroying his tools; and "he fell at last amidst the mingled curses and regrets of a people, of whom his genius had been the wonder and might have been the salvation."

This was the age too of Lucretia Borgia, daughter of the same

Alexander VI, the presiding genius of the Pontifical palace during most of his reign, and, if contemporary historians are to be believed, the incestuous mistress of both father and brother. Over her life decency draws a veil.

Alexander himself, (according to Sismondi,) created during his pontificate forty-three cardinals, of whom scarcely a single nomination was gratuitous. The greater part brought him at least 10,000 florins, some 20,000, some 30,000. But for the pope to sell these highest dignities of the church was a small affair. The cardinals employed by him in the administration, enriched themselves rapidly, and the pope was accused of making way with a great number of them, to seize upon their estates and dispose of their benefices which returned to the Holy See; thus reaping a double harvest from the simoniacal transaction. Such were the criminal resources by which the pope was enabled to meet the prodigious expenses of supporting the prodigalities of his daughter, the luxury of his court and the armies of his son. While issuing his bulls, defining the faith of Christendom and dividing the whole unchristianized world between the Spaniards and Portuguese, he was rendering himself an accomplice in all the crimes of Caesar Borgia, prostituting the whole power of the church, and setting every little engine of papal influence in motion, to secure to that illegitimate son the dominion of the paltry province of Romagna. It was believed in all Italy that Alexander, having poisoned the cardinals of St. Angelo, of Capua and of Modena, in the attempt to add the cardinal of Cornets to the number, poisoned himself.

We will stain these pages with the story of but one more of the monsters of crime, with whom this period swarmed; and we select this instance, not because it is extraordinary but because it is classical with the Italian writers of this period; it is that of Oliverotto of Fermo. Left an orphan in the tenderest infancy, he had been adopted and educated by his natural uncle, who had treated him with all the tenderness that a father could have shown to a beloved child. His uncle had introduced him into the military career under the most favorable auspices. He had distinguished himself, and had risen to a high rank among the Italian captains of the time. Finding himself once, with a troop of his followers, on the frontiers of his native country, he wrote to his uncle that he desired to see again the paternal mansion, and to show himself there with the honors that he had acquired in war, by bringing a retinue of a hundred of his horsemen. His

uncle obtained of the civil authorities permission to introduce his followers into the city. He contrived for him the most flattering reception, lodged him at his own house with all his troop, and a few days after gave in his honor a repast to all the magistracy of Fermo. In the midst of this repast Oliverotto caused his soldiers to enter, massacred his uncle and all his guests, and compelled the citizens to acknowledge himself as prince of Fermo and its territory. Truly, if Dante had lived two centuries later, we should have had no *Purgatory* or *Paradise*; *Hell* would have engrossed all his Poem. To complete the picture, Sismondi adds, with some exaggeration we would fain believe, that "the enemies of Caesar Borgia were no less perfidious and no less polluted with crimes than he."

It is a heavy accusation preferred by Montaigne against Guicciardini, that "of all the passions, words, counsels and actions on which he passes judgment, he never attributes one to religion, conscience or virtue, as if these no longer existed in the world." But it may be truly answered, that if ever there were times in which faith and virtue were banished from among men, they were precisely those which were described by him. And Montaigne himself admits, that Guicciardini wrote uninfluenced by hatred, favor or vanity.

It is difficult, in those times, to make any exceptions in favor of virtue. But it is a relief to be able to make three or four. Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence was better than Pericles of Athens; Dandolo of Venice was as courageous as Leonidas; Doria of Genoa was as virtuous as the Spartan Agis and more fortunate; in the opinion of the Italians there is no glory among the moderns and perhaps none among the ancients which equals the glory of the Genoan Columbus. After a life without a stain he could die without remorse. But, with a few exceptions more, the rest, to use a strong phrase of St. Augustine in its strongest sense, was a *mass of corruption*.

Such were the times in which Machiavelli lived, such was the atmosphere in which he was educated, such was the society in which he moved, and such were the events and scenes which he witnessed and recorded, and which were at once the occasion and the basis of his political theories.

It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of this unexampled spectacle; but when we talk of the causes of such phenomena, we almost always reason in a circle. Wealth, luxury, the vices natural to petty tyrants, the degrading influence of

foreign control—these, and other circumstances, may have had their share in producing the sad result, but we still look for the source of the *unprecedented* enormity of corruption which characterized this period. We find it nowhere but in the antecedent perversion of religion, in the foul crimes and shameless turpitude of the court of Rome. It is impossible to say to what degree a false religious instruction had been ruinous to the morals of Italy. Men were taught, not to obey but to evade their consciences. Every body gave his passions free scope, relying upon papal indulgences, mental reservations, a future penance, and an approaching absolution. The greatest religious fervor was so far from being a guaranty of probity, that the more scrupulous a man was in his public practices of devotion, the more his character was to be distrusted. Even Borgia, like the later Robespierre, seemed to have a peculiar quickness of sensibility for religious and moral affections. He could make himself an agreeable, a bewitching companion; and talk of faith, frankness and friendship, with such a perfection of hypocrisy as sometimes to throw even the most wary off their guard.

That the corruption of the Papal court preceded this general corruption of Italy, is evident from the fact that, two centuries before, Dante bitterly complained of it. Three of the pontiffs who occupied the seat of St. Peter during *his* times, Nicholas III, Boniface VIII, and Clement V, he unceremoniously places in his Hell, among those who were there tormented for the sin of simony; and to one of them he there addresses these remarkable words:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Di voi pastor s'accorse il Vangelista,  
Quando colei che siede souva l'acque  
Puttaneggiar co'regi a lui fu vista :

Quella che con le sette teste nacque,  
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento  
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.

Fatto v'avete Dio d'oro e d'argento ;  
E che altro è da voi all' idolatre,  
Se non ch'egli uno e voi n'orate cento ?

Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre !

Inferno. Canto XIX.

From the poems, tales and satirical literature of the middle ages might be collected a mass of testimony against the church of Rome as strong and as strongly expressed, we are almost tempted to think, as the Reformation itself

"T'was of such Pastors of Christ's flock as you  
 The Revelator spake, when *her* he saw  
 Who on the waters sat, foul whore of kings.  
 That ten-horned beast who rose with seven heads  
 Was held in check while virtue pleased her lord.  
 Of gold and silver ye have made your God ;  
 Differing wherein from the idolater,  
 But that he worships one, a hundred ye ?  
 Ah Constantine ! to how much ill gave birth  
 Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower  
 Which the first wealthy Father gained from thee !"

Scarcely did the coarse-mouthed Luther himself speak with more freedom of the Babylonian harlot, than this stern, indignant poet of the thirteenth century.

Machiavelli, too, though like Dante a good Roman Catholic, treats the court of Rome with fearless severity, or rather justice. He plainly ascribed to it the vices and the degradation of Italy in his own times, in a passage for which popes and Jesuits could never forgive him. We the more readily cite at length this passage, as it may serve to counterbalance in some degree the prevailing prejudice with which the name of Machiavelli is associated.

Discoursing of religion in respect to its utility in a State he says : " Those republics which would maintain themselves uncorrupted, must above all things see to it that they maintain uncorrupted the ceremonies of religion, and hold them always in their veneration ; for there can be no surer symptom of the ruin of a country, than to see divine worship neglected or despised. As the observance of divine worship conduces to the greatness and growth of republics, so the contempt of it leads to their certain ruin. Because when the fear of God is wanting, the State must either go to ruin, or be sustained by the fear of a prince which may supply the deficiency of religion. If our religion had been preserved in its purity as it was ordained by its founder, the

can furnish. Take the following pasquinade against the pope from the "*Apocalypse Goliae*," of the thirteenth century.

" Non pastor ovium, sed pastus ovibus.  
 Membra dolent singula capitis dolore !  
 Roma mundi caput est ; sed nil capit mundum ;  
 Quod pendit a capite totum est immundum ;  
 Transit enim vitium primum in secundum,  
 Et de fundo redolet quod est juxta fundum."

See also such books as "*Reynard the Fox*," "*Life of St. Nemo*," "*Piers Ploughman*," "*Eulenspiegel*," etc.

States and republics of Christendom would have been vastly more united and happy than they now are. Nor can there be a surer proof of its adulteration and decline, than to see how those people who are nearest the Roman church, which is the head of our religion, have the least religion. Whoever should compare its original foundation with the present usage, and consider how utterly unlike they are, would conclude that beyond all doubt either ruin or a scourge must be near. But because some are of opinion that the salvation of Italy depends upon the church of Rome, I will allege two irrefragable reasons to the contrary. The first is, that through the evil example of that court, this country has lost all devotion to any religion whatever; a state of things which brings in its train infinite evils and infinite disorders; for, as, where religion is, every good is presupposed, so, where religion is not, the contrary is presupposed. We Italians therefore are under this first obligation to the church of Rome, that we have come to be without religion and without morals. We are under another, which, in a political point of view, is a more immediate cause of our ruin; for the church in its loss of temporal power, in its anxiety to retain the control of certain provinces, has kept, and still keeps this our country divided. For not being sufficiently powerful to occupy all Italy herself, and fearing to allow all the rest but her own States to be under any other one head, she has been the occasion that the country has remained under many different princes and lords, from whom have arisen so great disunion and weakness that Italy has become the prey of any and every assailant. For all which, we Italians are under obligation to the church and to no other. But for the church we might have been a united and happy people, as well as France and Spain. And whoever should wish by a sure experiment to test the truth of all this, need only be clothed with sufficient power to send the court of Rome to reside, with the authority it has in Italy, in the territories of the Swiss—who are the only people at the present day that live, as regards religion, according to the usages of antiquity; and he would see that, in a very short time, the depraved manners of that court would produce in that country more disorders than any other accident which at any time could possibly happen there.”

This was written just at the moment when the monk of Wittenberg was roused to his great work of reformation. The politician of Italy seems to have known little of the reformer of Germany; but of Savonarola his own countryman and contem-

porary, and one of Luther's forerunners, he always speaks with marked respect; "of *such a man*," he says, ("d'un tanto uomo") we ought to speak with reverence; for the purity of his life, his learning, his doctrine, the great work of reform which he undertook, sufficed to make the people of Florence, who were neither rude nor ignorant, believe that he talked with God." Such is the testimony of this man of the world to the character of the pious, though perhaps somewhat too enthusiastic Savonarola. *Yet the court of Rome burnt Savonarola and patronized Borgia.* What wonder that under the immediate influence of such a court, occupying such a peculiar position in relation to the conscience, wickedness should have kept holiday? What wonder too, that Machiavelli himself, falling on such evil times, breathing such a tainted air, compelled as a statesman and diplomatist to deal with such men, should not in his political writings have preserved the highest tone of moral purity?

Of the private character of Machiavelli, little is known and nothing to his disadvantage; both which facts, considering the circumstances, are not a little to be wondered at. The heaviest charge brought against him by his contemporaries, and that preferred by an enemy and accompanied with the acknowledgment that it was his only fault, is that he was wanting in gravity. He was a hater of tyrants, a sturdy republican and a sincere lover of his country, especially of his dear native Florence. He was engaged in public employments most of his life, and though at last thrust out of office, maltreated and imprisoned by the opposing faction, he never sought vengeance like his contemporary, the aristocratical Guicciardini, by joining the enemies of his country that he might overturn the power of his opponents.

He held the office of Secretary of State in the Florentine republic upwards of fourteen years, (that is to say, precisely during the period of its greatest liberty,) and was a most indefatigable and faithful public servant. Besides the ordinary occupations of his office, which were no less than the whole domestic and foreign correspondence of the republic, and the registry of the acts and resolutions of the government, he discharged very frequent extraordinary domestic commissions, and went on twenty-three foreign embassies respecting affairs the most delicate and important for the Florentine State. Four times he was sent ambassador to the king of France, twice to the emperor of Germany, twice to the court of Rome and three times to Caesar Borgia. He raised armies, reformed the constitution and disci-

pline of the troops of the republic, and several times took the field in person. With what ability he acquitted himself of his multifarious duties, his despatches which are extant, and are a model for the imitation of all other ministers and public servants, give the most satisfactory testimony.

His labors were not limited to the exact fulfilment of the purely indispensable duties of his ministry. It is difficult to judge, whether his capacity or his zeal for his country were the greatest. If he did not succeed in saving entire its liberties, he wanted only greater confidence and concord of his fellow citizens, and times less turbulent and desperate. At least the glory is due to him of having attempted it, as far as his influence in affairs permitted him. He could perceive rather than remedy the consequences of the rage of party spirit with which Florence was then agitated, and the faults of the weak government of Soderini, its chief magistrate; who had thrown himself and his country entirely into the arms of France; in relation to which procedure Machiavelli used to say; "The good luck of the French has stripped us of half our dominions, their bad luck will cost us our liberty."

Never was political prediction better verified. The power of France declined. Florence was invested by the troops of Austria, Spain and the pope. The banished Medici were restored. Soderini was driven into exile. Machiavelli was ignominiously ejected from office and treated as a state criminal. On a false accusation he was put to the torture and thrown into prison, from which the interest rather than the equity of his enemies liberated him.

One thing is here to be specially noted, which, the rarer it is, does the more honor to the merit of Machiavelli. The high opinion which was had of his talents and of his affectionate and ingenuous character, preserved him faithful friends in his adversities, and finally overcame and extinguished the aversion of his enemies. In the polite *conversazioni* of the gardens of the Rucellai he was courted and listened to as the oracle. Guicciardini, though of the Medicean party in politics, kept up with him, even in the most dangerous times, an intimate and confidential correspondence. The Medici themselves, both Leo X. and Clement VII, though they could not but regard him as an obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs upon the republic, availed themselves of his services on many important occasions. There was a universal movement at Florence in his favor, and Machiavelli reappeared in public affairs. He was employed on several impor-



tant commissions, and died in the public service and in the full communion of the Roman church. His son writes to a friend immediately after his death : " Our father has left us, as you know, in extreme poverty."

Such was the public and private life of Machiavelli, a man whose name, by reason of the interpretation usually given to some of his writings, has become synonymous with all that is perfidious and base ; whether deservedly or undeservedly it remains for us to consider.

In his character of author Machiavelli may be considered as a poet and dramatist, an historian, and a statesman or political theorist. As poet and dramatist, we have little to say of him at present. Like most other productions for the stage, his dramas were written to suit the taste of his contemporaries. They contain disgusting exhibitions of the prevailing vices of the times, though often relieved by strokes of extraordinary genius. One of his pieces has been pronounced by Voltaire worth more than all the comedies of Aristophanes, and his poetry has been ranked by some of his countrymen second only to that of Dante and Petrarch. Both judgments are certainly exaggerated ; but it is indeed wonderful how a man of such cool intellect and all immured in political speculations, could so gracefully converse with the muses, and succeed equally well in the epic and lyric, the serious and the comic, though each of them usually requires a peculiar talent.

His historical and political writings are closely related to each other ; the latter being but a sort of philosophical commentary upon the former and upon history in general.

Botta divides the historians Italy has produced into three classes. The first he calls *patriotic*, the second *moral*, and the third *natural or positive*. Livy is a type of the first ; Tacitus of the second ; Machiavelli and Guicciardini belong to the third. Machiavelli's view of human affairs and conduct, was practical rather than ethical. Of human nature his judgment was altogether unfavorable ; and in this even the amiable Botta does not wholly disagree with him. " These historians," says he, " consider human nature as it is and not as it ought to be ; and if I were not afraid of bringing down upon myself the severe reproof of those who wish to appear good without being so, I would affirm that the historians of this sort are the most true in regard to the immediate causes and motives of actions ; and perhaps the most useful of all, if we have in view the government of States, not the amelioration of the human race ; the service rather than the love of our

country. Men are indeed exceedingly difficult to be governed, for if their nature partakes of the angelic, it partakes also of the beastly. These historians march straight forward to the end, and give themselves little solicitude about the means. Vice or virtue, it matters not to them; they have only to explain why and how the object was actually attained. They describe with equal coolness an act of atrocity or of benevolence, an act of baseness or of magnanimity. Hence they are the most impartial historians, because having no impulsive bias for virtue or for vice, for good or for evil, for country or for no country, they suffer themselves to be turned aside by no passion good or bad, but imperturbably pursue their inexorable way. In short, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, the Tacitus and Thucydides of Italian story, are like two buoys moored amidst the tempestuous sea of human passions, towards which he who guides the ship of State, and he too who simply lives in this mad and naughty world, ought continually to turn his eyes, not that he may follow them as a guide, but that he may be warned by them to avoid the shoals and rocks on which he might be wrecked and lost."

Machiavelli's political writings are chiefly three,—“The Art of War,” “Discourses on Livy,” and “The Prince.” For mentioning the first here, which seems to have no very close connection with this department, we have two reasons. The first is, because it shows the wonderful versatility and practical exactness of Machiavelli's mind. This treatise is no mere closet or fire-side theory, to be laughed at by practical men. According to the testimony of high authorities, it shows a knowledge of military science, not only marvellous in a man of the cloth, but extraordinary even in a veteran commander. He went in advance of his age, and assumed the office of teacher. One of his leading objects was, to show the advantage of infantry at a time when this service was generally despised; and his reasonings had such a powerful effect, that to him must be in part attributed the restoration of good tactics, and the perfection which the art of war has reached in modern times. Another reason for mentioning this treatise in connection with its author's political writings, is for the sake of the parallel between them. As the one is an Art of War or Strategy, the other is an Art of Politics or State-craft. War may be wrong and politics may be wrong; yet there may be an art on which depends success in the one as well as in the other. And this art may have its own rules, which may have little to do with

the rules of morality; yet if they can be coolly laid down in the one case why not in the other?

In the treatise entitled "The Prince," by which Machiavelli is more known than by all his other writings, this art of politics is set forth in its most condensed and repulsive form. His detractors have believed or affected to believe, that they found in it a thoroughly digested system of irreligion, impiety and tyranny, proceeding from the heart of the author, and recommended by the seal of his full approbation; and they have shouted *wolf*, and raised against him the universal indignation.

It must be confessed, we think, that there are passages in "The Prince," which, taken by themselves, sound harsh and offensive, we may even say horrible, to humane and Christian ears, and which it is hard to conceive how a man, with right feelings, could set down without some caution or disapproval on the spot, at times even with phrases too nearly approaching to commendation. But a fair criticism requires that his political doctrines should be taken into consideration as a whole, and not in detached passages and garbled extracts. We ought not, in mere charity, to dissemble the author's own disapprobation of wicked maxims, either given in the context or elsewhere in his works. We ought to confront Machiavelli with Machiavelli, one writing with his other writings, one sentiment with the general drift of his sentiments; and the whole, as we do in interpreting the imprecations in the Psalms of David, with the author's own life and character. And if his true spirit and the spirit of his works, were comprehended in this *royal way*, he would have left his detractors but little to do, to refute the horrid doctrines they have laid to his charge, and men would be ashamed of fighting a phantom of their own imaginations.

The grounds and motives of Machiavelli's policy together with its *most exceptionable maxims*, he himself gives in the following words, in the 15th chap. of The Prince.

"It being my intention to write what may be useful to men of intelligence, [and who will be able therefore to make the proper qualifications and distinctions,] it has seemed to me more to the purpose, to follow the practical truth of things, than any visions of the imagination. Many philosophers have imagined republics and principalities which never did nor can exist; for the manner in which men live is so different from that in which they ought to live, that one who leaves *what is* for what *ought to be*, is in the high road to ruin. Thus a man who refuses ever to deviate from

the path of strict rectitude, must needs be undone among so many who unhesitatingly pursue a different course." "Every one will undoubtedly confess, that a prince endowed with all virtues and free from all vices, would be a most estimable and praiseworthy personage; but while human nature remains as it is, we cannot expect that any man should be possessed of all good qualities, nor could he put them all in practice if he had them;" "it is therefore necessary for a prince, if he would sustain himself, to learn how not to be good sometimes, and to use that knowledge according to the exigency of the case."

In chap. 18, he says: "How honorable and praiseworthy it is in a prince, for example, to maintain good faith and act with integrity, every one must be sensible. Yet experience has shown us, that those princes of our own times who have made the least account of their word, have done the greatest things. By the mazes of their subtlety they have set the brains of men in a whirl, and in the end have got the better of those who have rested in the power of sincerity and good faith."

"You must know then, there are two ways of deciding a contest, the one by laws, the other by cunning and force; the first proper to man, the second to beasts. But as the first is oftentimes insufficient, we must resort to the second. Wherefore a prince must know on proper occasions how to act the beast as well as the man. And this is obscurely taught by the ancient writers, who relate that Achilles and several other princes were committed to the nurture and discipline of Chiron the Centaur, that, as their preceptor was half man and half beast, they might be taught, as was needful, to imitate both natures. Since then a prince must learn to act the beast sometimes, he should take the lion and the fox for his patterns; for the lion cannot defend himself from snares nor the fox from wolves. Wherefore he must be a fox to detect the snares, and a lion to frighten the wolves. Those who stand simply upon the lion, do not understand the business. A prudent prince, therefore, cannot and must not keep his word when it would be to his own hurt or ruin, and the causes no longer exist which made him give it. If all mankind were good, this precept would not be good; but since they are bad and will take all possible advantage of you, so must you of them. A prince will never want colorable pretences to varnish his breach of faith, of which we might bring numberless examples, and show how many treaties and promises have been perfidiously violated by princes; while those who have best

acted the fox have always succeeded best in their enterprises. But it is necessary to disguise this character, and be a thorough master of simulation and of dissimulation."

"I will even venture to affirm, that the semblance of good qualities is useful while their reality may be prejudicial." "A prince must have great care that nothing ever drop from his lips inconsistent with the highest virtues; so that at seeing and hearing him, one would think him all goodness, all faith, all humanity, all integrity, all religion—especially the last; because men generally judge by the eyes more than by the hands; for every one can see, few can perceive. Every body sees what you appear, few can discern what you are, and those few dare not oppose the voice of the many who have the majesty of the State to defend them."<sup>1</sup>

"As to the query, whether it be better for a prince to be feared or loved, one would wish to be both. A weak prince will rather seek to gain love, a strong prince to inspire fear. But as it depends entirely upon the inclinations of the subjects themselves whether they will love their prince or not, whereas the prince has it in his own power to make them fear him; if he is a wise man, he ought to trust to what depends upon himself alone and not upon the caprice of others; yet by all means so to conduct himself as not to be hated, or at least to be on good terms with the strongest party."<sup>2</sup>

"But let a prince make it his chief care to be victorious and preserve his State; if he is successful, the means will always be judged honorable and praised by every body. For the vulgar always follow appearances and the event. And in this world there are scarce any but the vulgar. The rest can make their

<sup>1</sup> "Be frank in such wise as that thou gain the name of frankness; yet, in cases of importance, use dissimulation, which doth succeed the better to one who doth thus live, inasmuch as, through having a name for the contrary, it is more easily believed in him."—*Guicciardini, Maxims.*

"Clear and round dealing is the honor of man's nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold or silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it."—*Lord Bacon, Essays.*

"Les plus habiles affectent toute leur vie de blâmer les finesses, pour s'en servir en quelque grande occasion, et pour quelque grand intérêt."—*Roche-foucault.*

"Car le monde se paye de paroles; peu approfondissent les choses."—*Pascal, Lett. Prov.*

<sup>2</sup> See also certain important limitations in Book III, chap. XIX, of the *Livian Discourses*. Compare the saying of Tacitus: "In multitudine regendâ plus frena quam obsequium valet."

voices heard only when the many are at a loss what to say. There is a prince now living who has nothing in his mouth but 'peace and good faith,' while he is the greatest enemy of both; and if he had observed either, he would long ago have lost both his reputation and his dominions."

This prince, whom Machiavelli does not deem it prudent to name, was Ferdinand of Arragon, husband of Isabella; who owed the acquisition of the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre merely to his perfidy; and the consolidation of his Spanish dominions to the most barbarous cruelties perpetrated always under the cloak of religion. Yet Ferdinand, wicked at heart as he was, succeeded in all his undertakings, obtained and transmitted to his descendants the glorious surname of Catholic, died in peace, and left a name that is still preserved in the highest honor by his countrymen.

Machiavelli's moral judgment of Ferdinand's character is sufficiently obvious; but, as we have proposed to present his most objectionable views, let us hear what he says of Caesar Borgia, whom some have accused him, but plainly upon insufficient grounds, of making the hero of his book.

"Caesar Borgia," says he, "did everything that a wise or brave man could or should do in order to establish himself in his States, and I know of no better pattern that can be proposed for the imitation of a new prince. Upon a thorough review of Borgia's conduct I see nothing worthy of political reprehension; on the contrary, I propose it as a pattern for the imitation of all those who arrive at dominion by the arms or fortune of others."

Now it is strange, after making all due allowance for the frigidity of political phraseology, it is strange, that while recounting much of the worst parts of the history of this detestable man, he should not have uttered one word of disapprobation. Against men who certainly could not have been any worse, he has not restrained, even in the midst of his political imperturbability, the strong expression of his moral indignation. Thus he condemns the infamous Oliverotto's parricidal baseness, although it was successful. Thus he condemns Agathocles, the great Syracusan tyrant, who, having massacred the senate and principal citizens, seized the reins of government; and who afterwards gained so much glory in his unequal contest with the Carthaginians, carrying the war to the very gates of Carthage, and forcing his enemies to agree to a highly disadvantageous peace. Yet Machiavelli says of him, "a man cannot properly be called virtuous who massacres

his fellow citizens, betrays his friends, and has no regard either to his word or to religion and humanity; for though indeed he may arrive at empire, he can never acquire true glory by those means. When I reflect, therefore, upon the intrepidity and address of Agathocles, both in encountering and extricating him out of all dangers, as well as his invincible magnanimity in adversity, I see no reason why he may not be ranked among the greatest captains; but if we consider the horrid barbarities and innumerable other crimes he was guilty of, he certainly does not deserve to be numbered with truly virtuous or excellent men." True; but has Caesar Borgia any better claim to be admitted into that good society? Machiavelli does not indeed allow, nor does he expressly disallow, such a claim in this treatise. But he gives Borgia his true character elsewhere, in his letters and in one of his poems. The private correspondent and the poet seem more free to moralize than the politician. It is possible, that being a hater of petty tyrants and a true lover of the people, Machiavelli felt less horror at the crimes of Borgia, because they were chiefly committed against the nobility and petty chieftians, while he was a good governor, and his treatment of the people was at once wise, just and kind; a fact on which our author evidently dwells with complacency: "for," says he, "notwithstanding his cruelty and perfidy, he not only thoroughly reformed and united Romagna, but settled it in peace, and attached the people so strongly to him, that they remained in firm allegiance after his power had vanished and all his other dominions had abandoned him." Perhaps Machiavelli had entertained hopes, that the genius of Borgia might be made the means of restoring the union and independence, if not the liberty of his country. But after all, in view of his judgment of this wicked man, we cannot entirely acquit him of being blinded by the corruption of the times.

Nor would we undertake to defend all the phraseology of his general theories; but so far as refutation is needed we leave that work, as we proposed, to Machiavelli himself. In his *Livian Discourses* he introduces the same subject, and lays down the same rules for the guidance of the new prince (a Machiavellian euphemism for *tyrant*) in order to maintain his State.

The general principle is, he must destroy whatever is old and make all things new. He must raze the old cities, and build new ones; change the inhabitants from place to place, make the rich poor and the poor rich, and in short leave nothing unturned, allow no gradation, order, state or wealth to exist whose possessor does

not owe it to *him*. He must take for his pattern Philip of Macedon who thus from a petty prince became sovereign of all Greece, and whose historian says that he changed men from province to province as the herdsmen drive their herds from place to place.

Such are the maxims; now for the comment. "These methods," Machiavelli adds, "are indeed most cruel and destructive, not only to all Christian, but to all human living; and every man ought to avoid them, and prefer rather to live a private man than be a king with so great a ruin of mankind. Nevertheless, he who will not take that first way of virtue, must needs, if he will maintain himself, enter into this course of cruelty. But men are apt to take certain middle courses which are their infallible ruin; for not having learned to be wholly good nor wholly bad, they lose everywhere and gain nowhere."

In this passage we think we find the private key to the moral side of Machiavelli's system. But we leave it for the present, and hasten to close our extracts with a portion of what the admirers of the Florentine secretary call his *golden chapter*.

"Among all celebrated men, the most celebrated are the founders of religions; next, the founders of States; next, successful commanders; and next, the men of letters; these last each according to his degree. To an innumerable multitude of other men belongs some meed of praise, which their respective arts and professions measure out to each. On the other hand, infamous and detestable are the corrupters of religion, the destroyers of States, the enemies of virtue, of letters and of whatever art brings utility and honor to mankind, as are the impious and violent, the ignorant, the idle, the vile and the worthless. And no man will ever be found so foolish or so wise, so bad or so good, that, these two sorts of men being set before him, he would not praise that which is to be praised and blame that which is to be blamed. Yet, after all, most men deceived by a false good and a false glory, are led away either voluntarily or unwittingly in the footsteps of those who deserve blame rather than praise." "But it seems impossible that a man who had rightly considered the memories of ancient things, should not prefer as a private man to live in his country like Scipio rather than Caesar; or as a prince to be like Timoleon and Dion honored and loved, rather than infamous and hated like Phalaris and Dionysius. Nor let any one be deceived by the glory of Caesar, finding history full of his praise; because his eulogists were dazzled by the splendor of his fortune, and confounded by the duration of the em-



pire, which being governed still under his name did not allow the historians to speak freely of *him*. But whoever would know what free historians would have said of him, may see what they say of Catiline. And Caesar is so much more detestable than Catiline as, the man is more to be blamed who has committed wrong than he who has only designed it." "Let a person consider the unutterable woes which the usurpation of Caesar and the vices of his successors entailed upon their country;—'Rome burnt, the Capitol razed, the ancient temples laid waste, the cities full of adulteries, the seas full of exiles, the rocks covered with blood; nobility, riches, honors, above all, virtue imputed as a capital crime;'—he will know then most perfectly, what obligations Rome, Italy, and the world are under to Caesar. And without doubt if he be born of man he will shrink with horror from all imitation of those wicked times, and will burn with an immense desire to follow the good. And verily a prince seeking a world-wide renown, might desire to possess a corrupt city, not utterly to ruin it like Caesar, but to reconstitute it like Romulus. Heaven cannot give, nor man desire a better occasion of acquiring glory. And let those to whom Heaven gives this opportunity, consider that two ways are set before them—one which will make their lives secure and their memories glorious, the other which will make them live in continual anxiety, and after death, leave behind them an everlasting infamy."

Now let any of the detractors of Machiavelli give worthier expressions to worthier sentiments than those. Those sentiments manifestly came from his heart; yet he does not so much as hint that they are inconsistent with those which in his "Prince" he had already given to the world; on the contrary it is plain from the whole context that his *political* views had undergone no change. I say, those sentiments came from his heart. If there was anything Machiavelli loved, it was his country; if there was anything for which he labored and sighed, it was for the reformation, reünion and independence of Italy. Those concluding sentences, just cited, were evidently addressed to the princes and great men of Italy in the hope of stirring up some one of them to the undertaking of that great effort. Machiavelli could not close a work so dry and cold as his "Prince" even, without devoting the whole of the last chapter to an exhortation to liberate Italy from the "barbarians," (as, in their pride, the degenerate Italians still used to denominate the rest of the Europeans.)

concluding with the earnest hope that the patriotic lines of Petrarch might be verified ;

" Virtue against barbarian rage shall arm,  
And make the contest short ; for what once fired  
Italian hearts is not yet all extinct."<sup>1</sup>

Not only was Machiavelli's character as a patriot and statesman held in honor while he lived ; but his writings were received at first, both in Italy where he was personally known, and elsewhere, with unmingled approbation. Their subsequent fate has been singular. They were prohibited and pronounced accursed by the Council of Trent ; and, by a strange coincidence, the general voice of Christendom seems to have agreed with that of the Tridentine Fathers. But far different was their first reception. Pope Clement VII. graciously received the dedication of the Florentine History, and issued his brief granting the privilege of the Apostolic See for the publication of the History, the *Prince* and the Livian Discourses. John Gaddi, one of the principal prelates of the Romish church, and clerk of the Apostolic chamber, had no difficulty in accepting the publisher's dedication of the Discourses and the Prince ; and together with Cardinal Ridolfi, even lent all the aid in his power to the publication of the complete writings of Machiavelli. All this was done when their contents were thoroughly known and understood. Even after they had been put under the ban by the court of Rome, the congregation of Cardinals appointed a commission to revise and expurgate them, that they might be stricken from the prohibited list ; and the only changes or expurgations proposed by this commission were a few grammatical corrections, *pro formâ* ; and the omission of certain passages, in which the author had spoken with too great liberty of the popes. With these alterations they offered to allow the works to be published under another name than Machiavelli's ; but his surviving friends would not accede to that condition, and so the plan proved abortive. Thus it is abundantly manifest that the real objections of Rome were not, are not, founded on the alleged immorality and impiety of his " Prince," but on the freedom with which he deals with the popes, a freedom which gave not the same offence at the time ;

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<sup>1</sup> Virtù contr'al furore  
Prenderà l'arme, e fia il combatter corto,  
• Che l'antico valore  
Negli Italici cuor non è ancor morto.

because the statements were then notoriously true; and a pope in those times cared little for the honor or memory of his immediate predecessors, but perhaps had even opposed and hated them with all his heart. But in after times, when the honor of the Romish church was felt to be involved in the honor of her popes, of course such writings as Machiavelli's which were of a character to immortalize their infamy, became extremely obnoxious, and must be silenced at all hazards. The passage, which has been cited, on the Romish corruptions of Christianity, was of itself enough to rouse the Fathers of Trent to the most vehement anathemas.

It is true that one of the earliest assailants of "The Prince" was a French Protestant, Gentilette, who wrote an *Anti-Machiavelli*; but he is known to have been instigated to do this by a temporary political purpose, that of bringing into odium Catherine of Medici, as an Italian, then Queen of France and head of the Roman Catholic party. Its first assailant was cardinal Pole, an English Romanist. And from that time the Jesuits seem to have taken it as their special charge to preserve and augment the public horror against all the works of the unfortunate Florentine Secretary. Even the Abate Tiraboschi, generally so impartial, treats Machiavelli with manifest unfairness. The Jesuits denouncing Machiavelli as a teacher of perfidy and fraud! The Jesuits! who have rightly given their name to a practice to which they can only accuse Machiavelli of having furnished a part, and that, (if Pascal is to be believed,) not the worst part, of the theory! But wonders do not cease here. Whom would you select, of all the men of the last century, as the least fit,—except on the principle on which one thief is most fit to catch another,—to refute the perfidious and impious doctrines ascribed to Machiavelli? About the year 1740 there appeared at Amsterdam an anonymous critique of "The Prince," entitled *Anti-Machiavelli*, the most unmeasured tirade against that book and its author that had ever been seen. You would suppose the writer a perfect saint, bating the excess of his holy indignation. Who published this criticism? Voltaire. Who wrote it? Frederic, then crown-prince of Prussia, afterwards Frederic II. surnamed the Great; a monarch whose name is as deservedly and inseparably associated with rapacity, perfidy, tyrannical government and unjust war, as any of the wretches whose names are "damned to everlasting fame," in Machiavelli's immortal pages.

This same conscientious, noble-minded, tender-hearted royal critic began his reign with a series of acts of treachery and baseness, to which we may safely challenge the history of the world to furnish a parallel. Read the story of his first unprovoked, unthreatened, though not unpremeditated attacks upon the young, lovely and defenceless queen of Hungary, whom he had solemnly sworn to protect in the succession, on the demise of her father the emperor of Germany. Inhumanly selecting for the commencement of hostilities a moment which any savage would have respected, the moment when she had just become an orphan and a mother, all unexpectedly, Frederic poured his troops like a whirlwind into her dominions. This was not all. Without any exaggeration or figure of speech beyond a most rigid mathematical comparison, we may say, that in the course of this transaction he carried his perfidy to the fourth degree of intensity. He first attacked, under the circumstances referred to, the queen and empress, and thus drew all Europe into the famous "seven years' war;" then broke his solemn engagements with his allies, abandoned them and made peace with the empress; again joined them in violation of his solemn treaty, and attacked the empress; when the purpose of this movement was accomplished, he again abandoned them and again made a separate peace, and at the general pacification of Aix la Chapelle, Frederic was the only gainer. But on his head is all the blood that was shed in a war that raged for many years all round the globe. This was the time and the primary occasion of our old French and Indian war. "The evils produced by Frederic's wickedness were felt in lands where the name of Prussia was unknown; and in order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of Canada;" the scattered villages of New England were laid in ashes by the savages, men butchered, children dashed against the stones and women carried into captivity. Such a man was the modern Anti-Machiavelli! Yet the Jesuits, Frederic and Voltaire have raised such a din, as to make men believe that Nicholas Machiavelli was the advocate in theory of the same principles which too many of his opponents have carried out in practice.

But were not some of his doctrines really immoral and dangerous? Before answering this question, it is fair to say that the most objectionable of them did not originate with him, but were enunciated long before by Aristotle, and commented upon by

Thomas Aquinas without disapprobation.<sup>1</sup> Like Machiavelli, Aristotle was at once a hater and an instructor of tyrants, himself a republican, the son of a free city. Like Machiavelli he lived just in the last period of the struggling liberty of his country; and like Machiavelli he wrote a treatise on Politics which is a store-house of facts and profound reflections fitted to teach us modern republicans most useful lessons; for the father of syllogisms and categories was also a practical man.

According to him most tyrants have sprung from demagogues who began with exciting and pampering the passions, and thus captivating the affections of the people, and ended with enslaving their persons. Such is their *genealogy*. Their *policy* is of two kinds, either *intension* or *remission*; i. e. they either so cripple the people that resistance becomes impotent if not impossible; or else they continue to make the people believe them their guardians and protectors, by putting on a semblance of religion and love of justice, reforming abuses and engaging in great enterprises. As to morals, therefore, concludes Aristotle, "let a tyrant, if it is impossible to be virtuous, at least seem so, and not be professedly, but only really wicked."<sup>2</sup>

But who does not see that the tyrannic precepts whether of Aristotle or of Machiavelli, in a moral view, amount to just this, that as tyranny is a bad thing, it can be sustained only by bad means. And this is sufficient explanation and defence of all Machiavelli's directions for his *new prince*, which are among the most repulsive in his book.

But ought he not to have condemned tyranny, and warned men not to become tyrants? He has done it in the strongest terms, and in the most earnest and persuasive forms. Of an Agathocles, a Ferdinand and a Caesar he has given, as has been seen, his moral judgment with sufficient distinctness. In his "Prince," he did not profess to point out what man, as a moral being ought to do, but what man, as a selfish being, must do, under certain conditions, to attain certain ends. And the only fair question is, taking things as they really are, or rather as they really were, has he pointed out the efficacious means of success? If he has not, who shall complain? the bad men deceived by his direction, or the good men who see them thus ruined?

<sup>1</sup> Aristoteles de Republica, Liber V. et Comment. S. Thom. Aquin. Lect. X. and XI.

<sup>2</sup> De Republica Lib. V. cap. XI. ad fin.

But is it allowable to give systematic rules for the commission of wickedness, though the rules may be ever so wisely adapted to the attainment of the wicked end? It certainly should seem that a Christian man might be better employed. But if Machiavelli is wrong in this particular, he is not at all singular. There are many men among us who think that, judged by the Christian principles of private intercourse, war is indefensible; still neither men in general nor they themselves have yet learned to shrink from an art of war, or condemn a writer on that subject as they would one who should draw up a system of rules for house-breaking, highway-robbery or piracy; nor is such probably the real feeling in any intelligent man's mind. The Scythian ambassadors are represented as having told Alexander the Great to his face, that he was no better, nay infinitely worse, than a common robber and pirate. And so he was in a certain point of view. But has he on the whole been so regarded by mankind, or is he likely to be? Is there likely to be a man so good, that he would rather be the basest thief than Alexander the Great? There may be. All men may come to think so by and by. But hitherto men have not thought so. And surely Machiavelli should not be harshly condemned because his ethics were not *singularly* pure, meek and Christian in a period of unusual corruption, violence and selfishness. In the tone of his morals, taking his works all together, he was decidedly in advance of his age and countrymen. Yet he plainly thought that Philip of Macedon, Ferdinand the Catholic, even Agathocles and the Borgias, were more respectable personages than common burglars and pirates. And until the two classes are fully merged under the same category, and men have as much respect for a reckless murderer as for the emperor Napoleon, till then, a system of *maxims* showing how by fraud and violence a man may reach, or rather retain when reached, the height of political power, is not to be confounded with a set of rules for thieves and assassins. When power and fame such as Alexander's and Caesar's actually cease to be desirable or to exist, Machiavelli's politics will be exploded, and not till then.

If it is charged that his system as developed in "The Prince," is one of pure selfishness, it is admitted. It professes to be nothing more. And it has this merit beyond many other systems which at bottom are not in the least its betters, that it is *unvarnished* selfishness; it shows itself in all its nakedness and deformity. Hence the violence with which many have attacked it.

They have seen in it too lively a picture of their conscious selves; they have *felt* the exposure, as though the secrets of their own bosoms were betrayed to the world. "Many things are seen; many things exist and are not seen. Machiavelli was a most sagacious observer and a too ingenuous narrator of human depravity. He has candidly spoken out what many other statesmen and politicians not only think and firmly believe, but also practise, every day of their lives." "We ought to thank Machiavelli who has uttered openly and without dissembling what men are wont, not what they ought, to do."<sup>1</sup>

His system, therefore, must not be judged as a moral code, but as a system of worldly wisdom and mere expediency; everything else, right or wrong, good or bad, present pleasure or present pain, being regarded with indifference, except so far as it may subserve the designs of an aspiring, grasping ambition. It is the only consistent system of expediency that has ever been published to the world. Its "ought" implies not a moral duty, but the means to an end, as inferred from historical facts. Its rule is to do what your own interest requires.

Machiavelli starts with the assumption that men in general are wicked and selfish; that they are natural enemies, each endeavoring to make for himself the most he can out of all the rest. Considering them, therefore, as in a state of warfare, he sees nothing worse in fraud or perfidy as a means of victory, than in force; and in this he is a representative of Italian, in distinction from Saxon character. *We* despise a man who gains the advantage in a contest by deception or treachery, but have a certain respect for bold and heaven-daring bravery. We do not abhor "acting the beast" altogether, but we take the lion and reject the fox. Not so the Italian. *He* respects the man who gains his point by cunning and artifice, and thinks nothing can be greater folly than to expose one's life to his enemy only to secure fair play. Plainly it is not a question of Christian morals, but of mere prudence and folly; for Christianity as much forbids the open violence as the treacherous artifice. Educational, (or perhaps constitutional,) tastes and prejudices being set aside, is it so sure the Italian would not have the better of the argument? His view of the case gives the mind its due preponderance over the body. The man of feeble external force or means, but possessed of a subtle, acute, contriving intellect, is brought up to an

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<sup>1</sup> Bacon, *De Augm. Sc. Lib. VII. c. II.*

equality with his stronger but less cunning antagonist. Why should he forego the advantage which his mental endowments or acquisitions give him?

The maxim under consideration, as applied to international relations, comes to this, that it is as right, wise and honorable for a nation to gain an advantage over its antagonist by diplomatic cunning, or even downright perfidy, as by force and arms. And why not? If war be considered in its true character, as the highest sanction of the laws of nations, the ultimate means of checking and punishing international aggressions and injustice, then indeed is there a vast difference between the two sets of means in question. But if war be considered, as it was in Machiavelli's time, and always had been, as an instrument of national ambition and a means of national aggrandizement, then why is downright force any whit more justifiable than downright perfidy?

It is often said that in national conflicts the just cause will prevail. This prediction is made too much on mere theoretical and moral grounds. It would be practically true if mankind generally were virtuous, and if a sense of justice actually predominated in their minds over self-interest and passion. But on historical grounds Machiavelli denies it, yet not in such a sense as to assert that the unjust cause as such will prevail. On the contrary, he can consistently admit, what indeed is an unquestioned fact, that the justice of one's cause is an advantage, a very great advantage, but not an advantage to counterbalance all possible odds set against it. He can admit, therefore, all that can fairly and reasonably be claimed by the moralist, that *other things being equal* the just cause will prevail; and yet deny the universal or even general truth of the prediction. For the condition on which its fulfilment is thus made to depend, includes a wider range of circumstances than we at first sight are apt to think. In such a world as this has been, or at least, as it was in Machiavelli's times, it is not easy to suppose other things to be actually equal. And his doctrine seems to be that, taking things as they are, if two parties are opposed to each other of equal individual, external force and means, yet, as they never stand alone in the universe, but are surrounded by a multitude of others who take a greater or less interest in their struggle, that party which knows best how, by the arts of intrigue and political management, to play off the prejudices, passions and self-interest of his neighbors against his adversary, is likely to prevail, whether his original



cause be just or unjust. For here it must be borne in mind that he who conscientiously depends upon the justice of his cause, cannot consistently be supposed to use any but fair and honorable means; and thus it will be seen that, in the world as it is, other things can rarely be supposed perfectly equal.

If the question, whether a just cause supported by just and fair means, has generally prevailed over an unjust cause and foul play, be treated purely as a question of historical fact, its decision is a matter of moral indifference. Machiavelli may be right or wrong about it; it matters not which; only it is clear, no odium should be incurred by his opinion in regard to a mere matter of fact. And whatever is true in respect to the past, of course we cannot help, if we would, its application to the future. But if the doctrine that the just cause and just means prevail, is held as containing a moral motive, or is applied as a test to determine the character of passing events, then we maintain that it is a doctrine infinitely worse and more ruinous to all morality than any that has ever been ascribed to Machiavelli. For if the just cause prevails, then, considering this as a test, the cause which prevails is just; then, might makes right; then the defeated and oppressed are deprived even of the consolation of conscious rectitude. The worst doctrines of Machiavelli never could, never pretended to do that. Because he says fraud and injustice are successful in a wicked world, he never pretended they changed their nature and were justified. *Without* this moral application it is true this Anti-Machiavellian doctrine is no more odious, neither is it any less so, than that to which it is opposed; but *with* this application it is infinitely more odious and dangerous. We will not reply to it in the impious spirit of Frederic the Great, who used to say that "he always found Providence on the side of strong regiments." But impious as this is, it is but a natural inference from the common irreverence with which men are wont in their self-satisfaction, to ascribe their petty successes to the approving aid of Divine Providence. If the divine judgment is thus to be ascertained, a virtuous man would often take sides with Cato against it:

"*Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*"

Whose was the just cause in the wars of the Alexanders and Caesars, of Turks and Tartars, of the Frederics and Ferdinands, of Cortes and Pizarro, of Russians with Circassians and Poles, or of the British with the East Indians?

In modern history, as there is nothing, whether for the policy of the means or the grandeur of the result, to be compared with the conquests of the English in the East, so there is nothing which more perfectly illustrates and confirms the doctrines of Machiavelli. Such were the methods of achieving and maintaining these gigantic conquests, that Erskine is said to have replied, in substance, to the condemnatory voice of the public, that it was preposterous to bring to the standard of justice and humanity the exercise of a dominion founded upon violence and terror; and that her empire in the East would long since have been lost to Great Britain, if alternate fraud and force, if civil skill and military prowess had not united their efforts to support an authority which Heaven never gave, by means which Heaven never could sanction.

Nothing furnishes a more striking parallel to the course of the English in India, than the external policy of ancient Rome. And the success of this course in both cases is not to be concealed or denied. If, now, we should point to Rome's systematic intermeddling with the affairs of others, always so skilfully managed as to improve her own, to the concentrated selfishness, the insatiate cupidity, the crafty acts and consummate policy with which she cajoled city after city and State after State into pretended alliance, but real slavery; or to that steady perseverance and valor, that array of armies and navies with which, *per fas et nefas*, she compelled others to submit to her iron sway; and if we then should point to the precisely similar methods by which the English have extended their Indian dominions, and should say, "such is the way for nations to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors;" would it be fair to accuse us of recommending to other nations to imitate these examples? Rome had indeed great virtues and produced many great and good men; and so has England. The weak side, in the one case as in the other, lies in that patriotic selfishness which can hardly see injustice in anything which contributes largely to the national grandeur. The name of the best of the Romans is identified with the atrocious sentiment, *Delenda est Carthago*. Yet in the severest condemnation of the conduct of the East India Company's agents, we feel that we have with us the best and noblest hearts in England; although alas, as a nation, England has, by openly "receiving the plunder," if not approved that conduct, at least, assumed its responsibility. And let us observe what a perfect refinement of Machiavellian policy it is, for the

conquerors of India to assume the censorship of the world, and to administer the most indignant rebukes to other nations for their real or alleged acts of violence or perfidy. In practice, the argument which is best supported by the bayonet is the most irrefragable. But let us be thankful that, in theory, we have a better test of right than success.

Yet there is a school of philosophers at the present day, who talk long and learnedly about finding the retributive justice of God in the passing events of history. Take for example Alison's *History of the late revolutions and wars in Europe*, whose constant wearisome burden, the refrain of almost every chapter, is the judgment of God upon the impious efforts of all revolutionists and republicans, and the seal of his mighty approbation set upon the cause of England and of the old dynasties of Europe, in guiding it through all perils, and crowning it finally with glorious success. Impious and short-sighted man! presuming to grasp the thunders and distribute the retributions of the Almighty! Did he not see that a different lesson might have been read to the world after the peace of Tilsit? Or did he suppose that the battle of Waterloo was the consummation of all things? Did he forget the actually existing agitations of Ireland for the repeal of that very union, which was iniquitously and corruptly imposed upon the Irish for no better plea than that of necessity; the plea of tyrants, because England could not otherwise prosecute successfully those very wars with Napoleon? Did he forget the immense debt under which England hopelessly groans, contracted in those same wars? Had he never heard the thunders muttering in the horizon, and threatening a tempest of ruin to her who, like Tyre of old, sits a queen in the seas, and says in her heart, "I shall never be desolate, I shall never be a widow?"

Far distant be the day when that storm shall come. We wish no ill to England; rather, with her own poet, we can truly say, "with all her faults we love her." We are far from saying or believing, that in her contest with Napoleon her cause was unjust. We here object only to such a method of proving its justice, as that insisted on by Alison. Let not England flatter herself that she has already passed the historic ordeal, or, in her pride, presume that, in giving her success and prosperity, God has revealed his judgment upon her cause and character. In God's view and in God's time the right will surely prevail. But man sees not the end from the beginning; nay, he sees not the end at all.

God's hand is most assuredly to be acknowledged in history. The history of the world is a vast process of divine judgment. But God is not in haste to pronounce his sentences. As Guizot has well said, "The Almighty is not straitened for time. He moves through time as the gods of Homer through space. He takes a step, and ages have rolled away!" He generally speaks in a language, too, which ages alone can interpret. Time and Scripture, however, have placed the import of some of his sentences beyond all question. The Jewish nation has been judged; the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian and the Roman empires have been judged. They have received a righteous retribution; yet not so, be it carefully noted, not so that the successive instruments of this righteous retribution are justified for their agency in it. God employed the Assyrians as the rod of his anger to punish his rebellious people; yet we are distinctly told the Assyrian meant not so, neither did his heart think so. His designs were of ambition, injustice and devastation. "Wherefore it shall come to pass," saith the prophet, "that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and Jerusalem, he will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria and the glory of his high looks."

What was thus true of the Assyrian may safely be said of the Persian, Greek and Roman. It is plain, therefore, that, taking the most purely ethical, scriptural and Christian view of history, and taking those particular cases, too, in which the sentence of God's judgment has been most unequivocally expressed; that sentence is *not a decision on the comparative merits of two parties*, making the just cause to triumph over the unjust. It is altogether a different matter. And if we find this the case in regard to events, whose significance time has fully explained, and in our judgment of which passion can have no share, how ought we to shrink from that most audacious presumption, of undertaking so to interpret the passing, half-developed events of history as to forestall the divine judgment in our own favor!

God is wont to bring good out of evil, but that does not make the evil good, or justify it in any wise. Charlemagne gave the conquered Saxons the option of being baptized or drowned. Unquestionably it was an act of the most unchristian and outrageous tyranny; yet, in the providence of God, it has had an historical, causal connection with the existence of Christianity in Germany at the present day.

The English succeeded in their late war with China. There

are different opinions about the justice of that war; but for ourselves, in the face of that success, we are as fully convinced of its deep injustice on the part of England, as if the Chinese had taken London, instead of the English having taken Canton. Yet for all this, we doubt not God has dealt justly with the Chinese, and will cause many benefits to mankind to result from the success of English ambition and cupidity in that unholy war. Even though we might venture to say, therefore, that the French Revolution and Empire have been judged, yet the historical result thus interpreted, is far from proving the righteousness of the cause of England and her allies. It proves neither one thing nor another in this direction.

If we remember aright, Sir Walter Scott devotes about a hundredth part of his whole life of Napoleon, to a defence of the English for violating the peace of Amiens. No Englishman can see anything immoral in the violation of that treaty of peace, nor do we know that any thorough bred statesman whatever condemns it politically; yet no better defence could ever be manufactured for it, than that it was necessary to self-preservation. This is good Machiavellism, and nothing better. Ask any statesman or diplomatist, whether nations are bound by the strict rules of justice and good faith; and without doubt he will answer in the affirmative. But his actions belie his words, or show him to mean only that all nations are so bound except his own. He is very willing that all others should have advantage of being thus bound, but *he* prefers greater latitude. This willingness to make an exception in his own favor, shows distinctly his opinion of the practical expediency of obeying that obligation.

Let us next apply Machiavelli's doctrine to the case of political men considered individually. He says the wicked prosper, and in order to succeed and maintain themselves, princes and statesmen must be content to do wrong sometimes. The opposite doctrine is, that "honesty is the best policy." Which is true? I answer unhesitatingly, both are true, according to the different ends to which the policy in question is directed. But past history forces upon us the unwelcome conclusion, that Machiavelli's doctrine is true and the other false, in the sense in which that other is generally understood. If the object in view is no higher or purer than mere worldly aggrandizement, it may well be doubted whether a rigid adherence to the rules of strict integrity and justice, under all circumstances, is the surest road to success. Yet we suppose this is the usual idea attached to that proverb. If, on the other

hand, the object proposed is our highest happiness in this world and in the next, then doubtless, in its fullest sense, "honesty is the best policy," if "policy" can be mentioned at all in such a connection. We would by no means imply that good men should withdraw from the responsibilities of their civil relations. Rather, let them prepare themselves, and hold themselves always ready to perform all the duties to which their country may *call them*. But let them not be competitors with mere politicians for the emoluments and honors of office, neither let them seek office at all from personal views; and in the last analysis, are not *partisan* views almost always *personal*?

That men may be so excessively, foolishly or openly dishonest, as well as otherwise vicious, as effectually to preclude their worldly advancement, is undeniable; but Machiavelli's direction is only to practise dishonesty and wrong on occasion, and always with the greatest art and dissimulation. Whether such a course is the means of promoting one's worldly aggrandizement, is not a question of morals or of theory, but of fact and history. But let it not be forgotten, the question is between the success of perfect honesty and pure virtue on the one hand, and the success, not of the most open dishonesty and grossest wickedness on the other, but of such an artful mixture as Machiavelli has declared necessary. And let it be distinctly remembered likewise, that the whole discussion regards rather cases of contest and competition, the scramble for worldly power and distinction, than the quiet, natural progress of individual advancement.

What say the records of the past? Who are the men that in the struggles of active life and especially as princes and statesmen, have attained the greatest power, wealth and honor of the world? Cyrus the Great, one of the purest princes of ancient History, acquired the throne of universal empire, according to Xenophon, by two acts of fraud and perfidy. Xenophon's *historical* authority may be denied, but his *political* judgment is left unimpaired. Philip of Macedon made himself master of all Greece, vastly more by the wiles of a crooked policy than by superior force, and certainly not at all by justice. Alexander the Great attacked nation after nation without the shadow of a reason, and yet succeeded in every instance. Compare Julius Caesar with Cicero—which succeeded best in worldly aggrandizement? Octavianus Augustus was the most wily man of his times. *He* became emperor of the world, while Brutus fell on the plains of Pharsalia, and Cato opened his own veins in Utica.

When it was reported to Ferdinand the Catholic, that the king of France complained of having been deceived by him three times ; "the simple fool !" said Ferdinand, " I have deceived him more than a dozen times, and he has not known it." Of the success of this perfidious man we have already spoken. We need only name a Philip II. and an Oliver Cromwell, Mahomet and the Popes of Rome. Even of Napoleon we might make a strong case, for plainly it was not his perfidy, his artifices or his injustice that ruined him ; without them he never would have been Napoleon to be ruined ; ambition "overleaping itself," undertaking more than was within the bounds of human possibility, caused his ruin. Such is the testimony of history on this side. What names can be put in the opposite scale ? Washington and Columbus are those we should mention first ; both men who, with pure characters, won the palm from their competitors, secured the honor and esteem of mankind while they lived, and left an undying fame, and who, thus considered, are more than enough to weigh down all the others. As Americans, we are prouder to have them for our own, as they both in some sense are, than we should be to claim Napoleon or Caesar for our countrymen. Personally, we would rather be either of them than any or all the others. But considered in reference merely to worldly grandeur, they are not so heavy. Columbus, at least, cannot be said to have enjoyed any great worldly emoluments or to have led a very happy life. And if an objection is made to ranging Napoleon and some others on the other side, drawn from their unfortunate end, Columbus must surely be stricken from this side, for a similar reason. And it may well be doubted whether, if Washington had lived a few years longer, he could have retained his popularity and political influence. Other names might be mentioned but they would not alter the result.

Let us descend from these high places to the small trade of domestic politics among ourselves ; and what are the principles of our political men as inferrible from their general conduct and occasional verbal admissions ? Could a rigidly virtuous man of moderate abilities, but of fixed and independent principles, and independent they must be if they are fixed, live and rise in our political world ? Would he stand a fair chance with crafty men of loose principles, but not at all his superior in mental endowments or practical attainments ? Most assuredly not. Aristotle never uttered a more certain truth, than when he said that virtuous men must acknowledge the overwhelming preponderance of

their antagonists in the political arena, and, if they are wise, will retire from the unequal contest.

The same vices apply, to a great extent, in social and private relations. In almost every little village you may find one or more of Machiavelli's princes on a small scale. He is a man who prefers to be on the right, but is determined to be on the strongest side. Always ready to flatter the powerful, he will often patronize the weak, but tread mercilessly on a fallen opponent. He will conspire for the ruin of a neighbor, and, when he has accomplished it, will have the address to make him believe that *he* is his best friend, and leave all the odium on his coadjutors. He will dissemble, manage, intrigue, but always keep up good appearances and professions. Ever cool and calculating, he is guilty of no indiscretions of the heart. He knows well how to use others for his own purposes, and has his tools well-selected and drilled to facilitate his various manoeuvres. In his encroachments, he is too wary ever to overstep the limits prescribed by the laws of the land. No man more religious or orthodox than he. He can talk of the public good while he thinks of his own, and cover a private grudge under the garb of conscientiousness. Success is the first principle of his creed and his morals; hence his neighbors, having seen him always successful, resort to him for advice. He studiously avoids odium and contempt, would like to be loved, but is resolved to be feared; would have his friendship desirable, but his enmity annihilation.

In saying, with the author of "The Prince," that such are the men who prosper in the world, we trust we shall not be understood as defending Machiavellism, but only Machiavelli; not as maintaining that the course of conduct he has described is morally good or justifiable, but only that his doctrine of the success of such a course of conduct is true. Of this fact Machiavelli's own testimony is better evidence than that of a hundred mere philosophers, moralists and theorists to the contrary. A man of more extensive and varied experience than the crafty and much-tried Ulysses himself; of remarkable sagacity, close observation, cool judgment and profound knowledge of history; it would be difficult to find one better qualified to testify on this point as a matter of fact, at least so far as regards the history of the world down to, and especially *during* his own times.

It is true that in proportion as society in general is well ordered and virtuous, dishonesty and vice are less tempted by the prospect of success, or at least have need of a higher perfection in



the art of simulation and dissimulation. That society among us has already reached such a pitch of virtue that all intrigue and unprincipled selfishness are utterly discouraged, that every man and every cause are successful in proportion to their real merits without any temptation to depart from the perfectly open, truthful and straight forward course, we have no interest to deny; Machiavelli's justification does not require it to be denied. Would it were true! But up to the Christian era such had not been the case, as is evident from the whole drift of our Saviour's instructions; and Machiavelli honestly thought it had not been the case for 1500 years afterwards. But whenever and wherever such is the case, Machiavelli's doctrine ceases by its own limitations; for he says distinctly that if men in general were good, his rules of policy would not be good. Even now, looking at the past history of the world, and not at the present or future, we may safely say, there has never been among mankind any extensive society of long continuance, not even the visible church of Christ, taken as a whole, in which honest and simple virtue could compete on equal terms, for present honor, dignity and aggrandizement, with intrigue and selfishness.

But it is said that a man of integrity, gentleness, benevolence, truth, purity, piety, with a fair share of talents, cannot but succeed in the world; that his character must disarm opposition and win the universal esteem and favor. It is not to be denied, that in the quiet, natural course of things this is sometimes the case; and, besides, there are certain extraordinary conjunctures in human affairs, when the world cannot do without such men, and it instinctively resorts to them as its only succor and safety. All such cases are to be noted and thankfully acknowledged. When the result is otherwise, such a man has no reason to repent of his choice, for he possesses in his own character what is worth more than all the world can give. But when popularity and worldly emolument are so confidently predicted as the necessary or even ordinary consequence of such a character, it seems to us the general selfishness and depravity are too much lost sight of. We ask, then, why Jesus was crucified? We ask, why martyrs were burned? why Abel's blood still cries from the ground? why prophets and holy men, in general and not in a few instances, "were tortured, had trial of cruel mocking and scourging, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment? They were stoned, they were sawn in sunder, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented,

(of whom the world was not worthy) ; they wandered in deserts and mountains and in dens and caves of the earth." We ask, who were the offscouring of all things in the Apostle's day? what means the blessing pronounced on those of whom all men, (i. e. the world in general,) should say all manner of evil, falsely indeed, but yet it was to be *said*; and what means the woe upon those of whom all men should speak well? And finally, what means the friendship of the world being enmity with God? Are all these antiquated principles and obsolete facts?

But it may be said, this doctrine must be a perversion of both history and Scripture, for it saps the foundations of morals, takes away the motives to virtue and piety, exalts and honors vice. We answer, show us a man who would not live a Christian life without such motives as those, and you have shown the man who would not live a Christian life with them. Has it indeed come to this? Are virtue, piety and Christianity to be degraded into mere means and appliances to gain the wealth and pomp and grandeur of this present world? Is a man to deny himself and take up his cross and follow his Saviour, only, chiefly, or at all, that he may be highly esteemed among men, and may secure the greater share of this world's goods and glories? Oh no! Let us not believe, let not the young be taught by way of additional encouragement, that God holds out the treasures and honors of earth as the reward of that life to which Christianity invites us. Different, far different is the reward he holds up to our view; a heavenly treasure, an incorruptible crown, immortal glory, eternal blessedness; a reward by the side of which that other vanishes into nothingness. Nor does he offer us both rewards, either in conjunction or succession. He bids us choose. We cannot serve God and mammon. We know of no holy Scripture in which worldly emolument is promised as the reward of a Christian life, nor do we know of any sound ethics in which worldly emolument is urged as the motive to a virtuous character. Indeed, without Christianity there can be no sound ethics. Epicureanism is the philosophy of this world; expediency is its morality. Heathen wisdom, by a happy inconsistency, may have sometimes reached to higher views, but it could never render them efficient.

But some one will ask, hath not godliness the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come? Yes; a most joyful and thankful *yes*. But does the life that now is, consist in worldly wealth, honor and grandeur? Is it possible that

a man who knows in his own consciousness what it is to be truly virtuous, not to use the term *Christian*, should have a view of life so mean and grovelling? "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Godliness has indeed the promise of the present life; and if you would know what that life is, read the epistle through, from which the promise is taken. The Apostle is far from teaching that gain is godliness. "But godliness," saith he, "with *contentment*, is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; and *having food and raiment*, let us be therewith *content*. But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is; not by securing to us the wealth and honors of the world, but by making us contented and happy without them as well as with them. Thus, when the selfishness and worldliness of Peter's heart broke forth in the question, "behold we have left all and followed thee, what shall we have therefore?" our Saviour, having first referred to the eternal recompense of reward, assured him that every one who forsook houses, lands, parents and children for his sake, should receive an hundred fold in this present time, as well as in the world to come life everlasting. Now, no man will suppose our Saviour meant an hundred fold more of literal houses, lands, fathers, mothers, and so on; but, what should be equivalent to a hundred, yea, a thousand fold of them, in inward peace and joy, in pious communion and sympathy, in present holiness and glorious hopes of heaven.

The Proverbs of Solomon are often triumphantly adduced in confirmation of the opinion which we are disposed to controvert; and the great practical, not to say worldly, wisdom of the Hebrew sage, which inspired writers have so much extolled, though it can add nothing to the *authority* of his own inspiration, makes his testimony especially appropriate on such a subject as that here under discussion. The passages in which he is supposed to present the assurance of worldly aggrandizement as a motive to piety, are familiar, and, lest we should be thought to have overlooked them, we refer to some of them in the margin.<sup>1</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Prov. c. iii. 1—10, (but conf. verses 11 and 12); c. iv. 5—19; c. x. 2, 3, 27—30, (but, for explanation, conf. c. xi. 7, c. xiii. 7, c. xiv. 32, and c. xviii. 7); c. xii. 21; c. xvi. 8 (and 9?); c. xxi. 21, etc.

it seems to us that he has placed the whole doctrine in its proper light in his eulogium of wisdom, contained in the third chapter: "For the merchandize of it," saith he, "is *better* than silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is *more precious* than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her." "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." This, plainly, is recommending wisdom for what she is in herself, rather than for any external good which she may procure. It is true the wise man adds, "length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor;" but wisdom, appearing in her own person, has foreclosed all misapprehension of these words, in expressions perfectly parallel with those just cited, (chap. viii.): "Receive my instruction," saith she, "*and not* silver; and knowledge *rather than* choice gold," etc.; adding, "riches and honor are with me, yea, *durable riches and righteousness.*" It is further worthy of note that, in both of the passages referred to, the crowning motive assigned for seeking after wisdom, is its divine and primeval dignity. "The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth." "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way." From the drift of these passages we infer that Solomon, so far from giving the assurance of worldly wealth as a motive for seeking true wisdom, has placed the two in direct antithesis and contrast; he teaches, indeed, that wisdom secures riches, but they are *durable riches*. Hath not the same Solomon said, (chap xxiii. 5.): "Riches (i. e. worldly riches) certainly make to themselves wings; they fly away, as an eagle toward heaven?" Would he suggest the procuring of such riches as a motive for the attainment of wisdom? In the consideration of these points, we think we have a key to all the other apparently conflicting passages in the same book. It may not be amiss, further, to note the prayer, or "prophecy," of Agur: "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? or, lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain." Here the whole matter is brought to its proper practical bearings. Solomon himself has given us the process as well as the result of his whole experience in the book of Ecclesiastes; whose inscription is, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity;" and whose conclusion, after showing that, as far as worldly things are concerned, evil as well as good, the same event happeneth to all, is this: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."

Here let us say, once for all, we do not go about to make use of the Scriptures to confirm the doctrine of Machiavelli; this would be to degrade them; nor do we adduce the doctrine of Machiavelli in confirmation of the teachings of the Scriptures; of this they have no need. But we would merely show that Machiavelli's doctrine, so far from being inconsistent with the Scriptures, is in perfect harmony with them. The Scriptures teach us, that we must abandon the world if we would secure the rewards of piety. Machiavelli teaches us, on the other hand, that we must abandon the ways of piety if we would secure the aggrandizement of the world. In both cases, "the world" is to be understood in the same sense; not so much present happiness, comfort, contentment and peace, but, what some have been pleased to call the highest fruit and fairest flower of this world's growth, its power, its wealth, its distinctions and honors.

Why should any think it important to maintain that a life of piety should guard a man from *social* evils, and secure to him *social* benefits; while it is acknowledged that, in his *physical* relations, the righteous is not exempted from the laws of the common lot? In the midst of a corrupt race the former would seem even less likely than the latter.

That the evils of life fall upon different men in proportion to the magnitude of their respective sins, was flatly contradicted by our Lord, when there were certain present, who told him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. But he directed his hearers to a greater and more general catastrophe, and to a final retribution when all shall receive according to their respective characters; of which final retribution, the extraordinary interventions of Divine Providence in the punishment of the guilty are to be regarded as premonitions. That, on the other hand, the evils of life, in their severest form, are sometimes sent upon the best of men, so that, when their faith and patience have been tried, they may receive a crown of life, is one of the lessons for the express inculcation of which the book of Job was written. Holding the opinion we are controverting as their premise, Job's friends are led by a natural consequence to accuse him of some enormous, though secret sin, and to maintain that, unless he had been guilty of some such sin, his sufferings would be an arraignment of the Divine Providence. Job denies this inference, and, of course, the premise from which it is drawn; and the arguments on either side constitute the theme of the discussion between the parties. And, though in some particulars

Job's expressions were warped by passion, yet, in comparison with his friends, we are expressly assured that God decided in his favor, telling them, "ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, like my servant Job."

The subsequent prosperity of the patriarch does not alter the primary instruction contained in his history. Certainly Job would not have been the loser, if the last act of his life had been to sit down among the ashes and take a potsherd to scrape himself withal. But this returning worldly prosperity was meant, in the general spirit of the old dispensation, to foreshadow and bring home to sensible apprehension the eternal sanction of God's law and the final recompense reserved for all the just. The ultimate scope of the Scriptures of the Old as well as of the New Testament is, to direct our attention to the *end* both of the righteous and of the wicked. The end, the end; this is the burden of the Divine Revelation. David was grieved at the prosperity of the wicked till he went into the sanctuary of God and saw their *end*. "Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the *end* of that man is peace;" or, as our older translation expressed the same sentiment, with equal faithfulness to the original, "keep innocency and take heed to the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace *at the last*." "Moses chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, for he had respect unto the recompense of reward."

The agency of Satan, as recorded in Job's history—of him who in the New Testament, is still recognized as the prince and god of this world, is not to be slightly passed over in our theories of Providence, as though it was a piece of mere allegory or poetic machinery. When Satan offered our Lord all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, saying, "for these are delivered unto me and unto whomsoever I will, I give them,"—Jesus did not tell the tempter he lied, as some modern (wiser?) expositors would have done; for, had that been the case, what would have become of the temptation? but he simply rejected the mighty adversary's proffer on the highest of all possible grounds; the service of God was to be *preferred* to all worldly glory, honor, wealth and power. Let us pause a moment at this point in the history of the temptation, a point on which was suspended the question of human redemption. There stands the Saviour, his physical frame exhausted by long fasting, and his mental susceptibilities, (we may naturally suppose,) wrought up to the highest pitch of tension and sensitiveness. On the one hand, he sees

before him a life of sorrow and suffering, of poverty and contempt, with the bloody agony of Gethsemane and the ignominious cross of Golgotha to close the worldly scene; and on the other, the artful tempter has conjured before his excited imagination all the grandeur and glory of the world, and pressed them upon his acceptance. The choice is to be made. Not a moment does the Holy Jesus waver, but, casting Satan and all his splendid gifts behind his back, he goes forth to do his Father's will and bear that cross of shame. Men have talked and written of the moral sublime, and have adduced one and another instance in its illustration; but we know of no instance to be for one moment compared with this. And who, who could wish to degrade that scene by going back to the Saviour with the paltry suggestion, that even popularity and worldly honor would after all be best secured by the worship and service of God?

Undoubtedly good men do sometimes possess a large share of the wealth and honors of the world; but they are given to such men not for their own sake, but that they may be used for the attainment of the true riches. Our Saviour clearly presumes that some of his followers may be possessed of the Mammon of unrighteousness, but, in designating it as the Mammon of unrighteousness, he as clearly indicates the general character either of its possessors or of the methods of its acquisition. And here let those who harshly condemn Machiavelli for not connecting his sentence of disapprobation with his rules of policy, consider that our Lord has given us the parable of the unjust steward without one word of condemnation or of warning. He tells us, the lord of the unjust steward commended him because he had done wisely, and then adds, himself, that "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." As our Lord sometimes compares himself to the nocturnal thief, our readers will bear with a momentary parallel with Machiavelli.

The truth seems to be just this: we ought thankfully to acknowledge riches, honors and all distinctions as the gift of God, not indeed to our merits, but out of his goodness; and we ought humbly to submit to injustice, contumely and persecutions, as the righteous punishment of our sins, not indeed in such a sense as to justify the agents in its infliction, but God, who employs them and can make their very wickedness contribute not only to the general good but to our own. But whoever hopes by a life of virtue and piety to secure the external pomp of this world, together

with the internal peace and eternal blessedness which Christ proffers, may be gratified, we are far from denying it, he may be gratified; but he looks beyond all the promises of Holy Writ. So far as such a hope influences his conduct, we hesitate not to say he is actuated by an unchristian motive; and though God may gratify his worldly desire, he will certainly send leanness if not death into his soul. "Trust in the Lord and do good, and verily *thou shalt be fed.*" "The righteous shall not be forsaken, nor his seed left to *beggary.*" Such is the tenor of the promise. Every true and faithful Christian may be sure of enough of this world's good, as much as will conduce to his highest happiness here and hereafter. Do you ask for more? "Is not the life more than meat?" Is not the soul's peace more than all the rewards of ambition? Even the purer heathen philosophy got some glimpse of this; and Pope could write,

"One self-approving hour whole years outweighs  
Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas;  
And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels  
Than Caesar with a senate at his heels."

It is indeed written that "the meek shall inherit the earth." Under the Jewish dispensation worldly rewards were promised, if not to individuals, at least to the nation at large. Moreover, in the sense in which the prophet Habakkuk closed his sublime and glowing hymn of devout supplication, and in which David exclaimed, "I have a goodly heritage," it is true that the meek now and always inherit the earth. And whenever virtue shall everywhere prevail and selfishness be banished from the world, then in the fullest sense the meek shall inherit the earth. Meanwhile, in the actual enjoyment of all things, why should the Christian haggle for the technical possessory right? The time is indeed coming when "the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High;" but that will be a very different order of things from the present; and he who, seeing the wicked prosper, complains that he has "cleansed his heart in vain and washed his hands in innocency," is as "foolish and ignorant" now, as David was when he made the same complaint.

Should any be disposed to find fault with Machiavelli or with us, as holding up temptations to vice, we beseech them to consider that Machiavelli can make nothing true by saying so. The only proper question concerns the *truth* of what he says. If he has



told the truth, why complain of *him*, and not rather that things are really so ordered and governed that such should be the truth? If this is thought to be *dangerous* doctrine, especially for the young, we confess we cannot see it so. If men will seek the world let them seek it on worldly principles. There are no other on which they reasonably can seek it. It can do no harm to show how ungodly these principles are. Surely God was not manifest in the flesh, to teach the means of attaining such an end. Let men not delude themselves with the fond hope of transmuting the cross of Christ into gold, or of piling up the world's goods around them on Calvary. "He that thus seeketh his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for Christ's sake shall preserve it unto life eternal. And what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" This is the safe doctrine for the young and for all. Let men make their election. Let them sit down and count the cost; and not endeavor to combine in one monstrous system two things so incongruous as this world and heaven. Even "this world and heaven" is not the strict antithesis. It is rather the *external* and the *internal*. Virtue is its own reward here and hereafter. It seeks not the loaves and fishes in this world; neither does it seek any external recompense as its great object in the world to come. There is indeed a recompense promised to patient continuance in well-doing, no less a recompense than eternal life. Our Saviour said, "great is your reward in heaven." The truth is equally removed, on the one hand, from the overstrained and unscriptural doctrine of those who hold that all idea and hope of reward is destructive of the nature of virtue, even among imperfect beings like ourselves; and, on the other hand, from the preposterous doctrine of Paley, who makes it of the very essence of a virtuous act, that its motive should be the view of eternal happiness. But the end proposed by Christianity is so exactly of the same nature with the means, and the one so constantly and imperceptibly runs into the other, that they cannot *really*, but only *figuratively* or *logically*, be separated. The polar developments of magnetism or electricity are not more indissolubly connected. Yet, in condescension to our weakness, and in accordance with the common usages of language and modes of human thought, Christianity often, and very properly presents them to us under a separate form. But in truth we know of no better life, no purer happiness, no higher heaven, which Christianity holds up before us as the reward of well-doing, than is involved and included in perfect holiness. It offers us no

Mohammedan Paradise, no Indian isle of bliss. Unless perfect holiness have charms to captivate our hearts, we know of no heaven Christianity has to tempt us with.

In short then, if men *will* have the world at all hazards ; if, whatever it may cost, they are determined to join in the hot strife with men however unprincipled, for secular wealth, honors and distinctions ; we say to such, we can indeed point out to you no road to certain success ; you may be overreached and defeated after all your efforts, and the prize when obtained may vanish of itself or be wrested from your grasp. But, on the whole, as the world is, your shortest and surest way is to be ready to abandon principles, debase your characters, sear your consciences, sacrifice your peace and destroy your souls. But, as you value your highest happiness here or hereafter, enter not the lists in such a contest. Let the world have its own. Let Machiavelli be right. Let worldly men pursue a low object by base means ; the means are naturally fitted to the end. Let us not wish to deny, let us not envy their success. But let us seek for the approbation of a good conscience, for that "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord."

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## ARTICLE VII.

### THE TRUE DATE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

Translated from Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*. Hamburg, 1843.  
By Rev. George E. Day, Marlborough, Mass.

[The computation of time from the Christian era, universally adopted since the eighth century among Christian nations, is based upon the calculation of the year of Christ's birth, made in the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus a Roman monk of Scythian extraction. That this calculation is incorrect, is now generally admitted. The church fathers had only an uncertain tradition and differed among themselves. In modern times, Pearson and Hug, have placed the birth of Christ one year before our era ; Scaliger, agreeing with Eusebius, two years ; Calvisius Vogel, Paulus, and Süskind, agreeing with Jerome, three ; Bengel and Anger, with Wieseler and the common view, four ; Usher and Petavius, five ; Sanclemente and Ideler, seven.

The present essay, in addition to comprising the results of the

latest investigations on this question, is further valuable as a thorough examination of the credibility of two prominent events recorded in the gospels in connection with the birth of Jesus, both of which have been disputed, viz. the star in the east, and the census under Augustus near the time of Christ's birth. The former, Prof. Norton (*Evidences of the genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. I. Notes, p. lix.) does not hesitate to call "a fiction," and even grounds his rejection of the first two chapters in Matthew, in part, on their containing what he calls such "a strange mixture of astrology and miracle" as "we find represented in the story of the Magi." Even supposing the star to have been an extraordinary meteor, it is difficult to perceive the force of this objection, unless indeed we first assume that the birth of Christ was a far less important event than the world has been accustomed to regard it. But if the ground maintained by Wieseler, in this essay in respect to the star in the east, is correct, not only are the objections of Prof. N. stripped of the semblance of plausibility, but the narrative itself, confirmed by undeniable astronomical facts, becomes a remarkable witness in favor of the genuineness of the two chapters, which it is cited by Prof. N. to impeach.

It is only necessary to add that the author of the following essay is a native of Altencelle in the kingdom of Hanover, where he was born, Feb. 28, 1813. In 1836, he was appointed Repe- tent in Theology; in 1839, Privatdocent; and in 1842, Professor extraordinarius, in the University of Göttingen. The two other works by which he is known to the public are an examination of the genuineness of Mark 16: 9—20 and John xxi,<sup>1</sup> and a treatise on the Apocalyptical literature of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>2</sup> —Tr.]

FOR the sake of more certain progress, we propose to treat, in the first place, of the *year* in which Jesus was born, and then, to inquire whether anything can be definitely decided in respect to the *month* and *day*.

Our first inquiry, then, is: "In what *year* was Jesus born?"

<sup>1</sup> Num loci Mr. 16: 9—20, et Jo. 21, genuini sint nec ne indagatur eo fine, ut aditus ad histor. apparitionum J. Ch. rite conscribendam aperiatur. Götting. 1830, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Auslegung und Kritik der apokalypt. Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 1 Beitr. die 70 Wochen des Proph. Daniel. Nebst einer hist.-krit. Untersuchung über den Sinn, etc., der Worte Jesu von s. Parusie in den Evang. Götting. 1839.

The first year of our customary reckoning of time from the birth of Christ, or the Dionysian era, agrees with the year 754 U. C., according to the reckoning of Varro,<sup>1</sup> or 4714, Per. Jul. Dionysius himself, as Ideler, after Sanclemente, has shown, in his Manual of Chronology, II. 383, (to whose instructive discussion of our question I beg leave to refer the reader,) placed the birth of Jesus near the close of the year 754 U. C. Of more recent writers, even Hase,<sup>2</sup> despairing of the credibility of the gospel narrative, agrees with the Dionysian reckoning. With this exception, the conviction of the erroneousness of this computation, is at present nearly universal. Let us review the grounds of its rejection, and inquire whether a better one may not be substituted.

In our Gospels, we have *four data*, on which our investigation must rest, viz.; *first*, the reign of king Herod, (Matt. 2: 1, comp. Luke 1: 5,) the father of Archelaus, (Matt. 2: 22); *secondly*, the appearance of the star of the wise men, and their arrival in Jerusalem, (Matt. 2: 2, 7, 16); *thirdly*, the census in Judea, under Augustus, (Luke 2: 1); and *fourthly*, the thirty years of age, at which Jesus entered upon the Messianic office, (Luke 3: 23.) Only the first, third and fourth of these data were *designed* to possess a chronological character, and thus in this respect also Luke appears more distinctly chronological. According to the degree, in which these four data lead to *one* and the same result, must its value be estimated. Should it be supported by a whole chronological system with which the gospel narrative harmonizes, its truth would hardly be doubted.

**FIRST DATUM.** *Christ was born during the reign of Herod the Great.* Matt. 2: 1—22. Luke 1: 5. But how long did Herod reign and when did he die? The historian Josephus, to whom, as by birth a Jew, special authority on this point belongs, informs us (Antiq. 17, 8. 1, de bell. Jud. 1, 33. 8,) that Herod died in the thirty-seventh year after the time, when by Roman influence (through Antony and Octavius, by virtue of a decree of the Senate) he was appointed king, and in the thirty-fourth year after the death of Antigonus, or the commencement of his actual reign. This appointment, which is mentioned in the Antiq. 14, 14. 5, falls,

<sup>1</sup> We reckon here and throughout this Article from the foundation of Rome, in order to have a fixed standard *different* from the year of Christ's birth, and by which the latter may be measured. The year of Rome (U. C.) can be easily changed into the erroneous but current year of the Dionysian era.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Leben Jesu*, 3te Aufl. S. 49 sq., where the works on this question are cited.

two chronological data, the 184th Olympiad and the consulate of Cn. Domitius Calvinus II and C. Asinius Pollio, there given, in the year 714 U. C. With this agrees the third datum, that Herod, by the joint action of Antony and Octavius, though at the instance, especially, of the former, was elevated to the throne; for the reconciliation of these two men took place immediately upon the death of the imperious Fulvia, i. e. according to Dio 48. 28, in the beginning of the year 714 U. C. In accordance with this, the death of Antigonius, and the storming of Jerusalem by Herod and the Romans, falls, according to Ant. 14, 16. 4, in the year 717<sup>1</sup> U. C., in the *third*<sup>2</sup> month (Sivan), i. e. June or July, as Josephus expressly declares. Upon these data, most chronologists, at the present day, correctly place the death of Herod in the beginning of the year 750 U. C., and only a few, as Paulus, continue to assign the year 751. In fixing upon the latter period, it has not unfrequently been overlooked, that Josephus, in accordance with the chronological principle laid down in the Talmud,<sup>3</sup> reck-

<sup>1</sup> Dio 49. 22, incorrectly places the storming of Jerusalem in the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus, or 716 U. C. Comp. Ideler, Handb. d. Chronol. II. 390, and Anger, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The passage reads thus: ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Καννίου Γάλλου, ἐπὶ τῆς πεμπτῆς καὶ οὐδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τριτῷ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς — καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἔαλυσαν ἡμέρᾳ — μετὰ ἑτη εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ. Anger, however, p. 191 sq., differs in respect to the month, and places the storming of Jerusalem on the tenth of Tishri. His reasons are: (1) Antigonius is said in Ant. 20, 10, to have reigned in all, three years and three months. But since, according to Ant. 14, 13. 10, he commenced reigning shortly after Pentecost, 714, his reign must have extended longer than to Sivan, 717. This argument, however, is nothing but a mistake in respect to the principle on which the reign of the Jewish kings was calculated, of which more presently. According to this principle, Antigonius, even if he began to reign at Pentecost, 714, had reigned three years up to Nisan 717. Consequently, three years and three months would exactly bring us to the third month, (Sivan,) 717. (2) The expression ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, Anger thinks, can only be understood of the fast-day, properly so called, the day of atonement or the 10th of Tishri. But here, we reply, is express mention made of a fast-day which fell in the *third* month, i. e. of a fast-day in Sivan and not in Tishri. Probably this fast was in commemoration of the suspension of the daily sacrifice in the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, in Sivan, 168 B. C., which continued till the 25th of Kisleu, 165 B. C., and constituted the three and a half years in Daniel 9: 27. 12: 7, 11. Comp. 11: 31. [The last sentence is the substance of the latter part of a long and unessential note.—Tr.]

<sup>3</sup> Gemara bab. tract. ראש השנה c. 1. fol. 3. p. 1. ed. Amstelod. אין מונין מניסין לא למלכין אלא מניסין, "Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano, אמר ר' חסדא: hoc non docent nisi de

ons the years of the *Jewish princes* from Nisan to Nisan, and in such a manner, that a single day before and after that point is reckoned as a full year. Let us cite a few instances. One instance we have already seen in the three years and three months of Antigonus, in the note in Ant. 14, 16. 4. A second still more striking occurs in the same passage; where Jerusalem is said to have been taken by Herod on the same day on which, twenty-seven years before, it was taken by Pompey. Now the first of these events took place in the year 691 U. C., and the last in the year 717 U. C. Consequently between these two data, according to the *ordinary* mode of reckoning, there would be only an interval of twenty-six years, and Josephus would have given exactly *one year* too much. But if we reckon according to the principle laid down by the Talmudists, we obtain exactly this one year; for then, the time of the taking of Jerusalem from Sivan 691 to Nisan 692, would be equal to one year, and the time from Nisan to Sivan 717, would be again equal to one year, and these two added together, would make *two years* of a period which, in the ordinary manner of reckoning, would only be one year. Again, Josephus, Ant. 20, 10, reckons from the beginning of the reign of Herod to the destruction of the temple under Titus, i. e. from Sivan 717 to the 10th of Ab, 823, one hundred and seven years. According to the usual mode of reckoning, it is only one hundred and six years and one or two months; and if with Anger we place the beginning of Herod's reign on the 10th of Tishri, it is not even one hundred and six full years. But not to weary the reader with further examples, those already adduced will be sufficient to establish the general principle in respect to the true mode of computing the length of the reign of Herod and his immediate successors, and also to clear up, I trust, the difficulties in this part of Josephus' Chronology.

Let us now turn back to the chronological data, derived from Ant. 17, 8. 1, in respect to the death of Herod. Thirty-four years after the storming of Jerusalem in Sivan, 717 U. C., brings us, since the thirty-third year ends before the first of Nisan, 750, only to the beginning of Nisan in this year. We obtain the same result from the other computation, thirty-seven years after his appointment, in

regibus Israelitarum. Ibid. fol. 2. p. 2, ראש השנה למלכים ויום אחד, "Nisan initium anni regibus: ac dies quidem unus in anno instar anni computatur." Ibid. בסוף שנה חסר, "יום אחד, "unus dies in anni fine pro anno numeratur." Comp. Anger, p. 9, who has not recognized, however, this mode of computation in Josephus.

714 U. C., to the throne, which could not have been made earlier at farthest than the first of Nisan, 714, on account of the parallel calculation of time mentioned above, the *terminus a quo* of which we can fix at the month Sivan.

A confirmation of this is afforded us by computing the duration of the reigns of Herod, Antipas and Archelaus, the sons and immediate successors of Herod the Great. The former, as Noris<sup>1</sup> has shown, was exiled by Caligula to Lyons, (comp. Jos. Ant. 18, 7. 2,) towards the autumn of 792 U. C., in the forty-third year of his reign.<sup>2</sup> The forty-third year of his reign commenced on the first of Nisan, 792 U. C.; subtracting from this the remaining forty-two years, we obtain the year 750, and at most not farther than to the first of Nisan. Archelaus, according to Dio 55, 27, was banished by Augustus to Vienne, in the consulship of M. Emilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, or the year 759 U. C., and as we learn from Josephus, Ant. 17, 13. 2, comp. Vita 1, in the tenth, or as he elsewhere says in relating the dream of the nine full ears, (de bell. Jud. 2, 7. 3,) in the ninth year of his reign, i. e. after he had reigned nine years and somewhat over. The nine years extend from the first of Nisan, 750, to the first of Nisan, 759 U. C., and we obtain ten years, if he was banished after the first of Nisan, 759.<sup>3</sup> All these data lead to the conclusion, that Herod the Great must have died not earlier than the first of Nisan, 750, and not later than the first of Nisan, 751.

Within these two limits, however, the time of Herod's death may be still more definitely settled. Immediately after the death of Herod, occurred the Passover on the 15th of Nisan, (Antiq. 17, 9. 3,) between which two events the seven days' mourning appointed for his father by Archelaus intervened, (Ant. 17, 8. 4, de bell. Jud. 2, 1.) Consequently the death of Herod would fall not far from seven days before the Passover in 750, and thus

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ad P. Ant. Pagium de nummis Herodis, Ant. Opp. tom. 11 pp. 646—665.

<sup>2</sup> We have three coins still existing, with the inscription, ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ Λ. ΜΤ, struck therefore in the forty-third year of his reign. Vaillant and Galland claim to have seen another coin with the date ΜΔ, but the existence of such a coin is justly doubted; comp. Eckhel doct. numorum vet. III. pp. 436—489 Sanelement. de vulg. aerae emendatione, III. 1.

<sup>3</sup> With this accords the statement of Josephus, Ant. 18, 2. 1, that the census of Quirinus was taken in the 37th year after the battle of Actium. For since this, according to Dio 51, 1 and 50, 10, was fought on the 2d of Sept., 723 U. C., (31 B. C.,) the thirty-seventh year after that began with the 2d of Sept. 759.

in the first eight days of Nisan, 750<sup>1</sup> U. C. This computation receives a remarkable confirmation from the fact mentioned by Josephus, that an eclipse of the moon occurred shortly before his death, Ant. 17, 6. 4. It has been shown by Ideler and Wurm<sup>2</sup> that such an eclipse of the moon, visible at Jerusalem, actually took place at that time, on the night of the 12th and the morning of the 13th of March, commencing, according to Ideler's calculation, at 1h. 48' and ending at 4h. 12'. The visible full-moon in Nisan, or the 15th of Nisan, occurred in the year 750 U. C. on the 12th of April.<sup>3</sup> If, therefore, Herod died about seven days earlier, or within the earliest days in April, it would well harmonize with the date of the lunar eclipse. But, since all these data prove that Herod died in the early part of Nisan, 750, *Jesus, because born during his reign, must have been born before Nisan, 750, and consequently the Dionysian era is at least four years too late.* This is also the view now prevalent among chronologists. Anger, however, and a few others, believe that beyond this the time must remain undetermined.

SECOND DATUM. *The star of the wise men mentioned in Matthew, 2: 1—22.* This affords ground for more definite calculation. It is true, indeed, that the philosophers' *star* has not unfrequently been brought into the same category with the philosophers' *stone*. It is clear, however, that such a suspicion, so far at least as it has no better foundation than the presumption, in advance, of the historical incredibility of the evangelical narrative, should not prevent our investigating the possibility of rendering this star subservient to the purpose of chronological inquiry.

First of all, the question arises, whether the narrative allows or obliges us to conceive of an actual star, or a group of actual

<sup>1</sup> Some chronologists, as Usher (Annales vet. et nov. Test. ad ann. IV, a. Ch. p. 570,) Noris, S. 654, and others, relying upon the apocryphal statement in the tract. מְגִלָּה חֲזוֹנִיתָ, place the death of Herod on the 25th of November. Comp. on the other hand Ideler, Handb. II. 393, and Anger, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain an astronomical datum raised above all doubt, Wurm has taken the praise-worthy trouble, to calculate all the lunar eclipses from the year 6 to 1 B. C., and in Bengel's Archiv, Bd. 2. S. 54, has given the result in a table. It appears in respect to the years 750 and 751, which alone came into account in calculating the date of Herod's death, that in 750 only *one* eclipse of the moon *visible* in Jerusalem occurred,—that above mentioned; and in 751 none at all. The nearest preceding lunar eclipse visible in Jerusalem, occurred on the 15th of Sept., 749. Another splendid confirmation of the fact that Herod must have died not far from Easter, 750.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Piper, de externa vitæ Jesu chronologia recte constituenda. Gött. 1835. 4to. p. 25.



stars; for, only upon this presumption, can its appearance be subjected to astronomical calculation. If, as many assume, it was an extraordinary meteor, created for a transient period, or if the whole story is a myth, this were impossible. Now, that we are obliged to conceive of a star, properly so called, and of course embraced within the limits of astronomy, is evident from the following reasons: *First*, the persons who first saw the star and perceived its import, were Magi, that is, according to the then prevalent meaning of the word, astronomers or astrologers by profession. Why *Magi*, and why are they so expressly designated by this and no other name, if the phenomenon were one which any *ordinary observer* could notice as well as they? *Secondly*, there is not a word in the passage which intimates that the *ἀστήρ* mentioned, was or was thought to be a miraculous appearance. What right, then, have we to presume it? Besides, if this were a supernatural star, would it not have been recorded by the Evangelist, with great distinctness, since a miracle like this finds no parallel in the New Testament. *Thirdly*, supposing this to have been a miraculous phenomenon, an extraordinary illumination of the Magi would have been still necessary, before they could have recognized it as betokening first a birth, and then the birth of the Jewish Messiah. Of such an illumination, there is no intimation in the passage. Herod appears to have been alarmed only at the appearance of the star *at that time*. Of the necessity of its connection with the birth of the Messiah, he expresses not the least doubt, (Matt. 2: 2, 3). *Fourthly*, on the other hand, the whole description of the star, obliges us to conceive of an ordinary star. Such is the purport of *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ*, (v. 2 and 9,) whether with Ideler we refer to the *East* and the eastern sky,<sup>1</sup> or what is more probable, to the *rising* of the star, for which *ἀνατέλλειν* is the usual word. Further, the *προάγαν*, (v. 9,)

<sup>1</sup> Ideler who understands by the star a constellation of Jupiter and Saturn, supposes the word *ἀνατολή* to refer to their first conjunction, which occurred in the east. As we hold the same view in respect to the constellation, there is really no necessity upon us to raise any objection. But the passage in Matthew hardly supports, we apprehend, this explanation. For what connection would the fact that the Magi had "seen the star in the *eastern sky*," have with the question, "where is he that is born king of the Jews?" On the other hand, the *rising* (*ἀνατολή*) of the star, in the view of astrologers, stood in undeniable connection with the birth of the Messiah. The mention of that *ἀνατολή* may also, perhaps, explain the inquiry of Herod in respect to the time τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος, the answer to which would depend of course upon the knowledge of the Magi in respect to this point.

i. e. the motion of the star in the sky, in the direction towards Bethlehem, to which place the Magi were then going, and the *σῆμα*<sup>1</sup> over a region or a place, agree with this. That it was an ordinary star, is also supported by the fact, that it not only appeared to the Magi, in their own country, (v. 2,) but also at a later period, when they were going to Bethlehem, (v. 9,) and according to v. 16,<sup>2</sup> even two years later than when it first appeared to them. Finally, we gain a more distinct account of the star from the phrase in v. 2. It is the star of the Messiah, (ὁ ἀστὴρ αὐτοῦ scil. τοῦ βασιλέως τ. Ἰουδ.), and since the Magi believed it to indicate his birth, they must have regarded it in an *astrological* light. The destiny of individuals, it is well known, was thought to be decided by the position and course of the *actual* stars, at the time of their nativity.

On these grounds, there appear satisfactory reasons for believing, that we are both authorized and obliged by the account in Matthew, to regard the appearance of the star, mentioned by him, as a means of ascertaining the year in which Jesus was born.

Let us now inquire, whether the expectations entertained in regard to the Messiah, or the history of Astrology do not enable

<sup>1</sup> In like manner Josephus says, de bell. Jud. 6, 5. 3, ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἀστρον ἔστη βομφαῖα παραπλήσιον, without thereby intending to affirm that the star stood fixed over the city.

<sup>2</sup> Strange to say, this v. 16—ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω—has led men of learning, not a few, (Lardner, the credibility of the gospel history; Münter, Stern der Weisen, and others,) to the opinion, that Christ was at least *two years* old in the life-time of Herod, and therefore must have been born at least two years before Herod's death. To this, it has been justly replied, that the reason assigned for the murder of the children of two years and under, in Bethlehem, by Herod, is not the time of *Christ's birth*, which Herod could not know, but the time which he had learned by inquiry of the Magi, i. e. according to v. 7, the time *at which the star appeared*. Comp. Anger, p. 10. Consequently the bloody decree of Herod followed about two years after the appearance of the star. But since this decree, according to v. 16, comp. v. 12, followed close upon the return of the Magi homewards, the star must have appeared to them also after the period of about two years. I may remark in passing, that the narrative thus understood, becomes at once disembarassed of the objection made to its credibility on the ground, that the massacre of two-years-old children is improbable, because it would be too cruel and altogether superfluous, and because Herod would naturally have been satisfied with the death of the new-born infant. Just the reverse. For if he brought the appearance of the star, which took place two years before, into astrological connection with the birth of the Messiah, he must have caused precisely the two-years-old children to have been slain first of all, in order to make sure of the destruction of the Messianic child.

us to decide upon something more definite in regard to the nature of the star. The Magi immediately gave an account of the star they had seen, it appears, to Herod (v. 2, 3), and he conversed with them privately (*λάθρα*) upon the date of the star's appearance (v. 7), and gave them certain commissions in reference to the new-born Messiah. Still, the idea of a star, significant of the birth of the Jewish king, appears not to have proceeded originally from the Magi, but to have been already a part of the popular faith. For not only do they speak of the star of the Messiah, as of a thing well known and universally expected—"we have seen his star in the East"—and the hearers make no farther inquiry in respect to its connection with the birth of the Messiah, but *all Jerusalem*, i. e. even if hyperbolically used, a large part of Jerusalem, was thrown into excitement equally with Herod, by this declaration of the Magi, and of course must have believed in the significancy of the celestial phenomenon. In admitting, as we must admit, that the Christology of that age expected the appearance of a star as the sign of the Messiah's birth, we do no violence to the historical character of the narrative; for this expectation, in an age so much devoted to astrology as that, is not only in the highest degree natural, but may also be proved from other historical facts. Winer in the labored and thorough article on the star of the wise men, in his *Bibl. Realwört.* remarks: "That according to the astrological faith of the ancient world, extraordinary events, especially the birth and death of distinguished, or exalted men, was indicated by heavenly bodies, particularly comets, and by constellations, is well known: comp. Lucan. 1, 529. Suet. Caes. 89. Senec. Nat. Q. 1, 1. Joseph. bell. Jud. 6, 5. 3. Serv. ad Virg. Ecl. 9, 47. Justin. 37, 2. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 12. That the Jews also connected a celestial phenomenon with the birth of their Messiah, both the astrological tendency of the age and the passage in Num. 24: 17 ("there shall come a Star out of Jacob") early regarded as Messianic, scarcely permit us to doubt. The belief in the star of the Messiah, receives its earliest historical confirmation, however, for the period after Christ from the B. Sohar and Pesita Sotarta; comp. Berthold Christ. p. 55 sq." Besides the passage in Matthew, and the translation of the passage Num. 24: 17 in the Targum (of Onkelos), may be cited as the most ancient concurrent testimony, the passage from the Testament XII Patriarchum,<sup>1</sup> test. Levi, 18: *καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐ-*

<sup>1</sup> The Testament of the twelve patriarchs was written about A. D. 100. Comp. Wieseler, *Zur Auslegung und Kritik* S. 226, and especially S. 229, Note b. The tendency of that age to associate the destiny of men with the course

τ ο υ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλέως, φωτίζον φῶς γνώσεως κ. τ. λ., and the appearance of the Pseudo-Messiah in the time of Hadrian, who, with reference to that passage in Numbers, assumed the name בֶּר כּוֹכְבָּא (Son of the Star),<sup>1</sup> and on this very account found such a decided obedience on the part of the Jews, who imagined that in him the ancient prophecy of Balaam was fulfilled. Late embellishments, entirely fabulous, of the star mentioned in Matthew, occur in the apocryphal gospels, and in some of the church fathers; of these, Philo, Cod. Apocr. I. 390, has given a learned account. The expectation of a star of the Messiah, must hence be assumed as having already formed a part of the faith of the Jewish nation. Even the mythic view cannot deny it, because in that case, it would be stripped of every means of accounting for the origin of the gospel narrative.<sup>2</sup>

The merit of having first made the star, mentioned in Matthew, regarded in an astronomical and chronological view, the corner stone of his investigations in respect to the year of Christ's birth, belongs to the celebrated astronomer Kepler. Although violently opposed by his contemporaries, Röslin and Cabrisius, he published several writings upon this subject.<sup>3</sup> The chronological impor-

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of the stars appears in the effort to define the limits of human development according to strictly corresponding chronological cycles.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Münter, *der jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*. 1821. After all my inquiries, I have not been able to discover a notice of the date of Barkochba's birth. I deem it probable, since even the celebrated Rabbi Akiba declared in his favor, and his specific Messianic character was designated by the name Son of the star, explanatory of the passage in Numbers, that his birth was distinguished by the appearance of a starry body, the knowledge of which would serve to illustrate and confirm the narrative in Matthew. If I might venture a conjecture, from the analogy of our Messianic star, he must have been born in 847 U. C. or A. D. 94, which would correspond very well with the year of his Pseudo-Messiahship.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Strauss, *das Leben Jesu* 2te Aufl. S. 288 sq., where however for reasons easily to be seen, he notes no definite distinction between the gospel narrative and the later traditions, in respect to the nature of the star.

<sup>3</sup> The most important of these are: *De Jesu Christi Servatoris Nostri vero anno natalitio*. Franc. 1606. 4to; and *De vero anno, quo aeternus dei filius humanam naturam in utero benedictae virginis Mariae assumpsit*. Ibid. 1614, 4to. Comp. the treatise now rarely to be met with, giving the history of the controversy, in which Kepler was decidedly superior to all his opponents, entitled: *Wiederholter Ausführlicher Teutscher Bericht, das unser Herr und Hailand Jesus Christus nit nuhr ein Jahr vor dem Anfang unserer heutigen Tags gebrauchigen Jahrzahl geboren sei; wie D. Helisaeus Röslinus—fürgibt; auch nit nuhr zwey Jahr, wie Scaliger und Calvisius Chronologi mit vilen*

tance of Kepler's views, after having been long forgotten, was again first<sup>1</sup> pointed out by the learned Danish bishop M $\ddot{u}$ nter, and in consequence of this, the theory has been adopted and carried still farther by the modern 'astronomers, Pfaff,<sup>2</sup> Schubert<sup>3</sup>, Ideler and Encke. While theologians, in the age of Kepler were warmly debating the year of Christ's birth, there appeared towards the end of the year 1603 a phenomenon in the starry heavens, which led this celebrated astronomer also into the ranks of the combatants. In that year, on the 17th of December, a conjunction of the two planets Jupiter and Saturn occurred. In March 1604, Mars approached and in the autumn a new fixed star, which stood in the vicinity of those two planets in the eastern foot of Serpentarius,<sup>4</sup> and which, though at first a star of the first magnitude and shining very brightly, gradually faded, till in October 1605 it was hardly to be seen, and finally in March 1606 it entirely disappeared.

Aware that astrologers at all times, and therefore no doubt the Magi of Matthew, attached great importance to the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, which occurs in about every twenty years, and on that account had even divided the Zodiac, through which the former completes its course in nearly 800 years, into four trigons,<sup>5</sup> the learned Kepler was led to inquire whether such a conjunction might not have occurred shortly before the beginning of the Dionysian era, and thus afford a basis for an historical calculation in respect to the birth of Jesus. He attained the remarkable result, that this conjunction actually occurred three times in the year 747 U. C., in the last half of Pisces near Aries, while in the spring of the next year, the planet

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alten Kirchen Scribenten darfur halten, sondern f $\ddot{u}$ nff gantzer Jahr . . . Gestelt durch Johan Keplern. Strassburg, 1613, 4to.

<sup>1</sup> In a programm of the year 1821; later and more particularly in the work already cited: *der Stern der Weisen*. Kopenh. 1827, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Licht und die Weltgegenden Sammt einer Abhandlung  $\ddot{u}$ ber Planeten-Conjunctionem und den Stern der drei Weisen*. Bamberg, 1821. S. 166 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Vermischte Schriften*. Bd. 1. S. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Kepler, De Nova Stella in pede Serpentarii*. 1606, 4to.

<sup>5</sup> The following are the four trigons:

Aries, Leo, Sagittarius,  
Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus,  
Gemini, Libra, Aquarius,  
Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

The first is called the igneous, the second the terraqueous, the third the aërial, the fourth the aqueous. *Comp. J. W. Pfaff, Astrologie*. N $\ddot{u}$ rnberg. 1816. S. 119.

Mars was added, and he explained the star, therefore, which the Magi from the east saw at the birth of Christ, as identical with the conjunction<sup>1</sup> of these three superior planets, to which an extraordinary star, like the new star in his own age in the foot of Serpentarius, might possibly have been added. The birth of Jesus, however, he placed in the year 748 U. C.

Ideler, pursuing still further the theory of Kepler, has given us two calculations of the conjunctions of these planets, in his *Manual of Chronology* (*Handb. d. Chronol.* II 406, 407) and in his *text-book of Chronology* (*Lehrb. d. Chronol.* 428, 429), of which the last, and according to Encke, the most accurate, gives the following results in respect to the three planetary conjunctions: viz. the first occurred on the 29th of May in the 21° of Pisces, (before sun-rise the planets in the eastern sky were visible, and Jupiter and Saturn were only one degree apart from each other); the second, on the 1st of October in the 18° of Pisces; and the third, on the 5th of December in the 16° of Pisces. The birth of Jesus is accordingly placed by Ideler in the year 747 U. C., as Sanclemente on other grounds, which Ideler approves of, had done before him.

These, however, cannot be regarded as valid, partly because they are irreconcilable with the two chronological data we have still to consider, and partly because they are at variance with the narrative in the gospel. For as we have seen, in the note on p. 174, the Magi did not go to Bethlehem till *two years after* the time at which they first saw the star of the Messiah. The supposition that Jesus was *born* two years *before* their arrival, though not impossible in itself, is expressly excluded by the narrative. The entire representation of Matthew leaves the impression, that the Magi arrived at Bethlehem shortly after his birth, especially v. 1, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἰδοῦ—παρεγένοντο; comp. v. 10. Bethlehem also is represented in Matthew, as only the temporary place of residence of the parents of Jesus, not as their usual dwelling-place. If, therefore, the arrival of the Magi was almost

<sup>1</sup> The objection has been made that in Matthew only a single star (ἀστήρ), not a group of stars (ἄστρον) is mentioned. To this it has been replied by Ideler, that the interchange of ἀστήρ and ἄστρον is not uncommon elsewhere, (see the proof in Münter, S. 19 sq.); besides, popular writings are the last in which such an interchange should be objected to, as Neander and Winer have pointed out. Besides, the expected star of the Messiah is expressly called ἄστρον, e. g. in the Septuagint translation of Num. 24: 17, and in the Testam. XII. Patriarch, comp. the passage already cited, pp. 175, 6.

coincident with the birth<sup>1</sup> of Jesus, and not till two years *after* the appearance of the star, it follows, since the star appeared in the year 747 U. C., that Jesus was born two years later, that is, not earlier than some time in the course of the year 749 U. C., or if with Kepler, we date from the conjunction of Mars in the spring of 748, not later than the beginning of the year 750.

The astrological significancy of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, and that too, in *Pisces*, as it occurred in the year 747 U. C. derives a remarkable confirmation from a passage of the learned Rabbi Abarbanel,<sup>2</sup> (in his commentary on Daniel, entitled *מְיָרֵי הַחַיִּים*, Fountains of Salvation, p. 83. Amst. 1547, 4to). All the changes of the sublunar world, he says, depend, in the opinion of those versed in the stars, upon the variable positions of the planets. The most important of all was when Jupiter and Saturn come into conjunction. He there speaks of the trigons mentioned above, and the different periods of the conjunctions supposed to exert more or less influence upon mundane events. In what part of the Zodiac the most potent conjunction occurs, can only be decided by experience. None has been more important than that which occurred in *Pisces*, in the year of the creation 2365, three years before the birth of Moses. After endeavoring to show on five cabbalistic grounds, that *Pisces* is the proper constellation<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the star in Numbers could have been understood in a literal sense only in consequence of a decided leaning towards astrology, the hopes excited by the star in the east, cannot be regarded as the fulfilment of prophecy. That star derived its importance from the belief of the Jews of that age, not from its testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus. [Supposing it to have been a natural phenomenon, it was historically important as the occasion of Herod's attempt to murder Jesus and the flight into Egypt, besides the effect it may have had to excite public expectation in respect to the coming of the Messiah. On any view, there are reasons enough to keep us from calling it an idle story.—Tr.] Had Matthew regarded the appearance of the star as the fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy, he would hardly have omitted to mention it *expressly* in accordance with his well known custom, 1: 23. 2: 6, 15, 23, etc.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from Ideler, *Handb.* II. 409 sq., and Münter, p. 55, because no copy of this work of Abarbanel is at hand. Abarbanel, according to Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* III. 874, 875, was born in Lisbon in the year 1437, and died in Venice in the year 1508. This work he wrote in Apulia in 1497. Rabbi Chasdaï of Alexandria, who lived in the last half of the 11th century, has also, according to Münter, S. 41, 42, connected the appearance of the Messiah with astrological observations.

<sup>3</sup> These five grounds are given in full in Münter S. 58.—If *Pisces* was the proper constellation of the Israelites, we can understand why the Magi, even if not Jews or associated with Jews, and even if altogether ignorant of the general belief of that age, that a great king would arise in Judea, should, in

of the Israelites, he gives a sketch of the principal events in history, in connection with the place of every conjunction. In conclusion, he says: "A short time since, (A. M. 5224 or A. D. 1463,) one of the most potent conjunctions of these two planets again occurred in Pisces, and it is not to be doubted that it resembled that seen at the time of Moses, and was a precursor of the birth of the divine man, the Messiah."<sup>1</sup> With this evidence in favor of the correctness of the view, originally proposed by Kepler, in respect to the star of the wise men, I should deem it strange if it were entirely without foundation; and still more strange, that in that case it should harmonize so well with the other calculations of the birth of Jesus.

Assuming this view then to be correct, Jesus must have been born, in accordance with what has already been observed, not in 747 or 748, but in 749 or at farthest 750 U. C. But this computation is rendered still more probable by another combination, now to be referred to. Kepler ventured the conjecture, in which he is followed by Ebrard, that there might have been an extraordinary star, of the kind seen in Serpentarius, or a comet, in the neighborhood of the conjunction already mentioned. Ideler rejects it, for the sole reason that it "is an *hypothesis*, which in his view we are not obliged to call in to our aid." On astronomical grounds, certainly, the appearance of such new stars involves nothing incredible. The well known astronomer, von Littrow, in the section of his work<sup>2</sup> on "New and Missing Stars," observes: "Great as may be the revolutions which take place on the surface of those fixed stars, which are subject to this alternation of light—what entirely different changes may those others have experienced, which in regions of the firmament where no star had ever been before, appeared to blaze up in clear flames and in them to disappear, perhaps forever." Then he gives a brief his-

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consequence of the significant conjunction observed in Pisces, presume upon the birth of a *Jewish* king, and direct their course towards Jerusalem. Comp. however, the evidence in Tacit. Hist. 5, 13. and Sueton. Vespas. 4, of a very widely spread expectation of the Messiah. Suetonius says: "*percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.*"

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the principle current in the age of Christ, that the Messiah was to be a higher antitype of Moses: Comp. Gfrörer, Geschichte des Urchristenthums, das Jahrhundert des Heils. Erstes Buch, Zweite Abth. S. 318 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Entitled: Die Wunder der Himmels oder Gemeinfassliche Darstellung der Weltsystems. 2te Aufl. Stuttgart, 1843, § 227.



tory of these stars, which have ever excited the particular attention of astronomers. Among these belongs the star discovered by Kepler in the foot of Serpentarius. I make only a single extract, relating to the appearance of a star of special interest. "In the year 1572, on the 11th of November," says Littrow, "Tycho, on passing at night from his chemical laboratory to the observatory, through the court of his house, observed in the constellation, Cassiopeia, at a place where before he had only seen very small stars, a new star of uncommon magnitude. It was so bright, that it surpassed even Jupiter and Venus in splendor, and was visible even in the day-time. During the whole time it was visible, Tycho could observe no parallax or change in its position. At the end of one year, however, it gradually diminished, and at length in March, 1574, sixteen months after its discovery, entirely disappeared, since which, all traces of it have been lost. When it first appeared, its light was of a dazzling white color; in January, 1573, two months after its discovery, it became yellowish; in a few months, it assumed a reddish hue, like Mars or Aldebaran; and in the beginning of the year 1574, two or three months before its total disappearance, it glimmered only with a grey or lead colored light, similar to that of Saturn."

What now, if the existence of a star like this, not far from the birth of Christ could be *historically* proved? The conjunction, which occurred would then not only appear much more remarkable, but it could hardly be doubted, that the journey of the Magi to Jerusalem should be placed in close connection with the appearance of this new star. For the possibility of this proof, I am indebted to a notice in M<sup>ün</sup>ter,<sup>1</sup> who was only prevented from using it, on account of having placed the year of Christ's birth, chiefly upon other grounds, at the beginning of that conjunction, i. e. in the year 747. I cannot repress my surprise, however, that almost nowhere else, not even in Littrow, is it cited. M<sup>ün</sup>ter says: "the Chinese astronomical tables inform us, that a new star appeared at a time which would correspond with the *fourth year before* the birth of Christ, according to our usual mode of computation. In a note upon this, the work from which this notice is borrowed is mentioned,<sup>2</sup> and in that it is stated four years ante aeram vulgarem: *Stella nova in coelo per 70 et am-*

<sup>1</sup> S. 29.

<sup>2</sup> It is entitled: *Tabula chronologica historiae Sinicae, connexa cum cyclo, qui vulgo Kia-tse dicitur, latino Sermone exhibita a Jo. Franc. Fouquet et ad Ann. Chr. 1774, a Stephano Borgia perducta.*

plius dies. This notice<sup>1</sup> was to me the more striking, from having, long before it came to my knowledge, placed the birth of Christ on the same year, 750.

Pingré<sup>2</sup> and Mailla<sup>3</sup> call the new star a comet. Both maintain *two* comets, of which one is related to have appeared in the year 5, the other in the year 4 B. C. Still, as Pingré conjectures, it was only a *single* one, since the descriptions given do not vary from each other. The first, so called, appeared, according to Pingré, in the first and second month in the constellation Nieou (Caput Capricornies); according to Mailla à l'étoile Kien-nieou. The second appeared aux étoiles Ho-Kou (α de l'Aigle et étoiles voisines) au nord de la constellation Kien-nieou (partie du Capricorne). Consequently they appeared in nearly the *same* place in the firmament, only the second, so called, had then advanced somewhat further towards the north. True, the former appeared in the first two months of the year and the latter in the *third* month; but, then, the former must also have been visible in the third month, since it is expressly added that it was visible seventy days, and thus more than *two* months. But if the two comets are identical, this comet must have appeared in the first three months of the Chinese calendar (February to April) in the year 4 B. C. or 750 U. C. The erroneous computation of the time of its appearance, is accounted for by the fact that it is given according to the date of the reign of Gay-ti, the emperor at the time.

<sup>1</sup> Montier introduces this notice with the words: *Uncertain accounts relate, etc.*; but without even a syllable to support this judgment on the historical character of these Chinese tables. On the other hand these tables are regarded, by men at home in this department, as perfectly historical, though not possessing the high degree of accuracy justly expected from the astronomers of the present time. This is the character given to them, e. g. by the astronomer Pingré in his well known work, *Cometographie*, tom I. and II. Paris 1783, 84, 4to.; and the Comtes rendus hebdomadaires des Séances d l'Académie des Sciences, a Paris, 4to, tom. XV. pp. 895, 96, contain an essay by N. Langier, in which the comet discovered in the observatory at Paris on the 28th of Oct., 1842, is identified with the one observed in the year 1301 at Cambridge and in China. As one of the works of most authority in Chinese chronology, may be named: *Traité de la chronologie Chinoise*, composé par le père Ganbil, missionnaire à la Chine, et publié pour servir de suite aux mémoires concernant les Chinois, par M. Silvestre de Sacy. A Paris, 1814. 4. A more brief and general account of their astronomical knowledge is given by Stahr in his work: *Untersuchungen über die Ursprünglichkeit und Alterthümlichkeit der Sternkunde unter den Chinesen und Iudiern*, Berlin, 1831. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Tom I. p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire générale de la Chine ou annales de cet empire* traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mon, publiées par M. l'abbé Grosier, tom III. p. 214.

The comet appeared in the *second* year of the era Kien-ping,<sup>1</sup> established by this monarch on his accession to the throne. We need only to assume, therefore, that the appearance of the star occurred at the end of this year, in order to understand how a date of two different years is assigned by chronologers.—If now the star of the Magi is identical with this star observed by the Chinese, we obtain for their journey to Jerusalem and their sojourn there the fixed date, February to April, 750 U. C.

Combining this Chinese observation of a new star, which could hardly have been borrowed from Christian sources, with the star of the Magi in Matthew, the case stands as follows: Already had the conjunction of the planets Jupiter, Saturn and Mars, which occurred in the constellation Pisces in the years 747 and 748, excited the expectation, among the eastern astrologers, of some great event about to take place. But when afterwards the extraordinary star was added, they immediately commenced their journey in search of the new-born King. This perhaps will best explain,<sup>2</sup> why they did not reach Jerusalem till a considerable time *after* the first conjunction. Supposing this combination to be correct, we again have the beginning of the year 750, and not the year 747,<sup>3</sup> as the date of Christ's birth.

In connection with the view now presented, it may be added that the appearance of the star when the Magi were on their way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem (Matt. 2: 9, 10) and its going before (*προηγεν*) them, are in evident accordance, on this theory, with the real facts. Let us commence with the planets Jupiter and Saturn, whose position for the month of February, 750 U. C. I take, because I hold this year and month to be the time at which Jesus was most probably born. According to the astrono-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. on this era, Couplet *tabula chronologica monarchiæ Sinicæ*, Præf. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> I would expressly guard, however, against the conclusion, that if this ground should not be found tenable, no other reason can be assigned for the long delay of the Magi.—I would call attention to it, as worthy of notice, that according to Abarbanel's opinion, already cited,—an opinion which must be presumed to have had an existence in the age of Christ,—Moses was born *three years* after a conjunction, from which it would follow that according to the opinion of the Jews in that age, the Messiah would be born *three years* after such a conjunction. This would lead us again, since the first conjunction occurred in the year 747, into the year 750 U. C.

<sup>3</sup> With special reference to the *conjunction* of Jupiter and Saturn which then occurred, Ideler, Münster, Winer, Ebrard and others have decided in favor of the year 747 as the date of Christ's birth. Kepler, on the other hand, has taken on this ground the year 748 U. C.

mer, Dr. Goldschmidt of Göttingen, to whom I beg leave to return very cordial thanks for the calculations which follow, the geocentric longitude of Jupiter on the first of February 750 was  $55^{\circ} 58'$ ; that of Saturn  $14^{\circ} 17'$ . Both planets were then visible. Jupiter culminated at 6 o'clock and 42 minutes, and set in the latitude of Jerusalem 1 hour and 32 minutes after midnight,  $22^{\circ} 48'$  north of west. Saturn culminated at 4 o'clock and 4 minutes, and set at 10 o'clock and 18 minutes P. M.,  $4^{\circ} 17'$  north of west. Since, therefore, they were now  $41^{\circ}$  apart, only one of the two could come into the account. Hence, perhaps the most probable view is, that the star which went before the Magi, was the new star mentioned above. In that case they must have made their journey to Bethlehem in the morning; for the constellation, Capricorn, in which it appeared, stood in the south-eastern sky, in the month of February, only in the morning. Nothing is more natural than that the thoughts of the Magi, as, full of expectation they were on the way to Bethlehem, should have been employed upon the celestial body which had brought them to Jerusalem in quest of the Messiah, and that when it again shone upon their path, they should have been filled with joy (Matt. 2: 10). Its appearance at that time, they would naturally regard as a good omen; and the more, from its seeming to move in the same direction with the road as if to be their guide. And when Bethlehem, the object of their search, came in sight on the summit of an eminence, they saw the star standing over it. Joyfully they hastened along, and came into the house, where they found the infant Saviour.

[To be continued.]

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN, THE LAKE EL-HULEH, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

By Rev. W. M. Thomson, Missionary in Syria. Communicated, with Notes, by E. Robinson.

THE Dead Sea, the Lake of Tiberias, and the interesting valley of the Jordan, have been so frequently visited and so well described by recent travellers, that the topography of all that region has become familiar to almost every one. The case is different with the Lake Hûleh, the sour-

ces of the Jordan, and the regions adjacent. Having enjoyed the pleasure of a hasty excursion among these interesting localities, I now throw together some extracts from notes taken at the time, in the hope that they may not be unacceptable to the readers of your valuable publication. I commence my extracts with our departure from Hasbeiya.

*Sept. 20th, 1843.* We left the palace of the Emir of Hasbeiya, (a Muslim branch of the house of Sheháb, distinct from those who have so long governed in Lebanon,) about sun-rise, and in half an hour reached the fountain of the Hasbány. Our path led us across the bed of a winter torrent, which comes down from the mountains on the east of Hasbeiya, and over a rocky hill covered with lava boulders. The fountain lies nearly N. W. from the town, and boils up from the bottom of a shallow pool, some eight or ten rods in circumference. The water is immediately turned, by a strong stone dam, into a wide mill-race. This is undoubtedly the most distant fountain, and therefore the true source of the Jordan. It at once, even in this dry season, forms a considerable stream. It meanders for the first three miles through a narrow, but very lovely and highly cultivated valley. Its margin is protected and adorned with the green fringe and dense shade of the sycamore, button, and willow trees, while innumerable fish sport in its cool and crystal bosom. It then sinks rapidly down a constantly deepening gorge of dark basalt for about six miles, when it reaches the level of the great volcanic plain extending to the marsh above the Húleh. Thus far the direction is nearly south; but it now bears a little westward, and in eight or ten miles, falls into the marsh about midway between the eastern and western mountains. Pursuing a southern direction through the middle of the marsh for about ten miles, it enters the Lake Húleh not far from its N. W. corner, having been immensely enlarged by the waters from the great fountains of Baniás, Tell el-Kády, el-Melláhah, Derakít or Belát, and innumerable other springs. The distance from the fountain of Hasbány to the lake cannot be less than twenty-five miles, and nearly in a straight direction. The Húleh may be eight miles long; and the river after it issues from the lake preserves the same southerly course, until it falls into the sea of Tiberias. The great fountain of Hasbány, therefore, has an indisputable title to stand at the head of the springs and fountains and lakes of this very celebrated and most sacred river.

Although the channel immediately above the fountain of the Hasbány is, during most of the year, dry and dusty, yet during the rainy season a great volume of water rushes down from the heights of Jebel es-Sheikh above Rasbeiya, a distance of twenty miles, and unites with the water of this fountain. The stream is then so formidable as to require a good stone bridge, which is thrown across it a few rods below the fountain.

From this bridge we reached the famous bitumen wells in twenty minutes. They are dug in the eastern slope of the mountain, a little to the north of the village Kaukaba, and about three quarters of an hour S. W. of Hasbeiya. I was disappointed in the locality. Nothing on the surface indicates the presence of such a mineral. The wells are dug in the side of a smooth and gently declining hill, of soft chalky rock, or indurated marl, abounding in nodules of flint. A shaft is sunk about twenty feet deep, to the bed or stratum of bitumen, which appears to lie horizontally, and is wrought like coal mines. These wells are not now worked; but the Sheikh who formerly rented them of the government informed me, that the supply was apparently inexhaustible; and were it not for the exorbitant demands of the Pasha, bitumen would be sold at the wells for about one hundred piastres the Cantar. As the geological formation is exactly similar for many miles north and south of the mine, it is not improbable, that this valuable product may be very abundant, and at some future day of better things to Syria, become an important article of commerce.

Thirty-five minutes ride along the banks of the Hashbany, brought us from the bitumen wells to the Khân of Hasbeiya. This is a large and very ancient caravansary, a regular quadrangle, eighty paces square, with an eastern and western entrance. The eastern entrance had been highly ornamented in the Saracenic style. There are several Saracenic inscriptions; but in a character so singular and involved, that our guide, though skilled in Arabic calligraphy, could not decipher them. There was once an elegant Mosk attached to this Khân.—These large and expensive buildings standing alone in the desert, and by the side of now almost untrodden paths, add the sad testimony of their dilapidated walls and unnecessary accommodations, to the general signs of decay and desertion, which meet the traveller at every step of his pilgrimage through Syria. There must have been once much more wealth to construct, and more travel and trade to protect and accommodate, than now, or these establishments would never have been built. The whole Khân, with the grounds attached, will not rent for fifty dollars a year.

There is a fair held at this place every Tuesday, frequented by the peasantry from the districts of Hasbeiya, 'Ard el-Hûleh, Belâd Beshârah, Belâd Shukif, Merj 'Ayûn, and Jezzîn. Large quantities of coarse earthen ware, manufactured at the village called Râsheiyet el-Fukhâr, are exhibited for sale, with various kinds of cotton, woollen, and silk fabrics, woven in Hasbeiya. Also horses and mules, donkeys, camels, neat cattle, sheep, goats, butter, oil, cheese, and all other sorts of eatables, are paraded on the plain, or exhibited in the stalls which cover the hill to the south of the Khân. I counted fifty pair of millstones constructed of

the porous lava of the Haurân, and brought here for sale by the Bedawin. There are sixty-four stalls or booths, arranged in rows, on the hill near the Khân, in which the venders expose their wares. The hill itself is wholly volcanic.

From the Khân our path led along the western bank of the Hasbâny, and passing several mills and a stone bridge, we came in fifteen minutes to a long oval hill covered with a dense forest of mountain-oak, whose deep green refreshed the eye with its bright and happy contrast to the barren and burnt district around. We skirted the base of this oak-hill for twenty minutes, and then entered an olive grove which extended for about three miles to the south. Thus far the Hasbâny had been our constant and cheerful companion; but as the path now kept along the level plain, while the stream sank down in its rocky channel, its lively murmur, now heard, now lost, fell fainter and more faintly on the ear, until from the depth and distance it could no longer be distinguished.

At the termination of the olive grove the valley suddenly widens into a plain, which it took forty-five minutes of brisk riding to cross. It is everywhere covered with lava, and terminates by a rapid descent around the base of a conical limestone hill, remarkable only from its isolated position in the midst of a wild waste of volcanic tuf. This descent brought us down to the general level of the great volcanic plain, which stretches down to the very margin of the marsh of the Hûleh. We here crossed the Hasbâny, and inclining to the left along the base of the mountains, reached Baniâs in two hours and three quarters from the ford.

During all this ride of five hours, we passed through no village. On the western mountain, though not visible, are the villages, Âbel or Âbil el-Hawa, el Khiyam, and el-Ghûjar; and on the east, Râsheiyet el-Fukhâr, el-Khureibeh, and el-Mârieh, as also two encampments of Arabs, called es-Subân and es-Subeib. There is a sprinkling of burnt and blasted oak trees, standing here and there, like sentinels over these gray boulders of basalt, which strew the plain as far as the eye can reach. As you approach Baniâs, vegetation greatly increases, and puts on a livelier hue, until, coming within the magic influence of her thousand hills, you are surprised with the verdure and fragrance of a little Eden.

*Baniâs.* The city is securely embosomed among mountains, which stand around it on the northwest, north, east, and south. The platform, or terrace, upon which it is built, may be elevated about one hundred feet above the extensive plain of which we have already spoken. That part of the city which was within the ancient walls, lay directly south of the fountain. The stream formed a deep channel along the northern and western walls; and a part of the water was formerly carried into the ditch, which protected the eastern wall, and fell into the deep ravine of

the mountain-torrent, Wady el-Kid, on the margin of which the southern wall was constructed. Thus the city was surrounded by water, and defended on all sides by natural ravines, except on the east, which was secured by a wide and deep fosse. The walls were very thick and solid, and were strengthened by eight castles or towers; and before the introduction of artillery, Baniās must have been almost impregnable. The shape of the city is an irregular quadrangle, longest from east to west, and widest at the eastern end. The whole area is small, not being much more than a mile in circumference. The north-eastern corner is occupied by about fifty wretched hovels, constituting the entire modern representatives of this great city. The western half is overgrown with luxuriant briars and thorns, which cover up, and quite conceal, two or three flouring mills. Another mill has been built in the southern ravine, beneath one of the castles, to which the water is conveyed from the fountain through the city in a covered canal. A good stone bridge, probably Roman, spans the ravine at this castle; and the modern road into the country south of the city passes over it.

The suburbs appear to have been far more extensive than the city itself. The plain towards the north-west, west, and south-west, is covered with columns, capitals, and foundations, bearing indubitable testimony to the ancient size and magnificence of Baniās. And should Syria ever again become a flourishing country, this place would speedily rise into a large and important city. Its many natural advantages would secure this result. A more retired, protected, and charming spot for a city could scarcely be found. So thought the spies of the Danites, when their brethren asked them on their return, "What say ye? And they said arise, that we may go up against them, for we have seen the land, and behold it is very good. And are ye still? Be not slothful to go, and to enter to possess the land. When ye go, ye shall come to a people secure, and to a large land; for God hath given it into your hands a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth."<sup>1</sup> This is certainly very high praise; but still the place has singular advantages, and the soil of the whole tract is of surpassing fertility. There is a greater variety of natural productions, and of a size superior to those I have observed in other parts of this country. The public lounge of Baniās is under a terebinth tree, whose branches cast a shadow seventy-five paces in circumference. Other trees are large in proportion. Vegetation in general is very rank, and almost every production of the earth might be brought to great perfection. Extensive fields of maize present a beautiful prospect to an American eye. The wild boars feed luxuriously upon

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<sup>1</sup> Judges 18: 8—10.



the green corn; and the farmers are obliged to watch their fields by night. This is rather dangerous sport; but they manage to kill a great many of them. Guncos, wolves, and gazelles are also very numerous in the thickly wooded plain before the town.

*The Fountain.* Josephus, speaking of Herod the Great, says: "So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of whitest stone in Zandorus' country near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave, in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the cavern arise the springs of the Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar."

The above extract is interesting in various respects. But the present cave and fountain differ widely from this description of the great Jewish historian. A few rods north of the town, there runs a perpendicular cliff, forty or fifty feet high, parallel to the old wall of the city. Not far from the middle of this cliff, there is a high irregularly shaped cave, which however, at present, penetrates the mountain only a few feet. Out of this cave Josephus says the river issues; and this, indeed, is the uniform testimony, both ancient and modern, which even Burckhardt also is made to sanction. The fact is, however, that the fountain bursts out amongst loose stones and rocks, several rods distant, and some twenty feet below the mouth of the cave. Nor does that part of the cave which is visible, exhibit any trace of its ever having been the outlet of such a fountain. Probably the ruins of Herod's temple and other ancient buildings, have entirely choked up the entrance of the cave; and if the vast mass of rocks and rubbish, through which the water now bursts out, were removed, we should find the "cavern abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water." And probably it might be found arched over, in order to form the floor of the temple. Perhaps upon this arch are heaped together the broken rocks which now cover the bottom of the cave. This supposition seems necessary, in order to explain the various accounts of ancient historians.

To the east of the cave the rock has been cut into niches, and smoothly polished to receive inscriptions. Two of these niches are surmounted with the figure of a large shell (pecten), beautifully carved and in fine preservation. I subjoin the inscriptions further on, for the inspection of the curious.

*Lake Phiala.* Josephus has some other statements, which merit a pass-

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<sup>1</sup> Antiq. XV. 10. 3.

ing notice:<sup>1</sup> "Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan; but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala. This place lies as you go to Trachonitis, and is 120 furlongs from Caesarea, and is not far from the road on the right hand. And indeed it hath its name Phiala, very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel. Its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be, when Philip was Tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was; whither it had been therefore carried. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty has been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expense. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis."

The account here given of the lake Phiala, is not very probable. That so small a reservoir should supply such a magnificent fountain, and yet be subject to no fluctuations itself, is nearly incredible. But what, and where the Phiala is, continues to be a matter of dispute. Burckhardt thinks he may have discovered it on his route from Damascus to Safed. Irby and Mangles believe that they saw it at a distance, as they went from Damascus to Baniâs. The guide who conducted us to the castle of Baniâs, without being questioned, described to me a small lake called *Birket er-Râm*, which he said was round like a bowl; had neither stream, nor fountain, nor outlet; and yet its waters continued always at the same height. From the top of the castle, he pointed out a large tree, which he said grew on the margin. He had been often there, and said it was three quarters of an hour in circumference. The direction from Baniâs is east, and the distance six or eight miles. I was very anxious to visit it, but the day was too far advanced, and our animals were very tired. If this be indeed the Phiala, I venture to say that it is nearly a geological impossibility that it could have any connection with the fountain of Baniâs. The water would have to run up the strata of rock, and must pass under the deep ravine on the south of Baniâs, before it could reach the fountain; a supposition altogether incredible.

Our guide at the same time volunteered another piece of information. He said that five hours up the mountain, towards the snows of Jebel esh-Sheikh, at a place called Shebâ there was a cave, through which this stream of Baniâs flowed. Upon asking him how they knew that it was the same, he replied, that they threw in *tîbn* (chaff) at the cave, and it came out at Baniâs. This is exactly the experiment ascribed to Philip.

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<sup>1</sup> B. J. III. 10. 7.

This account of the appearance of the stream in a cave far up above the fountain, and in a direction along which we should naturally expect the stream to come, is much more credible than the story of Josephus.

On a subsequent visit to Baniâs, I had an opportunity to visit *Birket er-Râm* and feel well satisfied that it is the ancient Phiala. Burckhardt could not have seen it, and I doubt whether Irby and Mangles did. It is about one hour and a half due east from the castle ; and consequently nearly three hours from the fountain of Baniâs.<sup>1</sup> The path climbs over a high mountain, and then leads across a plain covered with lava and divided by the deep channel of a brook, which runs down S. W. and falls into the marsh of the Hûleh. The *Birket* is the most singular basin of water I have ever examined. It is manifestly the mouth of a perfectly round crater, filled with water to within about eighty feet of the top. This great volcanic *bowl* is about three miles in circumference, and the sides are so steep, that it is difficult to get down to the water. It does not appear to be very deep ; since, in most parts, the surface is covered with weeds, upon which thousands of ducks were feeding. The circumstances which identify the *Birket er-Râm* with the ancient Phiala are, its bowl-like shape, and the fact that it has neither inlet nor outlet, is fed neither by a running stream nor by any visible fountain ; and has no known channel of escape for its surplus waters. It neither increases nor diminishes ; but what it is now, in this hottest and driest season of the year, the line on its lava-built margin clearly proves it to be, during the rains and snows of winter. This is a singular fact, and I leave others to explain the curious phenomenon.

The examination confirmed my former doubts. It is scarcely possible that the Phiala is the more distant appearance, much less the *source* of the stream at Baniâs. The water of the Phiala is so insipid, and nauseous that it cannot be drunk, while the fountain at Baniâs pours out a river of cool, sweet, and delicious water. The Phiala is so crowded with leeches, that a man can gather 6000 or even 8000 in a day ; while the fountain at Baniâs is not infested by a single leech. This could not be, if the river of Baniâs drained the lake Phiala. Besides, the size and position of the mountains, and the depth and direction of the intervening valleys, interpose physical and geological obstacles which render the supposition incredible. And moreover so vast a discharge of water as the fountain of Baniâs requires, would draw off the whole lake of Phiala in twenty-four

<sup>1</sup> By comparing Kiepert's Map in the Bib. Researches, the reader will perceive, that the lake described by Mr. Thomson is the same which was seen by Irby and Mangles ; the direction and distance from Baniâs being the same in both. Seetzen heard of it also under the name of *Birket er-Râm*. See Bibl. Res. lli. p. 349, 350.—E. R.

hours; or, if the supply from some hidden source be equal to the demand, it would at least change the stagnant character of the lake, and manifest its operation on the surface.

I have also become convinced, that the great fountain in the cave at Shebâ, is not connected with that at Bâniâs. The supply is not sufficient at best, and only a part of the stream disappears under the mountain, and this not all at one place, but it escapes insensibly amongst the rocks as it descends the gorge from Shebâ towards the valley of the Hasbâny. There are also too many deep ravines and valleys, under which the water from Shebâ must flow, before it can reach Bâniâs. The dip of the strata likewise is westward toward the valley of the Hasbâny, not southward towards Bâniâs; and it is next to impossible that a stream could work its way south through fifteen or twenty miles of mountain strata, all dipping towards the western valley. Moreover, some six miles south of Shebâ, there flows down into the Hasbâny through a deep gorge a brook called Suraiyib, as large as that at the Shebâ; and the idea is absurd that the former flows under the Suraiyib to get to Bâniâs.

On the whole, therefore, I do not find the story about the chaff to be well supported. After the minutest and most careful inquiries of people who are perfectly familiar with all this region of country, I can hear of no lake in this vicinity, except the Birket er-Râm; and that neither this, nor the fountain at Shebâ, has any connection with Bâniâs, is evident. If, therefore, the water of this fountain appears anywhere before reaching Bâniâs, it must be sought for in the direction of Jebel esh-Sheikh. From Bâniâs, the mountain rises in unbroken ranges up to its snow-capt summits; and there, doubtless, are inexhaustible reservoirs, which supply all the great fountains that burst out around its base, and which united constitute the Jordan.

It is still possible that the stream of Bâniâs, in its descent from the snows of Hermon, may appear on the surface, and subsequently disappear under the mountain. The idea is familiar to the people of the country, and many absurd stories of such phenomena are in circulation and believed. A respectable man once gave me a description of such a stream, on the heights of Lebanon, above el-Batrûn, which he had visited, and carefully examined. The story of Josephus may have at least this basis of truth to stand upon.

*Castle of Bâniâs.* About three miles north-east of Bâniâs, one of the spurs of Mount Hermon terminates abruptly in an oblong, isolated summit, elevated about fifteen hundred feet above the city and plain below. The whole of the summit is enclosed within the vast castle of Bâniâs. Of course the fortress assumes the shape of the mountain—a long and irregular quadrangle, extending from north-east to north-west. Impas-

able valleys defend it on all sides, except on the north-east, where it is connected with the general mountain range by a narrow ridge of rock. But even here the castle hill rises almost perpendicularly, two or three hundred feet above the connecting ridge. This north-eastern end being the only assailable point, was fortified with walls, round towers, and bastions, of prodigious strength. The south side is protected by alternate round and square towers, six in number. The only entrance is through one of these towers, which overhangs a ravine of great depth. It is difficult to see how this gate-way could ever have been stormed. The south-western, western, and north-western walls are carried along the brink of precipices, where the head grows dizzy by looking into the frightful gorges below. Within the fortress, the original rock of the mountain is left undisturbed, and rises higher than the walls. Both at the north-eastern and south-western ends of the castle, immense cisterns, granaries, and magazines were excavated, in whole or in part, out of the solid rock. The garrison must have been entirely dependent upon these cisterns for water. There is a stair-way at the western end, cut in the living rock, and descending at an angle of forty-five or fifty degrees. The tradition is, that this stair-way leads down to the great fountain of Baniás! a supposition altogether incredible. I descended a few steps and found it so choked up with rubbish, as to be impenetrable. One is surprised at the vast extent of this mountain fortress. Burckhardt says that it took him half an hour to walk around it. The circumference, however, is not more than one mile. Still the dimensions are prodigious, and the spectator never ceases to gaze in astonishment at these huge towers, vast reservoirs, spacious magazines, and hoary walls.

The style of architecture, also, is, in many parts, beautiful. I am strongly impressed with the idea that the fine *bevelled* stones, with which the noble round towers are constructed, belong to an edifice far more ancient than the present castle.

What may be the age of these modern works, it is not easy to ascertain. There are a number of Saracenic inscriptions, in an excellent state of preservation; but only one of them dates as far back as the later crusades, and celebrates merely the repairing of works which had then fallen into decay. The possession of this strong-hold must have been a matter of great importance during all the wars of Syria, up to the time when cannon came into use. It then ceased to be terrible, and has long been deserted, except by the mountain shepherds, who still fold their flocks in its empty magazines.

Why this castle should have received the name of *es-Subeibeh* about the time of the crusades, it is perhaps impossible to discover. I have already spoken of two encampments of Arabs not far from Baniás, called

es-Subān and es-Subeib. The latter name is identical with that given to the castle; and if the *bevelled* stones, of which the round towers are built, point to works of greater antiquity, may there not have been an ancient ruin here, frequented by these half-gipsy Arabs, called es-Subeib, from whom, first the tract, and subsequently the castle derived its temporary name? This of course is mere hypothesis; but in the absence of positive information, conjecture is not impertinent.

Having completed our examination of the castle, we visited a very ancient ruin, a short distance to the east of it, called Sheikh Othman el-Hazār.<sup>1</sup> From this place we descended the mountain at our leisure, and reached our tents at Baniās, as the shades of evening fell gradually over mountain and plain, and marsh and lake. Though much fatigued, we were grateful for a day of such rich and varied enjoyment.

Sept. 21st. The early part of the morning was spent in copying from the rock above the fountain the accompanying inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

## No. 1.

ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ \* \*  
 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΑ \*  
 ΧΩΝΕΤΟΥC  
 ΕΚΤΟΝΙΡΩ  
 ΧΡΗΜΟ \* \*  
 ΔΟΙ \* ΘΕΙC  
 ΤΗΝΚ \* \* \*  
 ΗΧΩΑΝΕΘΗ  
 ΚΕΝΑΜΑ \* ΓΡΙ  
 ΠΙΑΔΙΟΥ \* \* Γ -  
 ΩΚΧΙΑΓ \* \* \* ππ  
 ΝΩΚΑ \* \* \* Ρ \*  
 ΚΙ \* \* ΚΑΙΑΓΡΙΩ  
 ΠΑΒΟΥΔΕΥΤΑΙ  
 ΚΑΙΓΡΙΠΠΗΕΙΝΗ  
 ΚΑΙΔΑΙΝΗΤΕ  
 ΚΝΟΙCΩΤΩΝ

## No. 2.

ΤΜΝΔΕΘΕΑΝΑΝΕΗΗΚΕΧ  
 ΘΙΔΕΥΗΧΩΔΙΟΠΑΝΤΧ  
 ΟΥΙΚΤΩΡΑ,ΡΗΤΗΡΑΥΕΙ  
 \* \* \* \* \* ΜΑΧΟΙΟΓΟΝΟC

No. 3. *Very much defaced.*

ΠΑΝ \* \* ΚΑΙ \* ΙCΒΑΙC  
 ΙΑΙΗCΓ \* ΝΟΝ \* ΝΟΑ \* ΙΕΘΗ  
 ΚΙΝΙΡ \* ΗΑ'ΝΗΟCΗCΝ  
 CΙCΩ \* \* \* ΙΡ \* ΝΗΟΥΙ  
 ΙCΡ \* \* Ν \* Κ'ΟΥ-ΑΙ  
 CΙΔΑCΥ \* ΑΔ \* \* ΙΟCΥΡΝ

## No. 4.

ΥΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡΙΑCΤΩΝΚΥΡΙΩΝ  
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ  
 ΟΙΜΕΡ \* Ο \* Α \* ΠΑΝΟCΙΕΡΕΥCΘΕΟΥΠΑΝΟCΤΙΝ  
 ΚΥΗΑΝΝΟΔΕCΙΝΚΑΙΤΟΝ \* Τ'ΝΤΗΥΠΑΥΤΟΥΚΟΙΑΑΝ  
 ΟΕΙCΗΠCΗ \* ΤΕΔΕCΙΟΥΡΗ \* \* \* ΝΤΑΙ \* ΟΝΑΥΤΗC  
 ΑΝΚΕΛΛΩCΙΑΗΡΩ  
 ΠΑΑΙΤΙ

<sup>1</sup> See Burckhardt's Syria, p. 44, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> No. 4 was copied by Burckhardt; see his Syria, p. 39.

The first of these is interesting, as it corroborates the testimony of Josephus that Agrippa adorned Bāniās with royal liberality. The others confirm the uniform testimony of antiquity that this fountain was held sacred to Pan. And as Pan was the god of shepherds and huntsmen, and loved mountains, forests and fountains, he could not have selected a more delightful residence.

A short distance east of the castle of Bāniās, there is a very ancient ruin, and around it a thick grove of most venerable oaks, apparently planted by the hand of man. From this spot, the view over the plains and marsh and lake Hūleh, and of the surrounding mountains, is very grand. A better situation for the observance of the Lupercalia, with its absurd but imposing ceremonies, could hardly be found. And when walking through its solemn glades, the deep shade and impressive silence suggested to the fancy, that this might be the remnant of a grove once sacred to the fantastic son of Mercury and Penelope. Certainly the oak casts the most religious of all shades.

Bāniās appears to have been the seat of idolatry from the remotest ages. Besides the worship of Pan, which continued down to the time of the Romans, the tribes of Dan carried with them into this neighborhood Micah's graven image, ephod and teraphim.<sup>1</sup> Jeroboam too set up, near by, one of his golden calves.<sup>2</sup>

Bāniās was honored, at least once, with a visit from our Saviour. It was then called Cesarea Philippi. Eusebius relates that the woman who was cured of an issue of blood was a native of this place. Her supposed house was still pointed out in the early part of the fourth century, when that historian visited the city.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving Bāniās, we immediately crossed the brook on a small stone bridge, and stopped to examine some ruins on the western end of the town, but north of the brook. There are several granite and limestone columns, also capitals, pedestals and foundations of buildings to be seen in the fields west of the city; and evidently the water from the fountain was formerly conducted through these extensive suburbs of Bāniās. The canals are still visible. On a higher terrace north of these ruins, is the present burying-place of Bāniās, overshadowed by a thick grove of very large oak trees.

I neither saw nor heard of any castle *south* of Bāniās, which Burckhardt seems to describe. The fact is, however, that the whole description of this place, by this in general most accurate traveller, is not only confused and imperfect, but in some places quite erroneous. He visited Bāniās in very cloudy and rainy weather, and evidently did not examine

<sup>1</sup> Judges 18: 14—31.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings 12: 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. Hist. Ecc. VII. 18.

the walls of the city. The castle which he mentions on the south of the village, with its bridge across the Wady el-Kid, is still there, and the inscription and granite columns; but then, instead of its being a separate castle, as he says, like that on the mountain, it is one of the four towers which defend the southern wall of the city. This mistake Dr. Robinson has copied into his noble *Researches*; and also, that the ancient city was on the north of the stream, while it is in reality and necessarily on the south.<sup>1</sup>

*Tell el-Kâdy.* From Baniâs to Tell el-Kâdy, it took us forty-five minutes of brisk riding; and the distance, therefore, is not far short of three miles. The course is west, or perhaps a little south of west; and most of the intervening plain is densely covered with oak and other trees, having a thick undergrowth of various kinds of bushes. From this point to the western mountain, the plain is altogether destitute of trees. The Tell (or hill) is elevated about forty or fifty feet, and its figure is circular or rather oval, being longest from east to west. One part of it is covered with oak trees, and another part with thick brush-wood and briars. It is evidently an extinct crater, about half a mile in circumference. On the south-western side, the wall of this crater has been partly carried away by the action of the great fountain, which gushes out all at once a beautiful river of delicious water, several times larger than the stream at Baniâs. The fountain in reality first appears in the centre of the crater. The great body of water, however, glides underneath the lava boulders, and rushes out at the bottom of the Tell on the west. But a considerable stream rises to the surface within the crater, and is conducted over its south-western margin, and drives a couple of flouring mills, which are overshadowed by some magnificent oak trees, and almost buried beneath the luxuriant vegetation of the place. The two streams unite below the mills, forming a river forty or fifty feet wide, which rushes very rapidly down into the marsh of the Hûleh. There were a multitude of turtles sunning themselves on the rocks around.

The miller, with whom I happened to be acquainted, pointed out to me a clump of trees, about three miles to the south-west, where, he assured me, the stream from Baniâs unites with this from the Tell. This juncture is in the marsh, a short distance to the north of a huge mound, very similar to the Tell el-Kâdy, and which, in all probability, is also an extinct crater. My informant had often been there, and I understood him to say, that the river, after the junction, flowed along on the north of the mound until it fell into the Hashâny, which I have before mentioned as the main stream of the Jordan. I thought also that I could trace the

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Burckhardt's *Syria*, 4to. p. 39, 40.



course which he pointed out, through the tall reeds of the marah, down to the point where these two main streams come together.

On the south-western corner of the Tell are the ruins of a few Arab tents, evidently quite modern ; but there are no visible traces of any ancient city or temple in this vicinity. Nor is the place adapted for such a purpose. It is so near the marah, and so entirely exposed to its poisonous miasma, that even the poor Arabs do not venture to pitch their tents there. And I find it difficult to believe, that this was the site of that famous Laish, which the Danites conquered. The report rendered by the spies, is altogether inapplicable to Tell el-Kâdy ; while their account applies admirably to Bâniâs. Josephus calls this place Daphne, and also Dan. But he and Jerome and Eusebius, seem to blend the two places together in their occasional notices.<sup>1</sup> The fact appears to be, that they are so near together, have both great fountains, sources of the Jordan, and probably have always followed the fortunes of each other so closely, that their names have thus become inextricably blended together by ancient historians. The editor of Burckhardt and most of the maps make Bâniâs the site of Dan. If I might venture a conjecture, it would be, that the two places have always been regarded as in a certain sense identical. The Tell is not more than two miles from the ancient suburbs of Bâniâs ; and it is highly probable that country-seats were built as far down on the plain, as the necessary regard to health would allow.

If this is the source of what Josephus calls the lesser Jordan, and Bâniâs, of the greater, there is but little foundation in nature for the distinction. I feel disposed to make the Hasbâny the greater, and both these united, the lesser or shorter Jordan. It seems very unreasonable to allow to these two fountains, which rise close together, and the entire length of whose streams is but five or six miles, the whole honor of giving name to the Jordan ; while the Hasbâny, commencing twenty or five and twenty miles more distant, preserves the direct and natural course of the Jordan ; receives large tributaries from mount Hermon on the east and Merj 'Ayûn on the west, before entering the marsh ; and then, dividing the marsh in its progress, draws into its controlling channel the great fountains of Derakit or Belât and el-Mellâhah from the west, and those of Bâniâs and Tell el-Kâdy from the east. Why should the Hasbâny, therefore, which absorbs not only these two streams, but many similar ones from the right hand and from the left, be deprived of its natural prerogatives, and not even mentioned ? I can scarcely believe that antiquity is justly chargeable with such singular partiality.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See note at the end of the Article.—E. R.

In a few minutes after leaving the Tell, we encountered a broad marsh, caused by a number of fountains or rills running amongst volcanic rocks, over and through which we waded and floundered for nearly a mile. These taken together would make a large fountain; and they creep through the long grass into the marsh below. I noticed some fields of rice growing luxuriantly along the edge of the marsh, and watered by these many rills. In half an hour from the Tell, we crossed the Hasbâny, now greatly augmented, on a bridge called el-Ghūjar. The stream runs in a deep fissure or channel of volcanic tuf, and the descent and ascent to and from the bridge is very steep. Turning to the left, we now descended some fifty or sixty feet, to the level of the marsh, and followed the windings of a little canal, by which a portion of the Hasbâny is carried along the upper margin of the marsh for several miles towards the western mountains, until it meets a considerable stream which comes down from Merj 'Ayūn. A short distance west of the bridge is a small brook; and on the flat below a miserable half-ruined village of Ghaw-arineh Arabs, called ez-Zūk.

*Region of the Hūleh.* About twenty minutes from the western mountains, there rises abruptly from the edge of the marsh a sharp high hill of basalt, which runs almost due north for many miles parallel to the mountains, and forms the eastern wall of the district of Merj 'Ayūn. The waters from the Merj make a considerable stream; which passes out between this hill and the mountains, and enters the marsh. In this brook, and all along the small canal above mentioned, were herds of buffaloes wallowing in the mire. With black hairless hides plastered all over with mud, lank skeletons, slouched ears, lazy gait, sinister sulky looks, and wheezing, disgusting snore, they are certainly the least poetic of all animals. If the buffalo is the *Reem* of Scripture, as many of the learned assert, it is difficult to sympathize with Job and David and Isaiah in their magnificent descriptions of him.<sup>1</sup>

From Bāniās to the bridge el-Ghūjar, in one hour and a quarter; and from the bridge to the western mountains, an hour and three quarters; which, at our rate of riding, would make the whole distance about twelve miles. The width of the plain itself, immediately above the marsh, therefore, cannot be less than ten miles.

Having reached the western mountains, we sent forward our baggage directly to Hūnin, and set off to visit the lake Hūleh. We rode rapidly two hours and three quarters along the edge of the marsh, (which

<sup>1</sup> Those who hold that by the Hebrew *Reem* is meant the buffalo of the east, do not suppose the animal to have been at that time domesticated, but still wild, or partially so; as is the case at the present day in Abyssinia. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 306.—E. R.

stretches up, in most places to the mountains,) and reached the lake fifteen minutes south-east of the great fountain el-Mellâhah. We must have ridden about ten miles; which is therefore nearly the length of the marsh. As the lake narrows towards the outlet, the plain on the west widens, forming a beautiful and very fertile champaign called Ard el-Khait. The lake itself is also called el-Khait by the Arabs. The water is clear and sweet, and the shore muddy where we visited it. But a little further south, as the Arabs informed us, it is abrupt and stony; and such was its appearance. Its surface is, in many places, covered with a marsh plant, having very broad leaves. On its bosom were sporting a variety of water-fowl. By our estimate the lake may be about seven miles long, and its greatest width six. But it very rapidly narrows on the western side towards the outlet of the Jordan. On the north, the lake and the marsh blend and intermingle; but on all the other sides, the Hûleh is as well defined as any other lake. The land is in fact ploughed quite down to the edge of the water.

Josephus calls this lake Semechonitis; and says that it is sixty furlongs in length and thirty wide; which is a little longer, but not so wide, as our estimate. The relation of the numbers, sixty and thirty, shows that he did not aim at minute accuracy. His description is not a little curious from its obscurity: "Selucia was situated at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth and sixty in length. Its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called little Jordan under the temple of the golden calf; where it is sent into great Jordan." And the translator adds in a note: "Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the exit of little Jordan into great Jordan near a place called Daphne, but of old called Dan." Now this description is so exact, that no place answering to it can be found. I cannot ascertain with any certainty which is little and which great Jordan. If greater and lesser refer to length, there is but little foundation for the claim of preëminence between Baniâs and Tell el-Kâdy, the difference being only a mile or two. If we estimate by volume of water, the shorter is by far the greater stream. If, as intimated above, Baniâs and Tell el-Kâdy be regarded as identical, and the Hasbâny be the greater Jordan, some of the difficulties are considerably relieved.

We reached the edge of the lake at a small encampment of Arabs, and took lunch under one of their tents. In the same tent were a number of horsemen from the desert of Haurân, a sinister, cut-throat looking company. Having seen some sugar amongst our articles, they ve-

<sup>1</sup> Josephus B. J. IV. 1. 1.—See Note at the end of the article.—E. R.

hemently demanded it. I gave each a little; but one of them was determined to have more. Being absolutely and sternly refused, he came to me with his hand on his sword, and demanded very roughly, why I dared to come into such a place without arms; said it was very wrong; this was *Belâd ed-dushman* (land of strife), and I would certainly be killed. Though I did not believe they would rob us while in an Arab's tent, yet we felt a little relieved when finally out of their society.

We stopped on our way back to examine the fountain el-Mellâhah. It rises under the mountain a few rods west of the road, and is immediately conducted upon the wheels of a couple of mills. The fountain forms a pool of about twenty rods in circumference, and two feet deep. Like the Hasbâny, it swarms with fish. The water is tepid and insipid. Below the mills it forms a shallow stream forty or fifty feet wide, and glides sluggishly across the plain towards the lake. A little to the north of this stream, and about half a mile down in the plain, is an artificial mound with some ruins about it; and north of this is a large encampment of Ghawârinah Arabs, amongst the very reeds of the marsh. There are two or three companies of the same tribe farther north; one near the large fountain called Derakit or Belât. At this latter fountain, are traces of considerable ruins; and perhaps one of these names belongs to the fountain and the other to the ruins. There is still another fountain about half an hour farther north, with marks of ancient buildings around it; but there happened to be no one present from whom we could ascertain its name.

During the dry season of the year the Arabs pasture their cattle on the northern part of the marsh; and appear to penetrate as far down as the great mound already mentioned. Below this it is wholly an impassable swamp. I asked an Arab, if I could not reach the lake through the marsh. He regarded me with surprise for some time, as if to ascertain whether I was in earnest, and then lifting his hand, he swore by the Almighty, the Great, that not even a wild boar could get through. This is probably correct. The whole taken together is the largest marsh I have seen. It is perfectly level, and covered with flags and reeds and rush. Flocks almost innumerable of white sheep and black goats, each with its shepherd before and dogs behind, are seen from early dawn till evening, sauntering lazily along the eastern, northern, and western shores of the marsh. Drovers of camels, and herds of cows and buffaloes also enliven every part of the plain; whilst low ranges of tents, here and there, stretch their black curtains along the reedy marsh, and associate what is everyday and common place, with the ancient and the patriarchal.

The ascent to Hûnin is very steep, and the elevation above the plain

cannot be much less than 2500 feet. The path for some time leads up the valley which forms part of the district of Merj 'Ayūn; then climbs the precipitous declivity of the mountain under a frightful ledge of rocks several hundred feet high; and lands the weary traveller at last on one of the most commanding platforms in the country. We reached Hünin at sunset, having spent another delightful and exciting day.

The extent of the lake and marsh far exceeded our expectation. Taken together, they cover a larger area than the lake of Tiberias. The whole was probably at one time covered with water, and the northern part has been gradually filled by *détritus* from the mountains and plains. Even now, in the rainy season, it must be mostly submerged. There was a second shore a few rods from the edge of the lake, where we saw it; up to which the water evidently extends during the wet months; and the lake thus swollen would cover much of the marsh. Several years ago a company of men in Hasbeiya obtained permission from Ibrahim Pasha, to remove some rocks which choked up the outlet of the lake; by which means a large tract of most fertile land was laid dry, and luxuriant crops were gathered from it for two or three years; until a fresh fall of rocks again filled up the channel, and restored the lake to its former dimensions. I have been assured, by one of the persons engaged in that enterprise, that the whole lake and marsh might be drained without difficulty, and at a moderate expense.

*Castle of Hünin.*—Sept. 22nd. This fortress is the most conspicuous object on the western mountains. It stands out in bold relief, from Baniās almost due west,<sup>1</sup> and has been in full view during all our rides for the last two days. The castle is an oblong quadrangle, rounded at the south end, and is about 900 feet long by 300 wide. It overhangs the very brow of the precipice, which on the east side falls sheer down to a great depth, towards the plain. On the north and west sides it is protected by a trench, hewn in the solid rock forty feet wide and fifteen or twenty deep. The southern and south-western parts are defended by six round towers, and a double wall. There are also three round towers on the eastern wall. The large area within was formerly covered with houses and magazines, and undermined by numerous cisterns. The village has no fountain, but depends entirely upon these cisterns; and the water at this dry season is very scarce and alive with animalcules. There is a fountain about a mile below the castle, near which I noticed foundations of ancient buildings. Probably the village was located there in former times. Insecurity has, however, obliged the people to settle

<sup>1</sup> The exact bearing of Hünin from Baniās, by compass, as afterwards taken by Rev. E. Smith, is S. 83° W.—E. R.

around this feudal castle. The village is small and inhabited by Metā-wīleh.

Most of the works existing at present are quite modern; probably Saracenic or even Turkish. But the northern part bears undoubted marks of extreme antiquity. It is about 300 feet square, and surrounded on all sides by a ditch hewn in the solid rock, as described above. A few specimens of the original wall are still to be seen, and show that the whole was constructed of large *bevelled* stones bound together by iron clamps, bearing a close resemblance to works of Jewish or Phenician origin which I have seen at Jerusalem, and on the island Ruad, the ancient Aradus. May not this old castle mark the site of Hazor? We know that Hazor was a city of Naphtali, somewhere in the neighborhood of Kedesh, Abel, and Ijon.<sup>1</sup> And if, as Josephus says,<sup>2</sup> Hazor was on a high mountain above the Hūleh, this site accords well with his account; for it occupies precisely such a position, commanding a noble view of the plain, marsh and lake. It was, moreover, evidently built to command the passage round the north-western border of the marsh. There are there indications which seem to point out this place as being at least in the neighborhood of Hazor. When Tiglath Pileser attacked Pekah, king of Israel, he took Ijon, Abel, Kedesh, and Hazor. Now Ijon is Merj 'Ayūn; and Abel is the modern Ābil, directly north of Hūnin; and Kedesh lies not far south of it. Hazor, therefore, must be either Hūnin itself, or some place near it. In Joshua also Kedesh and Hazor are coupled together as two feudal or walled cities given to Naphtali.<sup>3</sup> This much then is certain, that Hazor was a walled city, somewhere in this vicinity; and until it is farther identified, Hūnin may stand for its site. And this is countenanced by the earliest mention we have of Hazor. Jabin, king of Hazor, hearing that Joshua had conquered all the south of Palestine, gathered a vast army from a great many neighboring cities, amongst which Hūnin would be nearly the centre. With this host he took possession of the waters of Merom; that is, as I suppose, of the narrow passage between the marshes of the Hūleh and the mountain, below this very Hūnin and near the great fountains of Derakit and el-Mellāhah. But Joshua fell upon them suddenly, overthrew and chased them to old Sidon, etc.<sup>4</sup> Being routed, the host would necessarily rush along the narrow tract between the marsh and the mountains, up the rising plain of Merj 'Ayūn, under Hūnin, and passing by Abel, would cross the Litāny below Kūlat esh-Shūkif, the only practicable point on the way to Sidon. From this ford the road is direct and plain by Nebāṭtyeh, Hab-

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 19: 36—38. 2 K. 15: 29.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 19: 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph. Ant. V. 5. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. 11: 1. sq.

bûsh, Deir Zabrâny, Zifty(?) and the sea-shore to Sidon. Joshua having chased them to this city, turned back, the narration says, and took Hazor and burnt it with fire. This was the only city that he burnt; and it is further said that Hazor was the head of all the surrounding kingdoms. The position of Hûnin seems to meet all the intimation contained in this narrative. Subsequently we hear frequently of this Hazor, of its being rebuilt and repeatedly conquered. Josephus says that in the days of Deborah this Hazor had in pay 300,000 footmen, 10,000 horsemen, and 3,000 chariots;<sup>1</sup> a story quite beyond the *ne plus* of my credulity. Hazor being by far the most powerful and celebrated of all the cities in this region, it becomes a question of interest to determine its location.<sup>2</sup>

Hûnin belongs to Belâd Beshârah; and a branch of the ruling family formerly resided here. But since the great earthquake of June 1837, no part of the castle has been habitable; and these feudal chiefs have all settled in and around Tibzin.

Kedes, the ancient Kedesh Naphtali, lies on the same mountain ridge, a few miles further south. We regretted our inability to visit it.<sup>3</sup> As the sun rose this morning, I ascended one of the eastern towers to take bearings, and enjoy another view of this magnificent prospect. The N. E. corner of the lake itself bore S. S. E. And in the extreme distance south, a little west, the mountains towards the Dead Sea are visible. Tell el-Kâdy is east a little north, and Baniâs in the same line. The summit of Mount Hermon bears N. E. and the highest peak of Lebanon, north a little east; while the verdant carpet of Coelo-Syria lies spread out between the two. I envy not the man who can gaze on such a scene unmoved. Whatever is lovely in mountain, plain, marsh, and lake, is before the eye, and with surprising distinctness. Old Jebel esh-Sheikh, like a venerable Turk, with his head wrapped in a snowy turban, sits yonder on his throne in the sky, surveying with imperturbable dignity the fair lands below; and all around, east, west, north, south, mountain meets mountain to guard and gaze upon the lovely vale of the Hûleh. —What a constellation of venerable names! Lebanon and Hermon, Bashan and Gilead, Moab and Judah, Samaria and Galilee! There too is the vast plain of Coelo-Syria, upper and lower, studded with trees, clothed with flocks, and dotted with Arab tents; and there the charming Hûleh with its hundred streams, glittering like silver lace on robes of green, and its thousand pools sparkling in the morning sun. Venerable and beautiful vale of the Hûleh, farewell!

*Region North of Hûnin.* From Hûnin, we set out to visit the castle of

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Ant. V. 5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Notes at the end of the Article.—E. R.

<sup>3</sup> Kedes was visited in 1844 by the Rev. Eli Smith, who has a full account of it in manuscript.—E. R.

Belâd esh-Shûkîf. For the first half hour the road led along the summit of the mountain ridge, over soft cretaceous rocks, and through thick groves of oak and other forest trees. One of the hills was covered with female camels, their young ones amongst them, a scene which I had never before met with in the country. They belonged to a tribe of Arabs encamped on the mountain north of Hûnin. After a sharp descent of a few minutes, we crossed the boundary between Belâd Beslârah and Merj 'Ayûn, leaving 'Adeiseh(?) on the west, and Âbil on the east, some hundred feet below, near the plain of the Merj. This is a considerable Christian village, and so celebrated for its wheat as to be called Âbil el-Kamh. It probably marks the site of the Abel-Beth-Maachah mentioned repeatedly in the Bible, in connection with Ijon, the Scripture name to which the form 'Ayûn corresponds. Indeed, the Hebrew radicals of Ijon would be more correctly pronounced 'Ayûn; and the word Merj (meadow) has been prefixed to denote the nature of the place, viz. a well watered pasturage. The Merj is a small, but elevated and very beautiful plain, sub-circular or oval, and so well watered as to appear quite green even in September. Tiglath Pileser took Ijon and Abel; and these are coupled with Kedesh Naphtali and Hazor; which sufficiently marks their neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> This Âbil must not be confounded with another Âbil, or Îbl el-Hawa, which we passed one night, as we went from Hasbeiya to Baniâs.

Leaving a large village of Druzes on our right, called Mutülleh, and descending gradually for forty-five minutes from Âbil, we came to Kufeir Kely. The water from this village flows off into the Litâny, and so falls into the Mediterranean; while that from the Merj runs into the Huleh, and is finally lost in the Dead Sea. The two lie side by side, so nearly on a level, and so closely joined, that it is difficult to discover the line of demarkation. The plain of Kufeir Kely appears to join itself to the mountain of Kûl'at el-Shûkîf; nor will the traveller imagine that the Litâny flows between them, until he reaches the very precipice which overhangs it, and is almost within gun-shot of the castle itself; when he will be surprised to see the river far below him, rushing along its rocky channel, but so deep and distant, that its angry roar can scarcely reach his ear. By a very winding path we reached the bridge in one hour and a half from Kufeir Kely and three hours from Hûnin; the direction being north a little west. This bridge is called Jisr el-Khûrdela, has pointed arches, appears to be quite ancient, and was formerly defended by a tower on the west end; which is now nearly in ruins.

The river Litâny is in itself a great curiosity. Rising near Ba'albek at

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<sup>1</sup> 2 K. 15: 29.—See Note at the end of the Article.—E. R.



an elevation above the sea of about 4,000 feet, it creeps sluggishly through the Búkà'a, until, after a thousand serpentine meanderings, and doublings upon its track, it reaches the S. W. extremity of the plain. There it immediately engages in a difficult and romantic contest with the everlasting pillars of Lebanon, for a free passage down to the Mediterranean. In the struggle, a deep crevice is effected through the solid strata of the mountain, down which the torrent launches its whole force with headlong fury. So narrow is the rent, that only here and there is there room along the stream for a foot path, and the high and perpendicular cliffs approach so near, and frown so darkly, in many places, that a bird will scarcely venture to fly between them. Near the Jisr Būrgūr, the branches of the trees from either side meet and interlock, forming a verdant canopy which entirely screens the current below from the noon-day sun. Every few hundred rods it appears to rush directly against a perpendicular cliff of great height, thrown across the channel as if on purpose to bar all further progress; but wheeling sharply to the right or left, it leaps furiously down its rocky road, until again brought up as suddenly by some other cliff, when it finds or forces a passage in quite another direction. Thus it struggles with opposing mountains for many miles in a course not far from south-west. Having passed Kul'at esh-Shúklif, it turns due west, and in about five hours, falls into the sea, a few miles north of Tyre.

This deep rent in the mountain range is without an example of its kind. There is a long rampart, drawn from the gulf of 'Akabah to Antioch, and not a drop of water from this vast *Ghór* finds its way into the Mediterranean, except what is carried down by this solitary stream. No other fountain, or river breaks over this western wall; but all are lost in the bitter waters of the Dead Sea, swallowed up by the sands of the desert, or fall into the gulf of 'Akabah. The fact is singular, and not to have been expected, considering the structure of the plains and mountains. And it is not improbable that the geology of the region, carefully studied, will point to a period when this, like every other stream which rises within this long valley, flowed south, and either swelled the dimensions of the Dead Sea, or was carried with all the rest, onward to the gulf of 'Akabah. There is reason to believe, that the valley of the Búkà'a was, at some remote period of geological chronology, a large lake. This is not the place for the discussion of such a question, but the proofs appear sufficient. And the same convulsion which depressed so greatly the valley of the Dead Sea, may have rent open this new outlet for the waters of the Búkà'a, by which the lake was entirely drained, and its waters carried into the Mediterranean, instead of the Dead Sea. The idea is a little exciting, but not improbable. Even now the river

from Ba'albek seems as if it could be carried into the Hasbany without difficulty, and thus fill up the Hûleh and the lake Tiberias, augment the Jordan, and enlarge the Dead Sea. This hypothesis presents a beautiful chain of lakes and rivers stretching from Coelo-Syria to the Red Sea, and opening a magnificent channel of internal commerce and communication.

But to return from this digression. Having crossed the Litâny, and passed some old ruins a few rods from the bridge, we turned to the left, up an almost impracticable mountain path. The ascent was so precipitous that we were obliged to dismount, and after three quarters of an hour of hard climbing, we reached the castle, our horses being as much exhausted as ourselves. By keeping the regular road towards Nebâttyeh for about half an hour, and then passing through the village Tûmrâh, you reach the castle without difficulty.

*Castle of esh-Shakf.* This is an exceedingly strong fortress crowning the oval summit of a high mountain, and overhanging the Litâny. The course of the river here is nearly south, and the castle is on the west of it. The natural position renders it almost impregnable; access from the east being impossible; from the north nearly so; from the west very difficult; while on the south, the ridge is only a few rods wide which connects it with the adjacent mountain. The west and south, were defended by a wide and deep ditch cut in the live rock. The whole bottom of the ditch is a vast cistern covered with a strong vaulted roof. This cistern is even yet in good repair; and the farmers were driving their herds into it to drink, while we were there. The walls of the castle are very solid and lofty, towering sixty or eighty feet above the ditch. There was but one entrance, which is on the south east; reached by a bridge across the fosse, and overhanging the awful precipice of the Litâny. A stone, dropped from this part of the castle will descend many hundred feet at a single bound; and unless accidentally checked will not pause in its headlong course, until it reaches the river some fifteen hundred feet below. There are but few castles in the world, perched upon such a giddy precipice. The length is about eight hundred feet, and the breadth three hundred. And when in good repair, and well garrisoned, I do not see how it could be subdued. It was built before the invention of cannon, and is not at all adapted for them. There are a few port holes; but these may not have been intended for fire arms, or they may have been cut through the walls at a later date. The area within the walls was nearly all covered with buildings, and numerous magazines have been excavated beneath them in the solid rock. I have no doubt but that some of the many dark passages, cut in the rock, lead down through the base of the castle into the great cistern at the bottom of the ditch.

This castle is mentioned in the twelfth century under the name of Belfort or Beaufort. It has been often besieged, and during the crusades it experienced every variety of fortune and misfortune. When it was reduced to its present condition I have no means of ascertaining. It is far less dilapidated than the other castles we have visited; and might readily be repaired and made a very formidable fortress. I think it probable that there was a castle here from very remote times. It entirely commands the only passage over the Litany, which the Sidonians could have had into the Merj and Ard el-Hüleb, both of which certainly belonged to them. The latter was even called the great plain of Sidon.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, the great road to Damascus must have passed, as it does still. That there was in the palmy days of the Phenician commerce a fortress commanding this important pass and the bridge over the Litany, can scarcely be doubted. That this would be the site selected, is, to say the least, not unlikely; and is rendered probable by the nature of the works found here at present. The large excavations in the live rock, the deep ditch, and the heavy bevelled stones, out of which so much of the castle is constructed, are all marks of antiquity. It may therefore have been only rebuilt by the Saracens at or about the time of the early crusades, out of materials found on the spot.

From the castle to Nebätlyeh is one hour and a half; and from this to Sidon five and a half hours of rapid riding. We reached Sidon about an hour after dark. The distance from this city to Külat esh-Shükif is about twenty-five miles, and to Hunin at least ten miles further. The road from Sidon to Damascus by Jisr el-Khürdela is never blocked up by snow and is better than any other with which I am acquainted. The highest part of the pass to the Jisr cannot be more than fifteen hundred feet, and the ascent beyond is very gradual. Caravans find it much easier and safer in winter than the rugged and higher pass of Lebanon on the road from Beirüt. And if government should ever wish to make a carriage road to Damascus, it would no doubt commence it, not at Beirüt, but at Sidon.

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#### NOTES ON THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.

By Prof. E. Robinson.

THE public are greatly indebted to the author of the preceding Article for his very distinct and graphic account of the topography of Baniäs and the vicinity. It is the first good account that we possess, that of

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Antiq. V. 3. 1.

Burekhardt being very confused and imperfect; which, indeed, is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact, that his visit to Baniás occurred during his very first journey as an oriental traveller, and was made under quite unfavorable circumstances, both as to weather and opportunities for personal investigation.<sup>1</sup>

In respect to some of the conclusions of the preceding Article, there would seem to be room for some further consideration, either by way of fuller illustration, or perhaps occasionally of modification.

*The Jordan.* It is certainly a remarkable circumstance, that the great Jewish historian, in speaking of the Jordan and its sources, has apparently made no allusion to the Hasbany, the largest and by far the longest of all the streams which enter the marshes of the Huleh. Yet so definite and explicit is the language of Josephus in respect to the fountains of that famous river, that I am unable to arrive at any other conclusion, than that he purposely, and no doubt in accordance with popular usage, limits the name of Jordan to the two streams above described as flowing from Baniás and Tell el-Kâdy.

The following are the passages in Josephus, which refer to the Jordan in general:

Antiq. V. 1. 22. The Naphthalites are said to take possession of Upper Galilee as far as to Mount Lebanon and the sources of the Jordan, *which break forth from the mountain*, etc., αἱ [πηγαὶ] τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἔχουσιν.

Antiq. XV. 10. 3. This is the passage quoted above, p. 189, describing the temple erected by Herod in honor of Augustus at *Panium*, that is, at the cavern beneath the impending mountain; *under which cavern rise the fountains of the river Jordan*: ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ.

Bell. Jud. I. 21. 3. Here the historian is speaking also of Herod's temple at the same place, *Panium*, which he describes in the same manner. *At the roots of the cavern outside, rise fountains; and here, as some think, is the beginning of the Jordan*: τοῦ δὲ ἄντρου κατὰ τὰς ἑξώδεις φέζας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ· καὶ γίνεσσι μὲν ὡς ἔτιοι δοκοῦσιν ἔνθεν Ἰορδάνου. But Josephus refers the reader, for a more accurate view, to the passage next following.—The language here quoted might perhaps be supposed to imply, that the appearance of the fountain at the mouth of the cavern in Josephus' day, did not much differ from its present state as above described.

B. J. III. 10. 7. This is the celebrated passage, which, while affirming that the source of the Jordan seems to be *Panium*, (δοκεῖ μὲν Ἰορδάνου πηγὴ

<sup>1</sup> Burekh. Travels in Syria, etc. 4to. p. 36—43.

τὸ Πάριον,) nevertheless refers it to the more distant lake Phiala.—“The open stream of the Jordan,” he goes on to say, “issues from the cavern Panium; flows through the marshes of the lake Semechonitis; then, after a further course of a hundred and twenty stadia, enters the lake of Gennesareth near the city Julias; and at last, after passing through a long descent, terminates in the Dead Sea.”

From all these passages, I can draw no other inference, than that Josephus and the Jews were accustomed to speak of the sources of the river Jordan, as being situated at Baniás or the lake Phiala. Josephus mentions, indeed, another less important source, to which we shall revert below; but that, too, has no connection with the Hasbány. This latter stream, therefore, although longer and larger, is left wholly out of the account.

Such anomalies in popular nomenclature arise, sometimes perhaps from ignorance of the country and of the relative length of streams, as in the case of our own great rivers, the Missouri and Mississippi. In other cases the reason is less obvious. Even in the Jordan itself, if mere length of course is to determine the appellation, this name ought to be borne by the Hieromax, which comes in below the lake of Tiberias; since this stream is very considerably longer even than the Hasbány. Yet here, no doubt, the direction determined the name, and properly. As to the two streams in question, the one from Baniás and the Hasbány, may not the natural prejudice of the Jews have had some influence? The Jordan was their only river, the national and sacred stream. May they not therefore have felt an interest in making it wholly their own; and have thus chosen to find its sources at Baniás, within their own borders, rather than in the Hasbány, which came from without their territory? Whatever reason we may assign for the anomaly, the language of Josephus leaves us no room to doubt of the fact itself.

*Phiala.* That the Birket er-Râm visited by Mr. Thomson is the same Birket er-Râm of which Seetzen heard, and also that it is the same lake seen by Irby and Mangles, there can be no doubt. The direction and distance from Baniás, as laid down on Kiepert's maps, are precisely in accordance with the preceding specifications of Mr. Thomson; and further, the information gathered by him goes to show, that no other lake exists in that vicinity.<sup>1</sup> As little can we doubt, that this is the ancient Phiala.

Burckhardt, in passing from Damascus to the bridge over the Jordan, saw a reservoir called Birket er-Râm five hours before reaching the bridge. This of course is in a wholly different region, and, being a reservoir, is a wholly different thing, from the Birket er Râm east of Baniás.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 198.

Nor did Burkhartd or any one else regard it as Phiala. But at three and a half hours from the bridge, he saw a large pond called Birket Nefah or Tefah; and this he lightly conjectured to be Phiala.<sup>1</sup>

*The Lesser Jordan.* Although Josephus describes, as above, the source of the Jordan in general, yet he also, in the following passages, speaks of another less celebrated source and stream as forming part of the same river.

Antiq. I. 10. 1. Abraham overtakes the Assyrians, (who had carried away Lot,) at Dan; for so the other fountain of Jordan is called: *περὶ Δάνον· οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγή.*

Antiq. V. 3. 1. The spies sent out by the Danites advance a day's journey into the great plain belonging to the city Sidon, not far from Mount Lebanon and the fountains of the Lesser Jordan: *οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Διβάνου ὄρους καὶ ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν.* Thither the Danites afterwards go with an army, and build there a city Dan; *κτίθουσιν αὐτότε πόλιν Δάνα.*

Antiq. VIII. 8. 4. Jeroboam sets up the golden calves; one in the city Bethel, the other at Dan, which is at the fountains of the little Jordan; *τὸν ἕτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνῃ, ἥδε ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου.*

Bell. Jud. IV. 1. 1. This passage has been already quoted above, p. 199. "Seleucia was on the lake Semechonitis, which is thirty stadia broad and sixty long. Its marshes extend up to the place Daphne (*μικρὴ Δάφνης χωρίον*). This place abounding in other things, has also fountains, which nursing the little Jordan, so called, under the fane of the golden calf, send it forth to the great Jordan; *πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἱ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσοῦς βοῦς νεών, προστίμπουσι τῇ μεγάλῃ.*

In respect to this last passage, it will be seen, that the place here called *Δάφνη*, is obviously the same spoken of in the other three passages under the name of *Δάνον*, *Δάνα* or *Δάνη*. The situation in all is the same, viz., at the other fountain of Jordan, or the fountains of the lesser Jordan; and in two passages it is mentioned as the place of the golden calf. In view of these circumstances, it is much easier and better, with Reland and Havercamp, to suppose that the word *Δάφνης* is here a corrupt reading for *Δάνης*, the ancient and usual name, than to infer a subsequent change of name, of which there is elsewhere no intimation.

At any rate, there can be no question, but that all four of the above passages express a plain distinction between the "lesser Jordan," so called, and the Jordan before described as having its source at Bânîâs. Admitting this distinction, as we must, then these passages all point directly and plainly to the fountains and river of Tell el-Kâdy as uniting with

<sup>1</sup> Travels in Syria, etc. 4to. p. 314 sq.

that from Baniās to form the Jordan. The size and renown of the city Paneas, and the splendid decorations of its fountain, may perhaps have been enough to lead popular usage to regard that stream as the most important; as it is likewise the longer of the two.

*Dan.* There is perhaps scarcely a fact in ancient topography, which seems to stand out more clearly and prominently, than the distinction both in name and position between the places Dan and Paneas. Josephus in the four passages last quoted, affirms the distinction with all possible definiteness, as compared with three of the passages quoted first above. Eusebius also, who had himself visited Paneas, speaks in one place of Dan as *near* to Paneas (*Δάν, τὴν πλησίον Παναέδος*);<sup>1</sup> and in another describes it as *four Roman miles from Paneas, on the way towards Tyre*: *Δάν . . . Παναέδος ἀπὸ σηνίων δ' κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Τύραν*. Here too, he says, the Jordan breaks forth.<sup>2</sup> Jerome, translating and paraphrasing this account of Eusebius, writes thus: *DAN viculus est quarto a Paneade miliario euntibus Tyram, qui usque hodie sic vocatur.—De quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen.*<sup>3</sup> In like manner the Targum of Jerusalem, in Gen. 14: 14, for Dan, writes correctly דַּן דִּקְסָרָה, *Dan of Cesarea*, that is, *near Cesarea Philippi or Paneas*.—All this testimony confirms that of Josephus, and points very definitely to Tell el-Kâdy as the site of Dan; and these specifications of distance, and those respecting fountains of the Jordan, accord fully with the statements given in the preceding Article.

It is objected to this spot as the site of Dan, that there are in the vicinity no visible traces of any ancient city or temple; that the spot is so near the marsh as to be entirely exposed to its poisonous miasmata, so that even the Arabs do not pitch their tents there; and that it does not correspond to the description given by the spies of that famous Laish which the Danites conquered.<sup>4</sup> To the first of these objections it may be replied, that according to Burckhardt the hill over the fountains seems to have been built upon, though nothing now is visible; and that “at a quarter of an hour [say half a mile] north of the springs, are ruins of ancient habitations, built of the black tufwacke, the principal rock found in the plain.”<sup>5</sup> These remains seem not to have been examined by any more recent traveller. In respect to the second objection, it may be remarked, that the exposure to miasmata has not prevented the erection of permanent mills; and if the Arabs do not pitch their tents in this vicinity, it is probably not from dread of such an exposure, for we find them

<sup>1</sup> Onomast. art. *Bersabee* (Βηρσαβαίε).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. art. *Dan*.

<sup>3</sup> Onomast. ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 197. Comp. Judg. 18: 8 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Burckh. Syria, 4to, p. 42.

elsewhere encamped among the very reeds of the marsh.<sup>1</sup> As to the third objection, it is obvious, that the report of the spies related not merely to the immediate site of Laish; but to the region of country of which that was the chief place.—The statement that Tell el-Kâdy is so near the marsh and so entirely exposed to its miasmata, serves to illustrate the remark of Josephus respecting the lake Semechonitis, viz. that “its marshes extend up to Dan (Daphne), where are the fountains of the lesser Jordan.”<sup>2</sup>

After all, it is nevertheless true, that the two places Dan and Paneas were sometimes confounded, even at an early age; though not until after the comparative importance and renown of the former had disappeared before the latter. Jerome, whose very explicit testimony in the Onomasticon we have already seen above, but who seems never to have visited this region in person,<sup>3</sup> writes thus in a certain work: *Dan, quæ hodie appellatur Paneas*,<sup>4</sup>—in direct inconsistency with himself, and also with Eusebius, who had personally been at Paneas. So too some later translations of the Bible, not noted for accuracy, and who in geographical names usually give a *quid pro quo*; as the Samaritan version and the Arabic of Saadias, in Gen. 14: 14.<sup>5</sup> Such evidence, however, can weigh nothing against the explicit testimony above brought forward; corresponding as the latter also does to the physical features of the region.

*Hûnin. Hazor.* The argument brought forward in the preceding pages<sup>6</sup> for the identity of Hûnin with the ancient Hazor, is certainly very plausible; although a clear investigation may perhaps diminish in some degree the probability there made out. Josephus does not directly say, that “Hazor was on a high mountain above the Hûleh;” his language is simply that “Hazor lies over the lake Semechonitis:” *ἀντὶ δὲ ὑπερκείται τῆς Σεμεχονίτιδος λίμνης*.<sup>7</sup> Here nothing is said of a high mountain; though it certainly may be implied. But the expression *ὑπερκείται τῆς λίμνης*, to be over the lake, seems also to imply, that Hazor was situated over against the lake itself, and not ten miles north of any part of it; as is the case with both Hûnin and the castle of Bânîâs. Such a position would bring Hazor to the south of Kedesh; the latter being itself north of the lake. Further, Tiglath Pileser is said to have taken “Ijon, and Abel-Beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, etc.”<sup>8</sup> Here the first three names, as also Kedesh and Gilead, are men-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. IV. 1. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In the Onomast. art. *Jerom*, we find Jerome quoting his Hebrew teacher for the fact, that “Mount Hermon overhangs Paneas.

<sup>4</sup> Comm. in Ezech. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Gesenius Anm. zu Burckh. Reisen in Syr. I. p. 494.

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> Antiq. V. 5. 1.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Kings 15: 29.



tioned in the order in which they are known to lie, from north to south ; and the implication is certainly strong, that Hazor in like manner lay south of Kedesh. And this is rendered the more probable by the list of fenced cities assigned to Naphthali, which too are enumerated apparently in their order from south to north ; and where likewise we find Hammath, Rakkah, Cinneroth, along the lake of Tiberias ; and then Ramah, Hazor, Kedesh, Edrei, etc.<sup>1</sup> Still implying that Hazor was south of Kedesh. Again, Hazor was an important city, "the head of all the kingdoms" round about.<sup>2</sup> But, such a city we should not expect to find in a position totally destitute of living water, as is Hûnin.<sup>3</sup> Kedeah, at least has an abundant supply of fine water.

Such are some of the considerations which *prima facie* seem to throw doubt upon the identity of Hûnin and Hazor, and to place the latter on the south of Kedesh, somewhere on the way between Kedesh and Safed. It is a matter well worth the attention of future travellers, to ascertain whether there exist in that district any remains, or any name, which may correspond to the name and the features of the ancient Hazor. If not, the way will then be open to rest with more certainty in the conclusions of the foregoing Article.

But, at any rate, the fortress of Hûnin is obviously a remarkable remnant of high antiquity ; and the public are greatly indebted to Mr. Thomson for his full and graphic account of it. Nor are they less indebted to him for a knowledge of the important fact, now first brought out, of the existence of *bevelled* stones in the architecture of the three great fortresses at Baniâs, Hûnin, and esh-Shûkif, as well as in the island Ruad, the ancient Aradoa. If this feature in all three instances, and especially in Ruad, be the same as in the remains of ancient architecture at Jerusalem and Hebron, then the interesting and important result follows, that this was a peculiarity of *Phœnician* architecture ; for even the temple of Solomon was built by Phœnician workmen. So far as relates to Jerusalem and Hebron, there is no similar feature in Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, or Saracenic architecture. The only approach to it is the *rustic* style under the later Roman emperors ;<sup>4</sup> which is itself an exaggeration of the *bevelled* style, and may very possibly have been borrowed from the east.

It is to be hoped, that this subject may be taken up ere long by some traveller, who shall be competent, by his professional skill and historical knowledge, to decide upon the many questions which will arise in this new and interesting field of inquiry.

*Abel. Âbil.*—This ancient place is usually in Scripture called Abel-

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 19: 35—37.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 11: 10.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> See Hirt's *Baukunst der Alten*, Berlin 1809. fol. p. 152. Pl. XXXI.—Bibl. Res. in Palest. 1. pp. 423, 424.

Beth-Maachab; probably as lying near Beth-Maachab, from which it is distinguished, 2 Sam. 20: 14; being then called simply Abel, as also in v. 18. In 2 Chr. 16: 4 it is called Abel-Maim; comp. 1 K. 15: 20. It is mentioned in 1 K. 15: 20 with other places in the order from north to south: Ijon (Heb. יִיזֶן 'Iyyôn, Arab. عيون 'Ayûn), Dan, Abel, and all Cinneroth; and again 2 K. 15, 29 in the like order; Ijon, Abel, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, etc. From these passages, Reland long ago drew the correct inference, that Abel was to be sought in the west or south-west of Paneas.<sup>1</sup> Gesenius wrongly places it on the east of the Jordan, near the spur of Antilibanus; being probably misled by the remarks of Eusebius, that there was an *Abela* between Damascus and Paneas.<sup>2</sup>

There is no reason for doubt, but that the ancient Abel-Beth-Maachab is represented by the modern Âbil el-Kamh, as held in the preceding article.<sup>3</sup> "It is situated on the west side of the valley and stream that descends from Merj 'Ayûn towards the Hûleh, and below the opening into the Merj. It lies on a very distinctly marked *tell*, consisting of a summit, with a large offset from it on the south."<sup>4</sup>—That this Âbil, and not the place called Ibel el-Hawa, corresponds to the ancient Abel, is apparent from the order of the ancient names, as above cited; and also from its *tell*, which marks it as a place of strength.

## ARTICLE IX.

### SELECT NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

WE have just received the fourteenth edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, revised by Prof. Rödiger of Halle and published during the last year. The work has undergone numerous changes of great interest to the Hebrew student. Rödiger was a pupil of Gesenius and associated with him in the prosecution of various literary labors. While he remains true in the main to the principles of his teacher, he shows himself faithful also to the nature of philological science, which must be indebted for its perfection to successive laborers, and to which every one is bound to furnish his contribution. The general reputation of Prof. Rödiger as an orientalist, is well known. He is especially eminent as an exact, scientific grammarian. To the subject of Hebrew Grammar in

<sup>1</sup> Palaest. p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> Gesen. Lex. Art. אָבֵל. Onomast. Art. *Abela Vinearum*.

<sup>3</sup> See also Bibl. Res. III. App. p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Manuscript Journal of Rev. E. Smith.

particular he has paid great attention ; and is accustomed to lecture upon it, as a part of his University course of instruction. The frame-work of the present grammar remains unaltered ; the divisions and paragraphs are the same ; but hardly a single section presents itself, which does not discover either enlargement or correction. The doctrine of the aspirates, as well as the theory of the vowels and sheva, will be found to be very considerably modified, as compared with the statements of Gesenius. The sections on the article, the verbal suffixes and several classes of the irregular verbs, have also been subjected to important modifications. The eighty-eighth section is entirely new, containing some ingenious speculations in respect to the remains of ancient case-endings in the Hebrew. The mode of designating the principal divisions of the verb has been altered. After the example of Ewald, the terms *Praeter* and *Future* are discarded, and those of *Perfect* and *Imperfect* substituted for them. The *Syntax* also shows traces of revision in every part. There was room here for still greater improvement ; but the editor did not feel himself at liberty to depart from the original character of the work, to such an extent as would have been necessary in order to bring it into accordance with his own ideas of what is required in this department of Hebrew Grammar. Since the death of Gesenius, a new edition of his Hebrew Reading Book has also been published, under the care of Dr. de Witte, of Basel. This is now the seventh time that this popular work has been re-printed.

A work under the title of *Elementary Book of the Hebrew Language* has just appeared, 1845, from Dr. G. H. Seffer, teacher in one of the gymnasia at Leipsic. It is, so far as we know, the first attempt which has been made to transfer to the Hebrew a method of study, which has long been pursued with success in Latin and Greek grammars. Each paragraph is followed by a series of exercises, illustrating and applying the principles of the language, so as to combine theory and practice at every step from the beginning. An appendix is added, containing continuous exercises in reading, with a vocabulary. It is thus intended to answer the purpose of Grammar, Chrestomathy and Lexicon, and to supersede the necessity of any other book, till the student is prepared to enter upon the higher and more general study of the Hebrew. The use of such a work, supposes a much longer course of preparatory instruction than is generally pursued in this country. The German students are required to have attended to the Hebrew, more or less, during four years at least in the gymnasium, before they are adjudged qualified to hear lectures upon the Old Testament at the university.

Lobeck's recent work, "*Pathologiae Sermonis Graeci Prologomena*," published in 1843, is important for the New Testament as well as the study of Greek in general. It is the production of a veteran scholar, and extends our knowledge of the laws which regulate the formation of words in the Greek language to the utmost limits to which it has yet been carried. It is not so much, however, a complete treatise in itself, as supplementary to the labors of others in the same field of inquiry. Principles already established are assumed as known ; and the endeavor of the author is mainly directed either to the correction of what are re-

garded as erroneous opinions hitherto received, or to the development of new and more difficult topics pertaining to the investigation, which others have omitted. The careful student may also glean much from this work, casting light upon the synonymy of the Greek language. The scholar who is destined to furnish a regular treatise on this subject, will here find much preparatory work already performed for him. Winer expresses his regret that the too late appearance of the work, put it out of his power to make use of it in the preparation of the last edition of his *Idioms of the New Testament*. He might otherwise have collected from it numerous, pertinent illustrations of important points in biblical philology. Among other parts of the *Pathologia* which he designates as particularly rich in such spoils, are the remarks on verbs in *αἶμα* p. 37, on adjectives in *αλεος* p. 99 sq., on substantives in *σύνη* p. 230 sq., and on the contraction of proper names in *ας* p. 505 sq. The positive *ἡρεμς* which occurs in 1 Tim. 2, 2, is not found in the older Greek authors and the comparative *ἡρεμέστερος* which the Attics also employ, has been referred hitherto to the adverb *ἡρέμα*. Winer, however, calls attention to the fact that Lobeck (*Patholog. etc.* p. 158) has discovered this positive upon Inscript. Olbiopol. n. 2059, v. 24.

Dr. Delitzsch, teacher of theology in the university at Leipsic, has appeared with a new work on the *Prophetic Theology of the Bible*. The treatise, which we possess on this subject from Knobel and Köster, are written for the most part in conformity with the freer views of the rationalistic critics; and they are, in other respects also, less complete and satisfactory than could be desired. Prof. Delitzsch belongs to a different theological school. He has already written a valuable commentary on *Habbakuk*, and both here and in other productions has furnished good proof of his ability to serve the cause of sacred learning. The subject of *Prophetic Theology* embraces, as usually presented, a general view of the return of prophetic inspiration, the institution and office of the Hebrew Prophets, and of the application and fulfilment of the prophecies, especially in their relation to the New Testament.

The new commentary of Tholuck, 1845, on the *Sermon on the Mount*, appears in a greatly improved form. This has usually been considered, by scholars, as the author's ablest critical performance. The present is the third Edition of the work. The Preface remarks that a greater number of helps will be found to have been used in this revision, and especially that the many important publications on the synoptical gospels, which have appeared since the earlier editions, have received constant attention. The exposition of new passages has been improved in point of simplicity and certainty. The development of the dogmatic and ethical contents of the discourse has continued to be one of the main objects for which the work was undertaken.

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ARTICLE I.

ROMAN PRIVATE LIFE.\*

By Prof. J. L. Lincoln, Brown University.

THE labors of German scholars, within the present century, have given a new character to the study of Greek and Roman Antiquities. It is no slender praise, to say of the German manner of discussing this subject, that it is sensible and intelligent and full of life; for exactly in such qualities as these, consists the great superiority of the German authors over all their predecessors. In the text-books of Potter and Adams, which are honored at least by time and long use, we discover not the faintest trace of any true, living conception of Greek and Roman life; it is just as if the people, whose manners and customs are dryly detailed, had never lived at all, but had a mere dim, traditional being. It is far otherwise with the German writers, to whom we now refer. They seem to us more like travellers, coming from a region remote indeed, but yet belonging to our own world, and recording their own impressions of a people, parted from us by the long interval of ages, but yet human beings, like ourselves, who once lived and moved on the earth, and with all their lofty destinies, shared the common allotments of human existence;

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<sup>1</sup> Sabina, von C. A. Böttiger. Leipzig, 1806.—Gallus, oder Römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts, von Wilh. Adolph Becker, Prof. a. d. Univ. Leipzig, 1838.—Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the time of Augustus, with Notes and Excursus illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Romans. Translated from the German of Professor Becker, by Frederick Metcalf, B. A. Late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. London, Parker, 1844.

we behold in their works, intelligent and comprehensive views of the life of the great nations of classic antiquity, from which, as they pass before us, we catch the living spirit of Greek and Roman civilization. It is in this manner, that the department of Classic Antiquities has gathered, in the hands of the Germans, a completely new character. Not only have they given it, by their large and accurate learning, that well-ordered, organic system, which it so much needed; but with the healthful and genial spirit, characteristic of German scholarship, they have animated and informed with a living soul, this hitherto dry and repulsive study. Till comparatively a recent period, the Greek Antiquities had received in Germany a disproportionate share of attention. The labors of Boeckh, Ottfried Müller, Jacobs and others, in particular branches of inquiry, and the more extensive works of Hermann, Wachsmuth and Schömann have left unexplained scarcely a single point in the whole subject of Greek Antiquities. On the other hand, with the exception of the Roman law, which has been investigated with so much success by Savigny and other German jurists, the Roman Antiquities had been in comparative neglect. But the work of Becker, of which we have spoken in a former number of this Journal, promises to supply a want that has long been felt; and to furnish a Manual of Roman Antiquities, not inferior to the well-known books of Hermann and Wachsmuth, on the Antiquities of Greece. In this notice of the literature of this subject, we must not omit to mention the very valuable Dictionary,<sup>1</sup> which has been recently published in England, under the editorial care of Dr. William Smith. It is the united work of a noble band of English scholars, whose aims and spirit and large attainments are full of promise for classical learning in England. Without neglecting a personal examination of the original sources, they have made themselves perfectly familiar with the labors of the best modern writers, and have thus reproduced in English, and embodied in a single volume,

<sup>1</sup> A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Edited by William Smith, Ph. D., and illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. This work has been republished in this country, under the auspices of Charles Anthon, LL. D. of New York. In this American edition, with some useful changes affecting only its external form, the original work has lost just as much in quality as it has gained in quantity, by the introduction of "numerous additional articles relative to the Botany, Mineralogy, and Zoology of the Ancients!" In our humble judgment, the best service that could have been rendered to the American public in this case by Dr. Anthon, would have been a faithful reprint of the English work.

adapted alike to instruction and general use, all the results of German research and learning. It may safely be pronounced the best, nay the only book of the kind, to be found in any language.

The two works we have indicated above, are devoted to the private life of the Romans, an interesting subject, which has quite escaped the attention of most modern writers. Indeed from the general neglect of this branch of inquiry, have arisen and prevailed concerning it, the most inadequate and incorrect views. We are too apt to think of the Romans, in their exclusive devotion to politics and war, as a people all remote from the humble experience of common life. We think of them only in their national being, a mighty people extending their triumphs on sea and land, or giving laws in the senate and the forum to a conquered world; and amid the exploits of heroes and the counsels of statesmen, we quite forget the thousand little, unrecorded events, that transpired within the limited circles of domestic and social intercourse. But the Roman life was not all one grand triumphal march, nor yet one grave debate in the senate, or splendid declamation in the forum. Within the many homes of the great city, far away from the strife of the camp, and the bustle of the Comitia, there went on ever a quiet private life, rich in all human experience. The Roman loved his home and fireside, and around his family hearth, in the benign presence of his household god, clustered all the endearing charms of domestic life. The poetry of Horace, and the more familiar prose of Cicero and of Pliny disclose many a picture of home-life; and the narrative of Suetonius, and even the satire of Juvenal betray now and then a glimpse of similar scenes.

These works now before us, at once suggest and illustrate these remarks, and exhibit many agreeable analogies to the private life of modern times. The *Sabina* of Böttiger, though published many years ago, still maintains its reputation as the best work which has been written, on the particular subject of which it treats. It was written by one of the most learned and the most elegant of all the classical scholars of Germany; and has the great merit of presenting in a new and agreeable form, the original results of the author's own researches. Under the humble design of exhibiting "*Morning Scenes in the Toilette of a rich Roman lady*," Böttiger has contrived to gather together into one view the customs and occupations, all the manifold features of the daily life of the Roman women, in the first century of the Empire. This book is, however, so well-known, that we do not

design an extended review of it, but only to add to this general notice of its character, occasional allusions, in the course of this Article. Becker's Gallus, from its extreme importance, as well as its comparatively recent appearance, is well-worthy of a particular examination. The author approached the execution of his task, after a most extensive and laborious preparation. He carefully went over the whole field of the later Greek and Roman literature, and subjected to a most searching process of investigation every original source of information. With the exception of the particular portion which has been so satisfactorily discussed by Böttiger, the work covers the whole ground of the Domestic Antiquities, and in the judgment of both German and English scholars, already holds the place, which the author hoped it might reach, of "a desirable Repertory of whatever is most worth knowing about the private life of the Romans."

In imitating the example of Böttiger, and, instead of writing a systematic Manual, weaving his materials into a continuous story, Becker has invested his work with much of the attractive interest that belongs to a tale of manners. The story however partakes less of the nature of romance than of biography; as the author has chosen to fix his inquiries on an historical basis, in the life of Cornelius Gallus, a man eminent for his talents and rank, and intimacy with Augustus; and has mingled only as much of fiction as was needful for introducing the minor details of his subject. "In dividing the work into twelve scenes, the author disclaims all intention of writing a romance. This would, no doubt, have been a far easier task than the tedious combination of a multitude of isolated facts into a single picture; an operation allowing but little scope to the imagination.—His eagerness to avoid anything like romance, may possibly have rather prejudiced the narrative, but, even as it is, more fiction perhaps is admitted than is strictly compatible with the earnestness of literary inquiry." Notwithstanding this disclaimer, the narrative reflects great credit upon the author's imaginative power, and must awaken the most lively interest in the general reader, as well as in the scholar; and the various scenes furnish, in the language of the translator, "a flesh and blood picture of the Roman, as he lived and moved, and thought and acted."

In the remainder of this Article, we propose to follow Becker through some of the principal scenes in the history of Gallus, and to connect with them such remarks as they naturally suggest.

The first scene, entitled the "Nocturnal Return," gives us a



night-view of Rome. It was the third watch of the night, the last rays of the moon were fading from the Capitol and the adjacent temples, and, save the heavy tread of the watchmen on the broad pavement, or the quick step of some one hastening to his home, the mighty heart of the Eternal city lay in profound repose. Yet from a house in one of the finest streets, there issued some sounds, to break the general stillness. The massive door, creaking upon its hinges, was opened by the watchful porter, flashing thus upon the street a sudden glare of light from the *candelabra* burning in the *atrium* within, and a freedman of lordly mien, followed by a slave, came out upon the pavement, looking around anxiously upon all sides, and peering into the dim distance, as if in search of some one anxiously expected. It is the house of Gallus, and these are his faithful freedman Chresimus, and the attending *vicarius*,<sup>1</sup> whose anxiety for the late stay of their lord has brought them out of doors to look for his return. Soon the hurried step of a man, emerging from the shadow of a temple hard by, and nearing the vestibule, where they stood, put an end to their apprehensions. His outward appearance revealed the cause of the long delay. "A festive robe of a bright red color, the sandals fastened by thongs of the same dye, and a chaplet of myrtles and roses hanging from his left brow," all told the return from a late-kept banquet. Gallus had supped at the imperial board, and had afterwards retired to a convivial circle of noble friends, where the wine-cup and familiar chat had winged away the hours of the night. Gladly welcomed by his servants, he entered his house, and preceded by Chresimus with a wax candle, hastened through saloons and colonnades to his sleeping apartments. Here the slave in waiting received the robe and sandals; and the *cubicularius*, after having drawn aside the elegant tapestried curtain, and smoothed again the purple coverlet that nearly concealed the ivory bedstead, left his master to his repose. Thus opens the story. We must pass for the present, the valuable *Excursus* and notes, and come to the next, the "Morning" scene.

At earliest dawn, ere yet the tops of the seven hills were tinged with the beams of the returning sun, the house of Gallus was all life and activity. Troops of slaves issued from the *cellae* below, and the *coenacula* above, and spread themselves over

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<sup>1</sup> *Vicarius* was the name given to a slave's slave. See the note in Metcalf's translation of Gallus, p. 3.

the apartments, and were soon busy, in their several ways, in all the deep mysteries of house-cleaning. We will fancy them hard at their work, and their lord yet buried in sleep, and meantime catch some glimpses, as well as we may, at the interior of this Roman mansion. The *atrium* is paved with marble mosaic, and the walls are adorned with paintings, and garland-crowned busts and shields.<sup>1</sup> The interior court, and the Peristyle beyond, are supported with columns of Taenarian and Numidian marble, and filled with furniture of the most costly description. The tables are worthy of particular notice, as this is an article on which the rich Roman spared no expense. The richest were made of the cedar of Mt. Atlas, and consisted of massive slabs, called *orbes*, resting upon columns of ivory. The *orbes* were circular plates of wood, cut off the body of the tree, in its whole diameter and near the root, not only because the tree was broadest there, but also because the wood was there of a beautiful speckled color. "Here the wood was like the dappled coat of a panther, there the spots, being more regular and close, imitated the tail of a peacock, and a third resembled the luxuriant and tangled leaves of the *apium*."

We could scarcely credit the accounts of the size and expense of these tables, did they not rest upon the statements of the most trustworthy writers. Pliny speaks of *orbes*, four feet in diameter, and of the thickness of half a foot, and relates that Cicero paid for one the enormous price of 1,000,000 sesterces, \$40,000.<sup>2</sup> The *abaci*, or side-boards were made of marble, and on them were displayed the gold and silver plate, and other valuables. The single *abacus* of the poor poet Codrus in Juvenal,<sup>3</sup> boasted six pitchers, a little *cantharus*, and the gem of the place, a little reclining statue of Chiron; but in the house of our Gallus, glitter, in the splendid saloons, not only genuine Murrhina vases, beakers and bowls composed of precious stones, and ingenious works in Alexandrian glass, but also a countless variety of vessels of gold and silver," made by the most celebrated *torcatae*, and possessing a higher value from the beauty of the work-

<sup>1</sup> Becker reminds us in a note, that the *atria* of noble families were adorned with the *imagines majorum*, which were waxen images of departed ancestors. But Gallus was a *novus homo*, and could not boast a long line of ancestry, and hence Becker has adorned his *atrium* in the above manner.

<sup>2</sup> See the original work of Becker, p. 133. The English translator has considerably abridged the note, and omitted the calculations.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. 3. 185—7.

manship, than the costliness of the material." There too were curious objects of a hoary classic antiquity, for any one of which a modern antiquarian would well nigh barter a whole estate. There stood for instance a double cup of Priam, which he had inherited from Laomedon, and another out of which old Nestor drank before the walls of Troy. Another was the gift of Dido to Aeneas, and near it an immense bowl, which Theseus once hurled against the face of Eurytus; and strangest of all, there was not wanting a veritable chip of the "good ship Argo" of golden fleece memory, on which perchance blue-eyed Minerva herself had erst laid her goddess hand. Verily the wise man taught well, "there is nothing new under the sun;" and our American collectors of May-Flower furniture, may trace back their pedigree to the luxurious lords of imperial Rome.

But while we have lingered here, the morning hours have sped away, and the vestibule is already thronged with humble visitors, who come to salute their patron, and crave their share of the diurnal *sportula*. The custom of paying the patron the compliments of the morning, was of early origin, and grew out of the ancient relation of the *clientela*. This relation in early times, was one of real and grave significance. The clients were foreigners, under the civil protection of their patron, and bound to him by ties of gratitude and affection. They were wont to wait upon him at his house, and to attend him to and from the forum; and in return, the patron honored them with his society, and invited them to his table. But with the decline of liberty, and the total change of manners in the time of Augustus, this relation had lost all its consequence, and had degenerated into a mere slavish dependence of the poor upon the rich. The clients were now citizens, and sometimes men of good family, but reduced in means, who hung upon their patron for promotion, and perhaps for their daily bread. The patron, now found his clients a burden, and instead of the *recta coena*, put them off with the *sportula*, which consisted either of a portion of food, or a trifling sum of money. Juvenal paints an amusing morning picture at the door of a great Roman,<sup>1</sup> which our author seems to have had in his eye in the scene before us. As the porter opened the door, a motley group pressed in, all eager to salute their lord. Poor people were there who needed the bounty of Gallus, young men of family, poets and idlers, vain fellows, glad of any chance to get

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<sup>1</sup> Sat. 1. 87—100.

into a house of distinction, and a few real friends among the rest, whom kindness had attached to their patron. But after the adventures of the last night, Gallus was in no mood for a general levée, and sending a slave, he despatched the whole tribe with a cold "Non vacat,"<sup>1</sup> and was "at home" that morning in his dressing-room only to his particular friends.

It would far exceed our limits, to present the results of Becker's learned labors in the Notes and Excursus belonging to this scene. The description of the Roman house is a master-piece of German scholarship, and leaves little to be desired either by the general reader, or the classical scholar. The inquisitive student, who has sought in vain to form a complete whole from the *disjecta membra* of the ordinary manuals, will welcome this Excursus with delight. The excavations at Pompeii, which have laid open to view the houses of a Roman town, in the precise condition in which they were inhabited nearly two thousand years ago, have thrown much light upon this difficult branch of antiquities. Becker justly acknowledges the great merits of Winckelmann's writings on Herculaneum and Pompeii. It is true that most of the houses in Pompeii, being in a provincial town, are very small, and want many parts that belonged to a mansion in Rome; and even the largest, according to Becker's plan, cannot be considered, in all respects, a complete model of the regular Roman house. Yet the value of these discoveries to the classical student, cannot be too highly estimated; and the use of pictures of the principal public and private buildings at Pompeii, or what is still better, of such cork-models as are exhibited in the museum at Naples, would be of immense service in our colleges in the illustration of classic authors.

It would lead us too much into detail, to attempt a complete exhibition of Becker's plan of a Roman house; but we cannot refrain from a few general observations. Compared with the houses of modern cities, the Roman house was deeper and lower, and covered a much greater area. Though there was an upper story, yet the ground floor was the principal part of the house, and the regular place of abode. It contained in general three divisions, the first consisting of the Vestibule, an open space receding from the street, of the Ostium, and of the Atrium, the first saloon, and common family room; the second called the *Ca-vum aedium*, or heart of the house, in the centre of which was

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<sup>1</sup> Martial, 9. 8.

an uncovered space, called the Impluvium; and the third, the Peristyle, surrounded by porticoes, and enclosing another and larger area, which had a jet in it, and was planted with flowers and trees. These, according to Becker, were the distinct parts belonging to the regular Roman house; yet it is proper here to observe, that our author differs from several respectable writers, who maintain that the Atrium and the Cavum aedium were one and the same. For the minor parts that were built around these, and varied with the taste and means of the owner, we must refer the reader to the book itself. We may mention, in passing, a beautiful custom made known by some of the Pompeian houses of saluting a visitor by a *Salve* in mosaic on the threshold; and also the statement of later writers, that the Romans were wont to have a bird just over the door, who had been taught to utter the same word of welcome. This is a little item, that might suggest many a pleasant reflection upon Roman manners.

Becker's plan applies only to the gentleman's private mansion. There were, however, lodging-houses, as in all modern cities, which were called *insulae*, and were built several stories in height, and rented by single persons, and by families of limited means. It is to these *insulae* that Juvenal undoubtedly refers in the expression *tectis sublimibus*, so high, as he humorously says, that broken ware flung out from the upper stories would break one's head, or *dent* the pavement.<sup>1</sup> The poet Martial tells us that he himself lived up three flights of stairs.<sup>2</sup> The house-rent usually paid by poor people was 2000 sest.,<sup>3</sup> about \$80. From Cicero<sup>4</sup> we learn that lodgings were let even at the high price of 30,000 sest., more than \$1200, and that Caelius paid 10,000 sest.

In the third scene, we are introduced to Gallus in his library. This friend of Augustus, and favorite of fortune, was a man of letters and a poet; and his praises yet live in the muse of Virgil, and in the grave criticism of Quintilian. Our author follows a hint in one of Cicero's letters,<sup>5</sup> and represents him spending "the later hours of the morning in converse with the great spirits of ancient Greece, or yielding himself to the sport of his own muse." Of his study, he has drawn a picture alike useful and attractive; and nothing can be more grateful than such a familiar view of a Roman scholar in the cherished place of his literary labors.

<sup>1</sup> Sat. 3. 251.

<sup>2</sup> 1. 118. 7. Et *scalis* habito *tribus*, sed *altis*.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius' *Julius*, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero pro *Caelio*, c. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Fam. 9. 20.

"The apartment lay far removed from the noisy din of the street, so that neither the rattling of the creaking wains and the stimulating cry of the mule-driver, nor the clarions and dirge of the pompous funeral, and the brawlings of the slaves hurrying busily along, could penetrate it. A lofty window, through which shone the light of the early morning sun, pleasantly illuminated from above the moderate sized apartment, the walls of which were adorned with elegant arabesques in light colors, and between them, on darker grounds, the luxurious forms of attractive dancing girls, sweeping spirit-like along. A neat couch, faced with tortoise shell and hung with Babylonian tapestry of various colors—by the side of which lay the *scrinium*, containing the poet's elegies, which were as yet unknown to the majority of the public, and a small table of cedar-wood, on goat's feet of bronze, comprised the whole of the *supellex*. Immediately adjoining this apartment was the library, full of the most precious treasures acquired by Gallus, chiefly in Alexandria. Here, in presses of cedar-wood, placed round the walls, lay the rolls, partly of parchment, and partly of the finest Egyptian *papyrus*, each supplied with a label, on which was seen in bright red letters, the name of the author and title of the book. On the other side of the library was a larger room, in which a number of learned slaves were occupied in transcribing, with nimble hand, the works of illustrious Greek and the more ancient Roman authors, both for the supply of the library, and for the use of those friends to whom Gallus obligingly communicated his literary treasures. Others were engaged in giving the rolls the most agreeable exterior, in glueing the separate strips of *papyrus* together, drawing the red lines, which divided the different columns, and writing the title in the same color; in smoothing with pumice stone and blackening the edges; fastening ivory tops on the sticks round which the rolls were wrapped, and dyeing bright red or yellow the parchment which was to serve as a wrapper."

This interesting passage, and the annexed Excursus furnish the most valuable information on the mechanical execution of books, and on the book-trade itself in Rome, in the time of Augustus. Becker has given the best account we have seen of the several materials and implements of writing among the ancient Romans; and on the external form of the books, has added to the facts afforded by Winckelmann, in his description of the Herculanean rolls, some interesting results of original investiga-

tion. Passing these topics, however, we will touch upon one or two points, which are perhaps less familiar.

The *scrinium* mentioned in the above passage was properly a little case, designed to hold books or letters or other writings. It was usually made of wood, and of a cylindrical form, as this was best suited to the form of the books, and was of greater or smaller size, proportioned to the number of rolls it was designed to hold. Its several compartments were called *loculi*. *Capsa* is another name for the same thing, and in distinction from *scrinium* was used to designate a case of a smaller size. Böttiger<sup>1</sup> has very pleasantly described these little book-cases; and it appears from his account, that in later times, under the hand of the Roman ladies, they sometimes underwent a singular form of usurpation. The *capsula* which he describes, was one of a set of costly articles, which were accidentally discovered in Rome in the year 1794, while some laborers were digging for a well, in a garden at the foot of the Esquiline hill. It was made of solid silver, a foot in height, and a foot and several inches broad at the base, in the shape of a regular polygon, whose sixteen sides arched up towards the top, so that the picture of the whole, as given by Böttiger, resembles a neat little dome-like structure. The obvious resemblance of this *capsula* to the usual cases for books, kindled at once the curiosity of learned antiquarians to know the character of its contents. Perhaps the rusty cover of this long-buried case might discover, in good preservation, some rare old manuscript that would surpass in literary value, any that had yet been discovered—perhaps some exquisite gem of Grecian or Roman letters, some fine ode of Sappho or of Alcaeus, nay even some one of the lost elegies of Gallus. As the rubbish and dirt were carefully removed from its sides, and laid bare elegantly wrought figures of the Muses, and in the intervening spaces, arabesque settings of garlands and vases, the bosoms of the waiting scholars were all glowing with a feverous ardor of impatient hope. But, alas for the delusive nature of all human expectations! On removing the cover, the *capsula* turned out to be a mere appendage to the toilette of a Roman lady, and *proh pudor!* contained nothing but—five little vials of perfume. From this digression we recur to the legitimate use of these cases. We have seen that the *scrinium* of Gallus contained the poet's elegies. It was also often employed, like a little book-case in a modern house, to contain a kind of pocket-library for family use,

<sup>1</sup> Sabina l. 80—88, and the note on p. 102.

or any small collection of valuable manuscripts, which were to be kept with special care. It also served some out-door uses. It was the *green-bag* of the Roman lawyer, and the *satchel* of the Roman school-boy; and was in each case carried by a slave, who was hence called *capsarius*. Our classical readers will remember Juvenal's allusion to this use of the *capsa* by the school-boy,

Quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.—Sat. 10. 117.

The fact of this use has been successfully employed by the celebrated C. F. Hermann of Göttingen,<sup>1</sup> in explanation of a much disputed line in Horace.<sup>2</sup> Horace speaks of the boys of Venusia going to the school of Flavius, *laevo suspensi* loculos—lacerto, the *loculi* hanging on their left arm. The *loculi* by a very common figure of speech, is here put for the *capsa* itself, and Horace means to say that the provincial boys went to school, carrying their satchels on their own arms, unlike the aristocratic boys of the metropolis, and Horace himself, as we may well infer from the whole connection, who were relieved of the unwelcome burden by the attending *capsarius*.

The "neat couch" in the above passage, by which lay the *scrinium*, must not be identified in purpose, with a modern sofa, on which one might indulge a lazy mood, or even snatch some repose for a hard-worked brain. The *lectus*, *lectulus*, or couch performed the same service in a Roman study, as a modern study-table or desk; and these last as Böttiger has shown,<sup>3</sup> were unknown to the ancients. The modern artist, who would paint Cicero or Horace in his study, must follow Becker, in his picture of Gallus, and represent him "reclining on the *lectus*, supported on his left arm, his right knee drawn up higher than the other, in order to place on it his book or tablets." This was the *habitus studentis*, the ordinary posture in study of the Roman scholar, as Becker has clearly shown by a passage quoted from Pliny; and numerous passages from other classic writers fully establish the fact.

The nearest approach to a modern desk was the *cathedra*, or the easy-chair of the Roman women. This was furnished with ample arms, which served as a kind of writing-desk or dressing-

<sup>1</sup> Disputatio C. F. Hermannii Marburgi, as quoted by Jo. Caspar Orellius, in his Q. Horatius Flaccus, Secunda editio, Turici, 1844. See the Excursus I, appended to Sat. I. 6. Besides Orellius, Düntzner, and a writer in Jahn's Jahrbücher, 27, adopt Hermann's interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. I. 6. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Sabina, I. p. 35, in a note on the *cathedra*.



table. Pliny had in a *cubiculum* at his Laurentine villa, besides the *lectus*, two such cathedrae.<sup>1</sup>

In the next Excursus on "the Booksellers," we find many valuable notices from the classic writers. With the advance of literature in Rome, and the growth of a reading public, the demand for books gradually increased; and in the age of Augustus, book-selling had risen to the importance of a distinct branch of trade. Rome had now its Book-Row in the Argiletum; and the brothers Sosii, we may venture to consider the prototypes of the Longmans or the Harpers of these modern days. But as the multiplication of copies was effected by the slow process of transcribing, it must have been difficult to carry on the business with much celerity; and the Sosii must have been hard pressed to supply the demand for a popular book, such as that which Horace describes,

—Qui miscuit utile dulci.—*Ars Poet.* 343.

Nor had the Roman bookseller the convenient medium of a daily newspaper, in which to advertise a new work or aid on its sale by a happy *puff*. This end he endeavored to attain by suspending the titles of the books on the door of the shop, or on the pillars of the portico, under which it might happen to be situated. Hence the meaning of Horace's famous line on *mediocre* poets,

Non homines, non dii, non concessere columnas.—*Ars P.* 372,

and also of another line, which contains a still plainer allusion,

Nulla taberna meos habeat, neque *pila libelles*.—*Sat.* 1. 4. 71.

For the want of sufficient data, it is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion on the interesting question of the relation of the Roman author to the bookseller. It would seem from Becker, that the example of the poet Martial is the only one that bears directly upon this point; and this is not clear in all respects. In one place, Martial recommends one who wished for his poems to his bookseller Tryphon,

Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon, 4. 71,

and in another place he brings a work to a speedy conclusion, because he is in want of money, 11. 108. Thus too in 11. 3. he complains that he is no richer for his poems being read in Britain, Spain and Gaul. Other writers seem to have derived pecuniary

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<sup>1</sup> This is mentioned by Becker, in Note 7 to the third scene.

compensation from other sources. The Roman comic writers sold their plays to the Aediles. Terence received for his *Eunuchus* the tolerable fee of 8000 sest., circa \$325. The elder Pliny<sup>1</sup> was offered by a private individual for his *Commentarii electorum* the sum of 400,000 sest., circa \$16,000. But the great Augustan poets wrote for fame, and were rewarded by the friendship and patronage of the great. Tibullus had his Messala, Virgil his Pollio, and Horace his Maecenas. In regard to the "poet's sacred name," Horace assumed in his writings a no less lofty position than Byron himself, and cherished an equal and a far more consistent contempt for all "hireling bards" and "venal sons of Apollo." From his very pithy line,

——— *Paupertas impulit audax,*  
Ut versus facerem — (*Ep.* 2. 2. 51),

many have hastily inferred that the poet at the period of his life there referred to, betook himself to *verse-making*, as a means of subsistence. But apart from the fact, that this inference is repugnant to Horace's cherished sentiments, and his whole course in life, it is clear from the words of the poet himself,<sup>2</sup> that the unpopular vocation of a satirist would never have gained him his bread, and indeed would have been a more direct road to starvation than to a comfortable subsistence. Nor is it less improbable that Horace resorted to poetry, in the hope of conciliating the favor of the rich and the great; for the business of writing satire was ill calculated to ingratiate the friendless *ci-devant* republican with Octavius and his noble associates, who now held in their hands all civil and social gifts, and were busy in creating a brilliant monarchy upon the ruins of the Commonwealth. In the midst of these difficulties, it is better to adopt the opinion of W. E. Weber of Bremen,<sup>3</sup> in his recent valuable work on "Horace, as a Man and a Poet." It was neither the thought of supporting himself as a poet, nor the hope of making his fortune with the great, but the absolute indifference that resulted from his then desolate condition, to which Horace refers in the *audax paupertas*, and from which he formed the resolution to venture upon the career of a poet. He had just returned from the battle of Philippi, which had sealed the fate of the republic. During his absence, his worthy father had died, and his little estate had either been

<sup>1</sup> This is quoted by Becker p. 247, of the Eng. edition, from Pliny Ep. 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. 1. 4. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Quintus Horatius Flaccus, als Mensch und Dichter, von W. E. Weber, Prof. und Director der Gelehrten-schule in Bremen. Jena, 1844.

sold or confiscated. Without friends and without money, his fortunes were all unpropitious. For him the present stood utterly still; and to give it a prosperous flow, activity of some kind was an imperious condition. In this extremity, he felt within him the stirrings of his poetic genius, which had already found some utterance, during his sojourn in classic Greece, and turning to the muse with resolute heart, and courting her embrace, as if in defiance of his prosaic fate, he entered the rude path of satire, as best suited to his then feelings and fortunes. This opinion of Weber is at once ingenious and reasonable; and the learned German follows it up with a supposition differing from that of Zumpt,<sup>1</sup> that it was soon after his return to Rome, that Horace obtained the place of quaestor's clerk, the *scriptum quaestorium* of his biographer Suetonius, and alluded to in the poet's own writings, and that he drew from the slender emolument accruing from this office the supply of his temporal wants. At a later period, his introduction to Maecenas by his brother poets Virgil and Varius, was the tide in the poet's affairs that led on to fortune. The relation of Horace to Maecenas is without a parallel in the annals of literary biography. It was alike removed from a cringing servility on the one side, and on the other from a distant and haughty patronage. Horace was the personal and literary companion of Maecenas, furnishing him direct aid in his public and private duties, enriching his leisure hours with his good sense and varied knowledge, and cheering and enlivening his princely home with the light of his genius, and the sprightly sallies of his wit, and his unfailing humor. It was a relation of intimate friendship mutually grateful and useful, ennobled by literary tastes and sympathies, and secured by ties of respect and affection. In this happy connection, Horace went onward in his poetic career with sure and rapid steps. Enjoying free access to the house of Maecenas, admitted to the presence and society of Augustus, in daily intercourse with the first men of his time, he was surrounded by influences congenial to his tastes, and suited to his poetic culture. The event showed, that he was not unfaithful to all the advantages of this position. From being the companion of the emperor and of the emperor's friend, he gradually became the richly cultivated poet, in whom lay imaged all the

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Zumpt, the veteran philologist of Berlin, who supposes that Horace exercised the functions of *scriba* at a later period, and only in immediate connection with Maecenas. See Zumpt's *Life of Horace*, prefixed to Wüstermann's recent edition of Heindorf's Horace.

great events and characters of the age, and in whose matchless verse they all found their fit poetic expression.

We have lingered so long over the many interesting points suggested by the last scenes, that we can barely notice the next two scenes, which depict in lively colors the Journey of Gallus to his Campanian Villa. Like Umbricius in Juvenal, Gallus is made to send on his travelling carriage to wait for him without the Porta Capena, by the grove of the Camoenae; as it is a matter of doubt, whether persons were allowed at that period to ride in a carriage within the walls of Rome. Becker has sketched a vivid picture of the noisy, crowded streets, through which a passage was forced for Gallus, while "reclining on the cushions of his *lectica*, and borne on the shoulders of six stalwart Syrian slaves." As we read, we seem to be in the very midst of all the bustling, out-door life of the city, we move on with its thronging crowds, we see and hear its very sights and sounds, and catch the living manners of the great Roman metropolis. As the Villa of Gallus lay between Sinuessa and Capua, his journey was on that *regina viarum*, queen of Roman roads, the Via Appia. Our author has happily followed the authority of Horace in the well-known journey to Brundisium, and has infused into his story no small portion of the poet's genial mirth. Our classical readers will love to refresh their memory with this modern revision of that famous tour, and laugh again over all its amusing vexations. To the chapter of annoyances, Becker has added a little item from Martial, in the "troop of filthy beggars on the hill, outside the town of Asiccia," which must remind every one who has travelled anywhere in Italy, of the *lazzaroni* and *lepros* of modern times.<sup>1</sup>

The villa of Gallus had a charming situation in the classic Falerian land. The vicinity was rich in all the variety of wood-

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is so very like what we ourselves have seen, that we venture to compare notes with Becker, from the leaves of our humble journal of a journey from Florence to Rome. We remember well one dull morning, as the Diligence was slowly making its way up a long hill to the town of Radiconfani, that on getting out to breathe a little air, and refresh ourselves after the tedious night, we were saluted by a pack of ragged beggar boys, who came down to meet us, and insisted on giving us their company, and entertaining us with their execrable music, utterly unheeding the very considerable emphasis with which we declined their services. They continued to press around us, and were deaf to all entreaty and remonstrance, till at length we flung among them a handful of copper, when their voices were silenced in a twinkling, and scrambling for the coin, away they made up the hill with a most welcome despatch.

land and forest and meadow, and afforded in the distance a prospect of the Auruncan hills. The grateful sight of flourishing orchards and gardens, the lowing of herds, the cackling of swarms of poultry, and, on all sides, the busy hum of cheerful industry, greeted the return of the landlord to his noble estate. By the aid of materials, chiefly collected from the pages of Pliny, Becker has well described the country residence of a Roman nobleman of wealth and taste. We give it as follows :

" The front, situated to the south-east, formed a roomy portico, resting on Corinthian pillars, before which extended a terrace planted with flowers, and divided by box-trees into small beds of various forms ; while the declivity sloping gently down, bore figures, skilfully cut out of the box-trees, of animals opposite to each other, as if prepared for attack, and then gradually became lost in the acanthus which covered in its verdure the plain at its foot. Behind the colonnade, after the fashion of the city, was an *atrium*, not splendidly but tastefully adorned, the elegant pavement of which, formed to imitate lozenges, in green, white and black stone, contrasted pleasantly with the red marble that covered the walls. From this you entered a small oval *peristyl*, an excellent resort in unfavorable weather ; for the spaces between the pillars were closed up with large panes of the clearest *lapis specularis*, or talc, through which the eye discovered the pleasant verdure of the soft mossy carpet, that covered the open space in the centre, and was rendered ever flourishing by the spray of the fountain. Just behind this was the regular court of the house, of an equally agreeable aspect, in which stood a large marble basin, surrounded by all sorts of shrubs and dwarf trees ; on this court abutted a grand eating-hall, built beyond the whole line of the house, through the long windows of which, reaching like doors to the ground, a view was obtained, towards the Auruncan hills in front, and on the sides into the gardens ; whilst in the rear, a passage opened through the *cavaedium*, *peristyl*, *atrium*, and colonnade, into the open air. This saloon was bordered on the right by different chambers, which from their northerly aspect presented a pleasant abode, in the heat of summer, and more to the east lay the regular sitting and sleeping rooms. The first were built outwards semicircularly, in order to catch the beams of the morning light, and retain those of the mid-day sun. The internal arrangements were simple, but comfortable, and in perfect accordance with the green prospect around ; for on the mar-

ble basement were painted branches reaching inwards as it were from the outside, and upon them colored birds, so skilfully executed, that they appeared not to sit, but to flutter.—On the opposite side, which enjoyed the full warmth of the evening sun, were the bath-rooms and the *sphoeristerium*, adapted not merely for the game of ball, but for nearly every description of corporeal exercises.—Lastly, at both ends of the front colonnade, forming the entrance, rose turret-shaped buildings, in the different stories of which were small chambers, affording an extensive view of the smiling plains.”

The subject of gardening, among the Romans, both useful and ornamental, has been examined by Becker with the greatest diligence; and the results are given in a learned Excursus. But on this subject, we must content ourselves with extracting the following passage, describing the “most captivating spot in Gallus’ garden.”—“Tall, shady elms, entwined with luxuriant vines, enclosed a semicircular lawn, the green carpet of which was penetrated by a thousand shooting violets. On the farther side, rose a gentle ascent, planted with the most varied roses, that mingled their balmy odors with the perfume of the lilies blooming at its foot. Above this, the neighboring mountains reared their dark summits, while on the side of the hill a pellucid stream babbled down in headlong career, after escaping from the colossal urn of a nymph, who lay gracefully reclined on the verdant moss, dashed over a mass of rocks, and then with a gentle murmur vanished behind the green amphitheatre.”

We pass the sixth scene, and come to the seventh, entitled “A Day at Baiae.” This was the great watering-place of imperial Rome. The traveller, who visits this renowned spot, where now “ruin greenly dwells,” may catch from all around him a distinct conception of what it was in the days of its glory, when princes and nobles thronged to its baths and springs, mingled in all its gay scenes of fashion, and revelled in its charms of nature and art. Situated within a little winding recess of the most enchanting bay of the Mediterranean, under a delicious southern sky, in the midst of all the consecrated scenery of Virgil’s muse, its seas ever calm and unruffled, and its whole soil rich in healing springs, it far surpassed in its means of health and pleasure, all the resorts of antiquity. Along with the invalids, who came in search of health, “there streamed thither a much larger number of persons, who resigned themselves to

enjoyment, in whatever shape it was offered. One continued *sartania* was there celebrated, in which even the more reserved suffered themselves to be carried away by the intoxication of pleasure, whilst follies, which in Rome would have drawn down reproof, were scarcely regarded as imputations on character, or such only as the next bath would entirely efface." But all that gay and not innocent life has long since passed away; the thousands, who there mingled in the giddy whirl of folly and vice have gone from among the living; the costly monuments of art have all fallen in decay; beneath the waters of the bay, may be seen remains of the *moles*,<sup>1</sup> by which the rich encroached upon the sea; and along the whole coast, and the adjacent hillsides, lie thickly strewn and fast imbedded in the earth, the ruins of temples and villas and baths. Nothing has survived the desolating hand of time, save the imperishable charms of nature; and all these yet are there, the skies as blue, the air as fragrant, the clear expanse of water, and all the landscape reposing in smiling beauty, as when they gladdened the eye and heart of the great Roman poet, and kindled in his imagination visions of Elysian glory,

" Art, glory, freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."

Having whiled away some days at Baiae, Gallus returned to his villa; and there, while reposing in the lap of rural enjoyment, was startled by private intelligence from Rome, which told of the "Displeasure of Augustus." This forms the title of the next scene. During his absence, calumny had been busy with his name at the court, false friends had poisoned the ears of the emperor with grave charges against his fair fame and his loyalty, and by imperial decree, he was now "forbidden to enter the palace, or stay in the provinces." On hearing these tidings, he broke up his country establishment, and hastened to the metropolis. It was the custom of the Romans, not only on occasion of the loss of friends by death, but also in all times of public or of private calamity to display their sorrow by habiliments of mourning. But Gallus, proudly conscious of his integrity, and stung to the quick by the severe decree, determined on his arrival in Rome, to brave the displeasure of his imperial master, and to appear in public, arrayed in sumptuous apparel, and invested with all the insignia of his rank. With this little circumstance, Beck-

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<sup>1</sup> *Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt  
Jactis in altum molibus.*—*Horace, Odes, 3. 1. 33.*

er has woven in a most elaborate account of the Roman dress. The following passage is worthy of special notice :

" The slave came with the *tunica*, and followed by two others bearing the *toga*, already folded in the approved fashion, whilst a fourth placed the purple dress-shoes near the seat. Eros first girded the under-garment afresh, then threw over his master the upper *tunica*, taking particular care that the broad strip of purple woven into it, might fall exactly across the centre of the breast. He then hung one end of the *toga* over the left shoulder, so as to fall far below the knee, and cover with its folds, the whole of the arm down to the hand. The right arm remained at liberty, as the voluminous garment was passed at its broadest part under the arm, and then brought forward in front ; the *umbo* being laid obliquely across the breast, so that the well rounded *sinus* almost reached the knee, and the lower half ended at the middle of the shin-bone, whilst the remaining portion was once more thrown over the left shoulder, and hung down over the arm and back of the person in a mass of broad and regular folds. Eros then reached for his lord the polished hand-mirror, the thick silver plate of which reflected every image with perfect clearness. Gallus cast but a single glance on it, allowed his feet to be installed into the tall shoes, latched with four-fold thongs, placed on his fingers the rings he had taken off over night, and ordered Chresimus to be summoned."

It best suited the mood of Gallus to appear in the very focus of Roman life, and hence, on the pretence of making purchases, he bent his way from his house, followed by four imposing slaves to the shops of the crowded Forum. In the altered looks of all that met him, he soon read the quick effect that had been wrought by "a single word from the Emperor." The many friends, who in his sunshine of fortune, had ever pressed forward to meet him, now passed him by unnoticed ; the proud patricians, carried high their heads, and deigned him not a word nor a look ; the very slaves catching the hint from their lords, pointed at him the finger of scorn ; and, save now and then some worthy citizen, the world ventured on no expression of sympathy with his present condition.

We would gladly follow Gallus, in his visits to the gay *tabernae* of the Forum ; but our limits forbid, and we hasten to the ninth scene, which exhibits a " Banquet" in the house of Lentulus, a wealthy nobleman of Rome. We account this the most elaborate, and on the whole the most successful of all the pic-



tures of Roman life, that have been drawn by the hand of Becker. In nothing is the contrast more striking, between the stern virtues of the early Roman character, and the extravagance and luxury of later times, than in the arrangements of the table. The fare of the old Roman was ever simple and frugal. The common article of food was a poor substitute for bread, generally called *puls*, and very much the same thing as we call *gruel*. Juvenal in a picture of earlier times, mentions the toilworn sons of the household, coming home to the ample supper of *puls*, that was smoking for them in the huge vessels.<sup>1</sup> To this were added all the varieties of vegetables; but flesh was used but very sparingly. Such was the Roman living, down to about the time of Plautus. The comedies of that writer throw much light on the subject. At this period, better meals were introduced. We gather from Plautus,<sup>2</sup> that the change was owing to the sacrifices, and to the public banquets. But Livy<sup>3</sup> ascribes it to a more important cause, the wars in Asia. In describing the luxury introduced from Asia, Livy mentions feasts prepared with great care and expense, the employment of private cooks, and cooking itself as already a regular art. But the living of those times was far removed from extravagance. It was good and plentiful—it did not refuse, with the gruel and pulse of an earlier day, some generous mingling of meats and delicacies, nor yet of the mellow wines of Campania; but still it indicated no gross departures from simplicity and temperance. We should not widely err, in adducing, in illustration of these times, the example of the elder Cato. He was a nobleman of an old family, a man of talents and cultivation, and of political influence, and possessed of considerable means; but he had within him, by nature and by character, all the strong qualities of the old Roman, and he set himself with all his strength against the introduction of eastern habits of living. Cicero gives a pleasant and faithful picture of this remarkable man in his treatise on Old Age.<sup>4</sup> In the old man's description of the pleasures of husbandry, which Cicero invests with all the living enthusiasm of a healthy old age, the cellar of the industrious farmer is furnished with an ample supply of wine and olives, and well stocked with pork and kid and sheep and poultry, and cheese and honey. In another place, when contend-

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<sup>1</sup> ——— coena

Amplior, et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.—*Sat.* 14. 170.

<sup>2</sup> As referred to by Becker, on p. 356 of the English Edition.

<sup>3</sup> B. 39. 6.

<sup>4</sup> De Senectute, chapters 14—16.

ing for the pleasures that belong yet to advanced life, he speaks with a temperate warmth of his convivial occasions on his Sabine farm, in the summer, in the cool of the evening, in the winter, in the sun, or by the fire; of the president chosen for the evening, of the draughts from the small and *devoxy* cup,<sup>1</sup> and especially of the cheerful conversation, protracted till deep in the night.

But the period of the Empire presents a system of life entirely different. Rome had now fulfilled her measure as the conqueror of the world; and the unbounded increase of riches and power had brought along with it, all the refinements of luxury and vice. The same causes that had wrought a change in government, had given a new form and character to domestic life. No longer existed the early facility of living, growing out of simple tastes and habits. Artificial wants and desires had come into being, a whole system of fashions was in full dominion, and all, who would be held in social consequence, must needs strive to adapt themselves to their new social conditions, and merge all other cares in anxious efforts to provide the means and secure the appearance of a respectable existence. The difference thus created, was especially conspicuous in the table. This was characterized by an incredible degree of luxury, inferior to that of no country nor period of modern times. No ingenuity of invention was unemployed, nor any prodigality of expense refused in procuring the choicest dainties and the rarest dishes. And these were sometimes furnished, not merely from the view of real use, but simply because they gave additional splendor to a dinner. Becker says, that the Roman epicures considered it a great object to make way with the greatest possible quantity of food, and hence resorted to the most unnatural means for increasing their capacity of eating. Indeed, as he has well said, the golden saying, *il faut manger pour vivre, et non pas vivre pour manger*, was precisely inverted in Rome.

It is this style of living in the days of the Empire, which is illustrated in the present Banquet-scene. Becker is a most veracious scholar, and relies upon direct classical authority; else we might be tempted to suspect, that in painting this superb feast, he had largely drawn from fancy. The chief authorities are Horace, Juvenal and Petronius. The noble guests are assembled in a

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<sup>1</sup> Compare also, Horace, Odes, 3. 21. 11, 12,  
 Narratur et prisci Catonis  
 Saepe mero caluisse virtus.

spacious saloon. Elegant sofas, inlaid with tortoise-shell, decked below with white hangings embroidered with gold, and furnished with cushions and pillows, surrounded a table of cedar-wood, constituting together the *triclinium*.<sup>1</sup> The guests all reclining in their allotted places, their sandals were removed by the slaves, and water was offered them in silver bowls for their ablutions. Soon appeared the *gustatorium*,<sup>2</sup> or the first course. It would be difficult to find anything in modern times, to vie with the table-service and ingenious arrangements, here described by Becker. For instance; "in the centre of the *plateau*, ornamented with tortoise-shell, stood an ass of bronze, on either side of which hung silver panniers, filled with white and black olives; on the back of the beast sat a Silenus, from whose skin the most delicious *garum*, (a sauce) flowed upon the *sumen* beneath. Near this, on two silver gridirons lay delicately dressed sausages, beneath which Syrian plums, mixed with the seeds of the pomegranate, presented the appearance of glowing coals. Anon came on the *coena* proper. This consisted of a brilliant succession of fish, flesh and fowl. Ring-doves and field-fares, capons and ducks, and mullets and turbot, all tempted the eye and the palate, and produced in the guests a most agreeable state of indecision. And now, too, began to flow freely the old Falernian; and all began to be merry. The boar was the *caput coenae*, or chief dish of the Roman dinner. Of all varieties, the Tuscan carried the palm. On this occasion, it was served in a manner worthy its eminence. It was surrounded by eight sucking-pigs, made of sweet paste, and surprisingly like real ones. On the tusks of the boar, hung little baskets, woven of palm-twigs, and containing Syrian and Theban dates. This dish well discussed, and others no less singular, but too numerous to mention, and the table carefully cleared, an ample dessert closed the

<sup>1</sup> The Roman *Triclinium* properly consisted of three *lecti*, each having three places, so that the whole would accommodate nine persons. They were arranged, so as to form three sides of a rectangle, leaving the space on the fourth side for the approach of the servants. After the introduction of the round table, one semi-circular sofa was used, which from its shape, was called the *Sigma*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Coena* consisted of three parts. First, the *gustus* or *gustatorium*. This was a kind of antepast, and consisted of vegetables, shell-fish, and sauces. Second, the *fercula*. This was the *coena* proper, or the several courses. In early times, three was a large number, but with the increase of luxury, more were added. Hence Juvenal, Sat. 1. 94. *Quis fercula septem secreto coenavit avus?* Third, *mensae secundae*, or dessert. See the Excursus of Becker on Meals.

entertainment. It was a curious custom to present the guests with elegant little trifles, as a kind of *souvenir* of the occasion. This was effected by our host Lentulus in a quite peculiar manner. A sudden noise over-head attracted the eyes of all. At once the ceiling opened, and slowly came down from some invisible hand, a large silver hoop, which scattered, as it revolved, its rich gifts of perfume-vials of silver and alabaster, and silver garlands of beautifully chiselled leaves and circlets. The dessert was not inferior to the other part of the feast. In the midst of a tempting array of pastry, "stood a well-modelled Vertumnus, who held in his apron a great variety of fruits. Around lay sweet quinces, full of almonds, and having the appearance of sea-urchins, with melons cut into various shapes." A slave handed round tooth-picks made of the *lentiscus*, or mastick tree, and Lentulus invited the guests to partake of the fruits with which the pod was loaded. It will be seen that this Roman banquet was no intellectual Symposium, like that described by Plato and Xenophon. Becker has purposely shunned the difficult task of introducing to his scene in familiar conversation the Roman scholars of the Augustan age, as this would have interfered with his main design. There were not wanting, however, among the guests some allusions to the character and policy of Augustus, which betrayed the irritated Gallus into some intemperate expressions of disloyalty and treason, which hurried on the consummation of his unhappy fate. On the morrow, the Emperor was informed of what had fallen from his lips; the whole matter was referred to the senate; and the result was a decree of banishment and confiscation. But the proud spirit of Gallus brooked not so disgraceful an end; and ere the *lictor* had arrived to announce the sentence, he had struck deep into his breast the same sword that once had achieved many a victory, and he lay on his couch covered with his own blood.

We must here close our remarks upon this valuable work. For its learned author, who has successfully penetrated this hitherto unexplored field of Roman Antiquities, and brought back such rich fruits of his toils, we cherish the most grateful sentiments of admiration and respect. This book marks an era on this subject, and is a complete view, in a most attractive form, of the private life of the Romans.

The original work has suffered no essential loss in the process of translation into English, in the edition, from which we have frequently quoted, in the course of this Article. From a careful

comparison, in many places, we have found that Mr. Metcalfé, the English translator, has executed his task with accuracy and faithfulness. The external arrangement of the different parts of the work he has very skilfully changed. In the original, the Scenes are "separated by a profound gulf of Notes and Excursus, which is quite sufficient to drown the interest of the tale." This difficulty has been remedied by arranging the Scenes in succession, by setting the Notes in their several places at the foot of the pages in the narrative, and throwing together the Excursus in the form of an appendix. We may be allowed to say, however, that the book would have gained yet more in the English dress, if the author had taken some liberties with the style of the original, and broken up the many long and involved German sentences. With all their varied merits, the Germans have sadly neglected the cultivation of rhetorical excellence. On the other hand, it seems to us, that the translator has resorted too freely to the process of "lopping," and has left out happy references, and entirely omitted the discussion of matters of considerable importance. We must find fault too, with the numberless abbreviated allusions, which are copied unexplained, into the English work. With the exception of the learned Germans, it is not to be supposed that all scholars are familiar with every author that ever wrote in Greek or Latin, and that an arbitrary abbreviation made of two or three letters, and sometimes of a single letter is enough to suggest at once the name of the writer and of the work, to which reference is made.

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## ARTICLE II.

### NATURAL THEOLOGY.

*Furnished by a Society of Clergymen.*

It has long been our conviction, that Natural Theology deserves far more attention than it has received from modern divines. In a preceding number of this Review,<sup>1</sup> we expressed our regret that so noble a department of study should have fallen in-

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<sup>1</sup> See an Article on the State of Theological Science and Education in our Vol. III. No. 10.

to such unmerited neglect. It seems to be regarded by many as, at best, a convenient preparative for sacred science, rather than as an enlarged part of the science itself. By others it is regarded as a preliminary study which may be dispensed with, often without loss, sometimes with positive gain. Several of our modern systems of divinity treat this department in a cursory and illogical manner, and some of them overlook it entirely. Dwight has said but little which Charnock had not said before him. Hill, Dick, Knapp, Storr and Platt, have done very much less in this branch of their science, than had been accomplished by their predecessors. German theology, as a whole, is deficient in this department.<sup>2</sup> Even the systems of German ethics are treatises on biblical theology, rather than on the dictates of our moral sense. We have, indeed, a few recent works on Natural Religion which claim a respectful notice. The Bridgewater Treatises, particularly those of Whewell, Bell, Kidd, Kirby, and Chalmers, are of great value, chiefly however as affording a collection of materials for the formation of a theological system, rather than as of themselves exhibiting such a system in its true proportions. The more extended treatise of Chalmers on Natural Theology is rich in suggestive remark, and affords honorable proof of the comprehensiveness of its author's intellect, the accuracy of his observations, and the extent of his scientific inquiries. The literary world have been too much astonished at the exuberance of Dr. Chalmers' fancy, for a proper appreciation

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Country, in the Bib. Sac. and Theol. Review, Vol. I. pp. 743, 744. We stated in that Article, that in examining candidates for license to preach the Gospel, we have found but few individuals who could readily prove the *unity* of God, or who were sure that a plurality of deities can be disproved by arguments from nature alone; but few who could promptly reply to the philosophical objections by which such arguments may be met; or who could establish and vindicate the benevolence of the Deity on principles of reason; or who had formed settled opinions, and could give the reasons for their opinions on the foundation of virtue, on the nature of the moral sense, and on other fundamental topics in this branch of theology; but few, therefore, who were prepared to contend with atheists and infidels, on principles of reasoning, which must be admitted by even the enemies of the inspired volume.

<sup>2</sup> It is deficient not so much in the number, as in the quality of its treatises on Natural Theology. Some of the German Encyclopaedists give us the names of more than a hundred different modern treatises on the existence of God, and also more than a hundred on the immortality of the soul.—See the Encyclopaedias of Hagenbach and Pelt. Compare Bretschneider's *Entwickelung* § 58 and § 132. Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus*, § 52—§ 68, and § 129. Hahn's *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* § 29—50, and § 141—§ 144.

of his philosophical acumen. We think, however, that he has not given so full an analysis as he should have given, of those fundamental principles which must be reasoned upon in Natural Theology, as well as in every other science; and from a failure to recognize these laws of belief, he has formed too low an opinion of the subject on which he so eloquently discourses. He is satisfied with saying, that "the theology of nature sheds powerful light on the being of a God," that "even from its unaided demonstrations we can reach a considerable degree of probability, both for his moral and natural attributes." He declares, however, that "Natural Theology is quite overrated by those who would represent it as the foundation of the edifice" of the Christian religion; that "it is not the foundation, but rather the taper by which we must grope our way to the edifice;" that it is not so much a teacher of religious truth, as an "inquirer or rather a prompter to inquiry" respecting it. We think that many of Dr. Chalmers' views of the religion of nature are less scientific and correct than those of Lord Brougham, and that his Lordship's Discourse of Natural Theology has opened a pathway of investigation which our divines will, sooner or later, be persuaded to follow. The compressed energy of many parts of that Discourse demand our highest praise. We could also speak in commendatory terms of some other extended treatises, and a few minor essays in this department; but the great majority of modern contributions to Natural Theology do not appear to be the results of a thoroughly logical and independent investigation. Some of them are improvements upon the Natural Theology of Paley, as this work was an advance upon the productions of Ray and Derham. We still need an original, a systematic analysis of the arguments and principles which lie scattered throughout the practical treatises which have been mentioned. We should rejoice to see a republication of Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*, of Dr. Samuel Clarke's celebrated *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, and of the *Controversial Papers* which were exchanged between Clarke and Leibnitz. We believe that the mind of our theological public would be occupied more profitably by these discussions, than by such frequent controversies as we now have, on the comparative advantages of the surplice and the black gown, of kneeling with the face directed away from, or towards the congregation. All the departments, whether more or less extensive, of theological study, should be cultivated with system, and with a zeal proportioned to their value. In the science of Medicine

almost every class of phenomena is made the topic of well arranged discussion; and volume follows volume on some of the least important branches of Therapeutics and Surgery. The science of law is elucidated in its minute divisions by learned digests and abstract argument, so that amid the apparent chaos of precedents and statutes, a counsellor perceives a beautiful, strongly compacted system. Why, then, need theologians be left to complain, that the science which ought to be from its simplicity more complete than any other, is left ill-shapen and crude? Why do we not perceive a more vigorous effort of our divines to introduce a method and logical precision into that department of truth, which is now assaulted more vigorously than ever by Hegelians, sceptics, materialists, and even by two distinct and highly respectable schools of Christian believers? The fact that this branch of theology is thus assailed by recent scholars, that abundant materials for its advancement have been accumulated in the process of philosophical discovery, and that nearly all other branches of science are in a flourishing condition, should invite us to inquire, whether we need be so dilatory as we have been, in our theological progress, and especially in our attempts to systematize the principles of the religion of nature.

It were easy to indicate several causes of the prevailing indifference to Natural Theology among those men, who ought to be its defenders. Some imagine that Revelation is depreciated, just in proportion as the volume of nature is esteemed. "They argue," says Lord Brougham,<sup>1</sup> "as if the two systems were rivals, and whatever credit the one gained, were so much lost to the other." But the truth is, that an esteem for Natural Religion heightens our reverence for the Bible, just as a respect for the Bible increases the regard of a healthy mind for the teachings of nature. "Whoever," says Bishop Berkeley,<sup>2</sup> "thinks highly of the one can never with any consistency think meanly of the other." Many are inimical to Natural Theology, because they regard it as essentially *philosophical*, and thus at variance with the humble spirit which is fostered by the revealed word. Their theory is, that when a theologian attentively 'considers the heavens, the work of the divine fingers; the moon and the stars which God has ordained,' then he ceases to exclaim, 'What is man that Jehovah is mindful of him, and the son of man that God visiteth him.'<sup>3</sup> Others allow themselves to be regardless of

<sup>1</sup> Discourse of Nat. Theol. Part I. Sec. III.

<sup>2</sup> Minute Philosopher, Dial. V.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm 8: 3, 4.



Natural Theology, because they deem its pretended instructions to be mere conjectures, or at the best, obscure and ambiguous hints. We hear so much of the weakness of human reason, and the darkness of human speculations, and the folly of him who puts any trust in his inferences from nature, that we sometimes tremble, lest men refuse to believe anything and adopt the language of Philo in Hume's remarkable Dialogues. "Let us become thoroughly sensible," he says,<sup>1</sup> "of the weakness, blindness, and narrow limits of human reason. Let us duly consider its uncertainty and endless contrarieties, even in subjects of common life and practice. Let the errors and deceits of our very senses be set before us; the insuperable difficulties which attend first principles in all systems; the contradictions which adhere to the very ideas of matter, cause and effect, extension, space, time, motion, and in a word quantity of all kinds, the object of the only science that can fairly pretend to any certainty or evidence. When these topics are displayed in their full light, as they are by some philosophers and almost all divines, who can retain such confidence in this frail faculty of reason as to pay any regard to its determinations in points so sublime, so abstruse, so remote from common life and experience [as are the points of theology]? When the coherence of the parts of a stone, or even that composition of parts which renders it extended, when these familiar objects, I say, are so inexplicable, and contain circumstances so repugnant and contradictory, with what assurance can we decide concerning the origin of worlds, or trace their history from eternity to eternity?" The use which infidels have made of such concessions is well known.

But there are many who will not allow the force of these skeptical reasonings, and yet are neglectful of Natural Religion, because they judge it to be simply needless. While the revealed word is regarded as its "own best witness," sufficient of itself, without any anterior proof of our moral relations, to establish all its claims to our homage, why, it is asked, should we postpone our enjoyment of its clear light, for the sake of groping our way amid the obscurities of nature, feeling after God, if haply we may find him. But this, and many other objections to the cultivation of Natural Theology proceed, we think, from a confused view of the whole system of sacred science; of its

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<sup>1</sup> See Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, Part I. p. 19. 2d London edition.

ground-work, its dependences, its internal structure, its external influence and aims. In proportion to the clearness with which we perceive the mutual relations of the various branches of theology, shall we feel the impropriety of neglecting that extensive department of it, which precedes the written revelation, and which our subsequent remarks may still more clearly prove to be neither hostile to the Bible, nor deleterious in its moral influence, nor uncertain in its teachings, nor unnecessary either to the mind or heart of a Christian, to the defence, or even to the existence of any sound theological system.

Having thus alluded to the prevailing neglect of the teachings of nature on religious themes, and also to some of the causes of that neglect, we will next endeavor to define the province of Natural Theology. The term *Natural Theology* is used by some for the genus, of which *Natural Religion* is a species. Bishop Butler sometimes employs it in this sense, and speaks of Natural Religion as that part of Natural Theology, which more immediately concerns our own race. Other writers, as Lord Brougham, suppose that Natural Theology denotes the science, of which Natural Religion expresses the subject. A third and large class of divines, influenced in part by the etymological meaning of the terms, speak of Natural Theology, as designating exclusively the truths relating to God; and Natural Religion, as designating exclusively the truths respecting the duties which moral beings owe to their Creator. A still larger class, as Clark, Bentley, Derham, Hume, and sometimes Paley use the two terms as interchangeable and synonymous. But these definitions are not in reality so diverse from each other, as they may at first appear. The two terms are not synonymous, but they differ only in the comparative degrees of prominence which they give, to the Creator on the one hand, and to the moral creation on the other. Thus, it is impossible to consider the character and moral government of God, without also considering the subjects whom he morally governs; and it is impossible to consider the duties of these created agents to their great Ruler, and the consequences of their fulfilling or neglecting these duties, without also considering the character and government of the Ruler himself. Natural Theology, therefore, denotes that class of truths which relate to God, his being, perfections, government and purposes; all considered without a prominent reference to the duties and destination of man. But Natural Religion reverses this order of thought, and denotes that class of truths which respect the duties of men toward their Cre-

ator, and the consequences of discharging or violating these duties; all considered without a prominent reference to the attributes of God and the plans of his government. In each case, there is and must be a reference more or less indirect to that which is not made the prominent object of regard. Bishop Butler, for example, treats of the future existence of man under the head of Natural Religion; but certainly the future existence of man is included in the moral government of God; it is a plan or purpose of Jehovah, and thus indirectly belongs to Natural Theology. Under the same head of Natural Religion he treats of God's moral government, which is doubtless a part of his general plan, of his intentions, and therefore is, not less really than his attributes, an integral part of the theology of nature. Natural Theology and Natural Religion refer to the same classes of truths, but to these classes in different relations. The former has more immediate regard to the qualities and acts of God, which constitute his claim to our homage; the latter has more immediate regard to those duties and prospects of man, which result from the rights and the moral purposes of the Deity. For logical purposes, it is well to make a distinction between the terms; for practical purposes, it is well to remember that one term includes the other. It is not proper to say with Lord Brougham, that one denotes the genus and the other a species; but it is proper to say, that each one in its turn may denote a prominent system of truths, of which the other expresses a subordinate part. If Lord Brougham is accurate in defining theology to be the science, and religion the subject, still the subject involves the science, as strictly as the science presupposes the subject.

Natural Theology has been divided into Ontology, or the science of the Creator's existence and attributes as learned from his works; and Deontology, or the science of our duties toward God considered as our benefactor and righteous governor. In the former department, Natural Theology has relation to all the natural sciences, and also to the various branches of psychology. It must resort to these, as the sources of its proof and illustration. In the latter department, it has relation to human ethics. It is one, and the most important, branch of ethical science. If there were no theology, there would still be a system of duties between man and his fellow creatures; but natural religion includes the higher system of duties from man to God. If there were no theology, the obligations of man to his fellows would receive a certain kind of sanction from his moral nature; but the truths relating to the divine government introduce a more solemn and imperative sanc-

tion to all the duties of man toward his equals, inferiors, and superiors. Natural religion, then, not only forms the chief department of ethics, but likewise adds the most cogent motives to every species of excellence which the ethical code enjoins. It reasserts every obligation which previously rested upon us, and enforces it by those additional sanctions which result from the present and future agency of a just Sovereign.

From these remarks it follows, that the province of Natural Theology is one of great extent. First, it presupposes the certainty of moral distinctions, and discloses the most important applications of the moral code. It implies, that there is a right and a wrong course of action, and teaches what would be praiseworthy and what blameworthy in a supposed Governor of the universe. Secondly, it establishes the fact that there is one and only one God, and that he possesses all the attributes which can entitle any being to the homage and supreme love of moral intelligences. Thirdly, it unfolds our duties to this great Being, and these constitute the chief part of the ethical code; it also imparts new instruction concerning our duties to our fellow men, and superadds the whole authority of the Creator to the demands which were previously imposed upon us by the mere nature and relations of his creatures. Fourthly, it teaches the immortality of the human soul. Fifthly, it proves that God is now exercising both a providential and a moral government over men; and that obedience to his commands is now and ever will be followed by good; disobedience, by evil. In this department, may be included the doctrine of divine purposes, which is a part of Natural, as well as of Revealed Theology.

We are aware that certain theologians will not allow the province of Natural Theology to be thus extensive. Some suppose that the moral distinctions, so far from being presupposed by Natural Theology, are not even recognized by it, and cannot be satisfactorily established without a written revelation. The popular volume entitled "*Christian Ethics*," which has been introduced as a text-book into some of our literary institutions, was written to prove that "reason and conscience cannot be trusted to, as affording any certain standard either of truth or duty;"<sup>1</sup> that "the science of morals has no province at all independently of (revealed) theology, and that it cannot be philosophically discussed except on theological (biblical) principles."<sup>2</sup> The great argument

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<sup>1</sup> *Christian Ethics*, Lecture II. p. 52. London Edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Ethics*, Note, p. 367. Boston edition. "I avow without re-

for this theory is, that "if human nature be in a state of depravity, conscience directly or indirectly must partake of that depravity,"<sup>1</sup> and be, therefore, erroneous in its decisions. We entertain a high respect for the divine who has propounded this scheme of Christian Ethics, and we know that he has expressed in it the opinions of some earlier moralists. But with all our veneration for the man, and our gratitude for many of his published volumes, we are constrained to express our decided objections to his theory. It was doubtless well meant, but in our apprehension and in the view, we believe, of our soundest writers on moral philosophy, it leads to consequences which its estimable author would be among the last to approve. Did our limits permit, we might easily show that this theory, first, is at variance with the actual development of ethical science in Pagan lands; secondly, is opposed by the consciousness of every moral being; thirdly, is dishonorable to our moral governor, and fourthly, is contradictory to itself, and involves us in the most fatal skepticism. If the depravity of man utterly disqualify him for ethical reasoning, then it disqualifies him for proving the moral excellence of the Bible. If his mind be so disordered by sin, that he cannot distinguish truth from falsehood in spiritual concerns, then he cannot discern the truth of the Scriptures. His reason is so blinded that he cannot determine whether the standard of morals be right or wrong, whether that which the world calls virtue be really virtue or vice; then, *a fortiori*, he cannot determine whether the external, and more especially the internal evidence for the Bible, be sufficient or insufficient to establish its truth; nor whether the apparent meaning of that sacred volume be worthy of approbation or of censure; nor whether our moral inferences from it be just or unjust; nor whether the attributes which it ascribes to God be perfections or foibles; nor whether the services it requires of us be appropriate duties, or arbitrary exactions. The faculty of judging with regard to moral truth is so perverted, that all its judgments must be uncertain; therefore, says our author, there can be no rational ethics, and therefore, we add, there can be no Christian ethics. When we have established the principle, that our depravity of heart has incapacitated us for moral judgment,

serve," says Dr. Wardlaw, "that I own no such science as the distinct and independent science of pure ethics, that is, of ethics independent of theology [biblical theology]—of morals independent of religion," [by which is meant, the religion of the Bible].

<sup>1</sup> Christian Ethics, Lecture IV. p. 128 sq. London Edition.

then we have no right to confide in our moral judgment in any case ; least of all can we trust it in a question so momentous as that of receiving or rejecting the Bible, a question which involves our highest interests for time and eternity, and which, of course, must excite in the greatest degree the selfishness which incapacitates us to think aright. We may imagine that we have renounced our selfishness in receiving the sacred word, but such a fancy may be the very deception which we ought not to trust. We may deem the evidence for the truth of the Scriptures peculiarly clear, but this opinion may be, above all others, the result of that blinded intellect which has lost the power of distinguishing clearness from obscurity. Our judgment that we are sinners, is the act of a mind so perverted as to be untrustworthy. Our decision that we are obligated to perform certain deeds and to avoid others, is a decision which we are incompetent to make ; for the conscience is as incapable of ascertaining the right, as the will is of practising it. This is the legitimate result of a theory, which was intended to honor the very book whose authority it undermines. We turn with relief from the skepticism which it fosters, to the positive teachings of some Pagan moralists, and rejoice to find them breathing forth a nobler spirit than we are sometimes able to discover even among Christian philosophers. We see no skepticism and no want of a power of moral judgment in Cicero, when he says : " *Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quae vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat ; quae tamen neque probos frustra jubet aut vetat, nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero, aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus. Neque est quaerendus explanator aut interpret ejus alius. Nec erit alia lex Romae alia Athenis ; alia nunc, alia posthac ; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit ; unusque erit communis quasi magister, et imperator omnium Deus ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator ; cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis aspernabitur, atque hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiamsi cetera supplicia quae putantur effugerit.*" So decisive are many passages of this author and of Plato in favor of the true ethical system, that some commentators have supposed these passages to have been interpolated by Christian copyists. The conjecture is an idle one, but it illustrates the internal evidence which some Pagan writings

exhibit of that inspiration from above, which enlightens in a greater or smaller degree every man who cometh into the world.

There is another class of writers, who admit that Natural Theology includes a certain portion of ethical science, and yet deny that it embraces the doctrines of the existence and attributes of the Deity. Even Kepler and Pascal supposed, that the being of a God cannot be inferred from the phenomena of the universe. "*Quis est tam vecors*" says a Pagan sage, "*qui cum suspexerit in coelum, non sentiat Deum esse?*" Such testimony however is easily rebutted by men who are eager to depreciate the Religion of Nature. Some of them have endeavored to prove that the fact of the divine existence has not been even recognized by Pagans, and also that Pagans have derived their knowledge of this fact from scriptural traditions. But against such self-contradictory reasoning we need not contend. We simply remark, that with those divines who exclude the existence and character of Jehovah from the province of Natural Theology; we may soon terminate our dispute, by referring them to the very volume whose teaching they profess to receive implicitly; and which asserts in Rom. 1: 20 the cardinal truth which this class of its believers pretend to disbelieve. If they defer to divine authority, they must admit, that the invisible things of God are clearly seen from the creation of the world, are understood by the things which are made, are manifest in the minds of men, and have been shown to them by Him who left men without excuse, even while they were left without the Bible.

There is still another class of writers, even Locke is among the number, who admit that God's existence and attributes and our consequent obligations, may be proved by the unaided reason, and yet they exclude the immortality of the soul from the province of Natural Theology. They deem it impossible to prove our future existence from the creation, or even from the admitted attributes of the Creator, and are thus in singular opposition to the ancient Platonists, who regarded the eternal continuance of our being as the more obvious doctrine of Natural Theology, and inferred from it the divine existence as the less direct intimation of nature. It is said that much of the reasoning employed by Pagan writers to prove the soul's immortality is unsound. This is a fact, and yet by no means invalidates their right to believe in the conclusion which they deduced illogically. There are many truths, the proof of which lies so near to us that we overlook it. Believing a proposition firmly, we are satisfied with the

mere pretence of an argument for its support; and searching in the distance for proof which can only be found in immediate contact with us, we discover reasons for the belief which, long before we had discovered them, was yet fully established in our minds; and yet we deem these reasons sufficient to uphold the doctrine, although in point of fact, the doctrine does not make trial of their strength by resting upon them. If they were the props on which our belief was in reality founded, their weakness would be obvious at once; but as they have nothing to sustain, their insufficiency is the less apparent; our belief continues, notwithstanding the frailness of the arguments which make a show of upholding it, and thus the very defects of the proof illustrate the strength of the conclusion which remains firm in despite of them. That the immortality of the soul has been firmly believed by men destitute of a written revelation, will not be denied by fair minded scholars. It probably would never have been doubted, had not some learned, though injudicious controversialists, as Leland and others, deemed it necessary to magnify the importance of the Bible by undervaluing the attainments of heathen sages. The singular attempt of Warburton to prove, that the authority of the Mosaic writings is evinced by their not teaching the doctrine of a future state, led him to an equally paradoxical attempt to show, that the phraseology of Pagan sages furnishes no valid evidence of their belief in the soul's immortality. But each of these efforts was abortive; and if each had been successful, such a kind of success would have resulted in even greater evils than have come from the want of it. The fact, then, that our existence in a future world has been an article of faith among Pagan philosophers, indicates that this doctrine is an appropriate part of Natural Theology. But even if it had not been thus believed by heathens, it ought to have been; and the arguments which convince the unaided judgment of its truth, are also reasons for classifying the doctrine among the teachings of nature. These arguments may be conveniently arranged under six different classes; first, the *metaphysical*, which prove that the mind is entirely distinct from the body, and is capable of existing while separate from it; that the mind is not compounded, and will not therefore be dissolved into elementary particles; that, being indiscerptible, it cannot perish except by an annihilating act of God; secondly, the *analogical*, which induce us to believe that the soul will not be annihilated, even as matter does not cease to exist when it changes its form; thirdly, the *teleological*,



which incline us to think that the mental powers and the tendencies which are so imperfectly developed in this life, will not be shut out from that sphere of future exertion, for which they are so wisely adapted; fourthly, the *theological*, which foster an expectation, that the wisdom of God will not fail to complete what otherwise appears to have been commenced in vain, that his goodness will not cease to bestow the happiness for which our spiritual nature is ever longing, and that his justice will not allow the present disorders of the moral world to continue, but will rightly adjust the balances, which have now for a season lost their equipoise; fifthly, the *moral*, which compel us to hope that our virtues will not lose their reward, and to fear that our vices will not go unpunished in the future world, which seems to be better fitted, than the present, for moral retribution; and sixthly, the *historical*, the general belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, the expectations of dying men, the premonitions of the guilty, and the tenacious hopes of the beneficent. All these arguments are in favor of our unending existence, and there are none in opposition to it, and it is an axiom that whatever has existed and now exists, will, unless there be special proof to the contrary, continue to exist.

The preceding considerations are, of themselves, adequate to convince us, that the doctrine of our immortality is true; and if it be merely probable, it has yet an appropriate place in the department of Natural Religion. To dilate upon them as they deserve to be expanded, would swell a single essay into a volume. They have been adduced here, partly to show that Natural Theology includes the doctrine of a future state, and partly to show that it also includes the doctrine of God's righteous moral government over men. This is the fifth department of Natural Theology, according to the classification on p. 248; and most of the arguments which prove that we shall live hereafter, prove equally that we shall be, then as now, the subjects of a moral government. Indeed, the latter truth is the great object for which the former is established; and it is not so much the future state, as the *kind* of a future state, which pagan philosophers have endeavored to prove. They have pursued a correct process of argument in showing, that we see in this life the rudiments, the initial courses, the great outlines of a moral government; that the tendencies of virtue are to promote happiness, and only by a thwarting of its tendencies does it ever result in misery; that the appropriate influence of vice is evil, and the

incidental pleasures which are connected with it, are its temporary concomitants, rather than its legitimate effects; that these arrangements of our constitution in favor of moral goodness, have been instituted by God, and they intimate that he will effect, hereafter, a full development of the tendencies, which are working here under a disadvantage, against every form of sin; that he has already made sufficient manifestations of his holy preferences, and that he has caused the moral faculty within us to foresee, by a prophetic intuition, the rewards which will follow virtue, and the punishments which will follow vice; that our belief in the retributive system of the divine government is irrepressible, and therefore true; that without such a belief, the moral world is a medley of confusion, and with it, all is consistent and clear. Whatever a man may deny in theory, he will be conscious, still, of a lingering faith in the retributive and righteous government of one who "is, and is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him;" and this faith is sufficient, were there nothing else, to justify our classing the doctrine of God's benevolent moral administration, among the departments of Natural Theology.

We have already implied that no well read scholar will deny, at the present day, that the doctrine of the soul's immortality has been believed by heathen moralists. We think that the seventh, eighth and ninth notes appended to Brougham's Discourse of Natural Theology, imperfect as they are, adduce sufficient authorities to establish the fact of such a belief. Still, there are many who will not allow, that Pagan sages have cultivated Natural Theology, in any of its departments, so fully as to justify us in assigning to it the extensive province, already marked out. We are told, that Plato sanctioned intemperance on particular occasions; Plato, Cicero and Epictetus recommended idolatry in certain cases; Aristotle and Cicero disapproved of the forgiveness of injuries; Maximus Tyrius forbade prayer; Socrates and Aristotle encouraged the cruel treatment of barbarians or foreigners; Diogenes, Plato, Xenophon, Solon, Cato, Cicero and other eminent philosophers countenanced some of the most odious forms of sensual indulgence; Zeno and Cato both committed suicide. Such errors in ethics and religion are said to prove that Heathen nations have not discovered the cardinal truths of Natural Theology. But even if we admit, that all of them have been thus ignorant, we need not infer that they were unable to accomplish what, in their sinfulness, they have

failed to do. The attainments which man *has* made, are not the criterion of what he *has had the power* to make. If so, all the resources of the race have been already developed. We do not admit, however, that the errors of certain individuals among the heathen are a decisive proof, that the same errors were committed by all the heathen, or need to have been committed by any of them. Notwithstanding these mistakes of particular men, it still remains true, that all the vices above enumerated have been condemned by some Pagan writers ; that all the virtues in that list have been enjoined ; and that nearly every general duty, presented in the New Testament, has been inculcated by a greater or smaller number of the heathen philosophers. This is demonstrable ; and while it proves the goodness of God in thus revealing our duty in the book of nature, it proves also the excellence of the Bible, in that it demands of us all the virtues which are recommended in scattered portions of Pagan ethics, and dissuades us from all the vices which are here and there condemned by heathens, and it never intermingles their mistakes with their right injunctions, but separates with a superhuman skill, the precious from the vile, and adds those distinctive moral requisitions which form the crowning excellence of Christianity. We regret that Pagan philosophers have done so little ; but it is not true that they have failed to accomplish much. " It may, we think, be reasonably doubted, whether the conversation recorded by Xenophon, as having occurred between Socrates and Aristodemus, does not leave on the mind a belief of the being and attributes of God, as convincing as the more detailed argument in Paley's Natural Theology. We have not a doubt, that the dying speech of Cyrus is far better fitted to raise the tone of moral feeling in the breast of a young man, and to confirm his faith in the reality of moral distinctions, than the treatise on Moral Philosophy by Paley, though he was an archdeacon." We have heard of, at least, one very excellent sermon that was in great part extracted from Plutarch "*de sera numinis vindicta*." How many passages of the English discourses, preached in the seventeenth century, were borrowed from the writings of Plato, Cicero and Seneca, is known to all. We do not believe, then, that Natural Theology has been so imperfectly cultivated, as many pretend, by the heathen writers ; nor if it had been thus partially developed, should we be obliged to admit that there was any necessity for such a failure, or that the truths which Pagans had neglected to discover, were not, after all, discoverable by them, and therefore legitimate portions of Natural Theology.

Having now endeavored to define what truths are comprehended in Natural Theology, we proceed to a consideration of its scientific character. We cannot, with Lord Brougham, apply to it the term *inductive*, for we think that induction has reference to the general truths that are inferred from particular phenomena included under them, and not to truths of a different class from the specific facts which suggest them. We deem it important to establish the scientific character of Natural Theology, because the prevalent style of discussion in this department is too loose and declamatory. Many believe that the mind is so constituted as to receive the truths of this science, when they are suggested by the Bible, but never to have a power of discovering these truths without such a supernatural suggestion. The world is compared to an intricate lock, and the Scriptures are the only key which can open it, and disclose the religious doctrines which had been shut out from our view. When the lock has been thus opened, we may go through the previously impassable door. Natural Theology as such, then, is thought to be a mere series of conjectures. It is singular, that some infidels have admitted the validity of certain proofs of the divine existence, when the same proofs have been disowned by Christians; and in fact almost every objection which atheists have made against these proofs, has been sustained by some believers in the Bible. It is not wonderful, therefore, amid this confusion of opinions, that Natural Theology has been deemed incapable of scientific arrangement and logical proof. Its reputation has been made still lower by the fanciful hypothesis, that all its pretended truths have been borrowed from original revelations, and not inferred from the phenomena of the inner and outer world; by the groundless remark also, that the best of the Pagan reasoners have merely arrived at certain ingenious *guesses*, at a bare wish that the propositions of Natural Theology may be found at last to be true, "*rem gratissimam promittentes magis quam probantes.*"<sup>1</sup> It were well if merely atheists had contended against the scientific character of Natural Theology, but so many Christians have united with them, some contesting the validity of certain parts of the science, others opposing all its parts, that the subject has become one of no ordinary moment. Its importance is yearly increasing. It is becoming more and more fashionable to say with Cousin, that 'the Christian religion is *idealistic*, and takes its grounds in the mind and not in the senses, and therefore neg-

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<sup>1</sup> Seneca, Epist. 102.

lects nature, or regards it under an ideal point of view, and rises to God in the depths of the soul, through reason and the *Word*, employing chiefly the *a priori* argument which is eminently the Christian one.<sup>1</sup> It is also esteemed an accomplishment to be able to say, that 'the existence of God is a necessary conviction, a necessary belief in the analysis of the mind,'<sup>2</sup> and therefore dispenses with logical deduction. As some, therefore, deny all the claims of Natural Theology to be considered a science, and others deny the scientific character of the whole argument *a posteriori*, and a third class deny the validity of that portion of the *a posteriori* argument which is derived from the works of external nature, we deem it important to show, that all these denials are without a proper foundation, and that Natural Theology, comprising the facts of the material and the mental world, is as regular and well established a science as chemistry or astronomy.

A science has been defined to be a system of ultimate truths which, in conformity with the fundamental laws of belief, are proved by subordinate facts. It is not a mere aggregate of phenomena, but the phenomena must be classified under general principles. It is not a mere collection of principles, but a system of truths which are proved to be such by particular phenomena, and which are dependent upon, as well as ulterior to, those phenomena. The ultimate truths thus attested by subordinate facts, and inviting the application of certain fundamental laws of belief, constitute, according to the preceding definition, a regular science.

Now, in order to show that Natural Theology is truly scientific in its nature, let us take some one of its departments, and attempt to develop its philosophical character. For the sake of mere convenience, let us analyze that department which includes the existence and attributes of God. The being, the natural and moral perfections of the Deity, constitute the ultimate truths in this department of the science. They are proved by facts like the following; The existence of matter and finite mind; the changes taking place in them; the adaptations which they exhibit of means to ends; their contrived fitnesses to promote the happiness and the holiness of intelligent beings; the natural and universal tendency of the mind to believe in a Deity, whose "eye is in every place beholding the evil and the good," and who is disposed to reward the one and punish the other. These

<sup>1</sup> Cousin's *Elements of Psychology*, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, note, p. 338.

and similar facts are applied to the support of the ultimate truths according to numerous principles of belief, some of which are instantaneously recognized as axioms; others, requiring a longer time for consideration, are at last adopted as incontrovertible; and others are firmly believed in the absence of all proof opposed to them. Among these principles are the following: Every existence has an internal or an external cause; the cause must be adequate to produce the effect, must be superior to the effect, must be present at the production of the effect; every contrivance has an intelligent contriver, a personal author; unity of design, shows a unity in the cause; the tendencies of the effect prove the moral character of the cause; those which lead to the happiness and holiness of the universe prove the moral goodness of their author; those which legitimately lead to the misery, and encourage the persevering sinfulness of the universe, prove the malevolence of their author; what the constitution of the mind obliges us to believe, is true; the propositions which have been held by all men in all ages are presumed to be correct, unless their contrary can be proved.<sup>1</sup> These are some of the principles of belief, which are adopted more or less readily; and in the application of which, the above named facts evince the ultimate truths which constitute a single department of Natural Theology. Its four collateral departments contain a like system of axioms and laws of belief; of particular phenomena, and ulterior general principles. They constitute therefore, a complete science.

But we are bound to consider the various objections which different writers have urged against the scientific character of Natural Theology. Some of these objections, emanating from opposite schools in philosophy, conflict with each other, but they all conspire against the principle which we are endeavoring to establish. First, it is said that the truths of this pretended science, are not cognizable either by sensation or consciousness, and can therefore be no more than plausible conjectures. But the ex-

<sup>1</sup> The argument for the existence of God from the universal assent of man, has been more highly prized by some heathen writers than by many Christian theologians. The latter have often denied the fact of such an assent, but Aristotle says, Πάντες ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν.—De coelo 1, 3. Cicero says, Solus Epicurus vidit, primum esse Deos, quod in omnium animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa natura. Quae est enim gens aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat, sine doctrina, anticipationem quandam Deorum, quam appellat πρόληψιν Epicurus, i. e. anteceptam animo rei quandam informationem, sine qua non intelligi quidquam, nec quaeri, nec disputari potest. De natura Deorum. I. 16. See also Tusc. Quaest. 1, 3, and Seneca Epist. 117.

istence of a material substratum, of a mental essence, is not an object either of sensation or consciousness; yet from certain effects produced upon our sensorium we infer a proximate cause, i. e. the subject in which the material qualities inhere; and from certain effects produced within the sphere of our consciousness, we infer a proximate cause, i. e. the subject to which the mental qualities belong; and in both of these cases the subject is beyond the scope of our external or internal senses. On the same principle and in the same way, do we infer an ultimate producer of the same phenomena which we had already ascribed to a proximate efficiency; and there are no more objections to this inference in favor of a *first* cause, than previously existed to our inferences, in favor of what may be termed the *second* causes, the material substratum and the mental essence. It were easy to prove by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, that we have no knowledge of any efficiency in nature, if we have none of the Efficient Cause of nature.

Secondly, it is said that our ideas of the objects with which Natural Theology is conversant, are too obscure to be classed among the perceptions of scientific truth. But in every science we are compelled to believe in many objects, which we can describe with no more clearness, than we can explain the objects forming the basis of Natural Theology. From certain sensations of the optic nerve we infer the existence of light as a cause of them; but our ideas of light regarded distinctly from the visual sensations are, to say the least, as obscure as our ideas of a Creator; and if our knowledge of him be too indefinite to be called *science*, so likewise is our knowledge of light, and, on the same principle, of heat, of magnetism, of electricity, and indeed of all the agencies which are developed in Natural Science. Even our ideas of the atmospheric air, considered apart from the sensations which compel us to believe in its existence, are, to say the least, as evanescent as are our notions of the Spirit who is made known to us by Natural Theology. If, therefore, our investigations concerning this Spirit be not scientific, there is and can be no complete science.

The two preceding objections have reference to the ultimate truths of Natural Theology. The two following, have reference to the facts by which these truths are established. It is said, thirdly, that some of the most important facts cannot be ascertained by the unaided reason. For example, in order to prove the divine goodness and wisdom, we must prove not only

an intelligence, but an intelligent adaptation of means to ends. Now the great object of the creation cannot be learned, it is said, from the creation itself; and therefore, as the end is unknown, we cannot see a skilful adaptation of means to it. But we reply, first, that even the physical world alone displays innumerable fitnesses of means to useful ends; and from its wonderful adaptations we have philosophical reasons for inferring, that its author possesses such a degree of wisdom and goodness as surpasses our powers of comprehension. We reply, secondly, that the relations of the physical to the moral world, and the whole structure of the moral system, teach us the great design of the created universe, the tendencies of all things to promote the welfare of moral beings in this world, and more especially in the world to come. These tendencies are the proof of goodness and wisdom in their author. The existence of them has been already indicated in our attempts to show, that we are immortal beings, and subjects of a righteous moral government. No reader of Butler's Analogy and Sermons, can doubt that these tendencies are discoverable from nature.

The fourth objection against the scientific character of Natural Theology is, that the facts on which it is founded do not belong to one distinct science, but are portions of natural, mental and moral philosophy. But this objection concedes one part of the very truth which it opposes. It implies that the facts of Natural Theology have a scientific character. This cannot be denied. The phenomena of the material world, the laws and operations of mind, the moral judgments and instincts are clearly ascertained in their respective sciences, and these form the premises for certain new deductions which constitute Natural Theology. Thus is Natural Theology a more comprehensive science than any other. It includes all others, and superadds to them a new class of truths. It refers all other sciences to Him, who made the objects with which all are conversant. It draws one inference from them all, in favor of their author. It adds one step to every deductive process; this additional step is a scientific one; the antecedent process was scientific; the whole, then, is scientific. The present objection, therefore, instead of proving that Natural Theology is not a real science, proves only that it is the queen of all the sciences except the revealed; that it is, with this exception, the true *scientia scientiarum*. All the merely human sciences are imperfect without this. They all tend to this, were originally designed for its illustration, and are obvious-



ly deficient, when they do not furnish some facts or principles, tributary to our clearer apprehension of the Divine being and character. It were idle to pretend, that, because the facts which sustain the ultimate truths of Natural Theology, belong at first to subordinate branches of study, they cannot therefore be transferred to this science. On such reasoning, we must deny the scientific character of anatomy and physiology; for these include portions of chemistry, of electricity, dynamics, optics and pneumatics. Often are many sciences found to be tributary to one extensive system of truths; and this system, instead of becoming less entitled to the scientific name because it comprehends various subordinate systems within itself, becomes for this very reason more worthy of such an appellation. The only difference, in this regard, between physiology and Natural Theology is, that the former rests upon the basis of a few other sciences, and makes a few advances upon them, while the latter rests upon the basis of all other sciences, and crowns all with additional truths, distinct indeed from the dogmas of tributary philosophical systems, yet logically consequent upon them.

A fifth objection to the scientific character of Natural Theology concerns not the ultimate truths which compose it, nor the facts from which they are inferred, but the first principles of belief according to which the inferences are drawn. It is said that some of these principles are false. The maxim, for example, that every contrivance must have proceeded from an intelligent personal cause is denied. We are told that mere animals adapt means to ends; and this adaptation, if it prove that they possess a certain degree of intelligence, does not prove that they have a real personality. We must admit that the habitations of the ant and beaver, ingeniously contrived as they may be, are yet the results of instinct, rather than reason; why then may not the world, contrived as it is still more ingeniously, be the result of a correspondently higher instinct, which is yet entirely inferior to reason? This is one of the arguments suggested by Mr. Hume, in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*.<sup>1</sup> It has been often repeated by infidels, although sometimes with the appearance of being in jest rather than in earnest. We are, therefore, surprised as well as mortified in finding that it has been seriously reiterated and endorsed in recent days, by some Christian theologians. From the fact that brutes have a power of adapting means to ends, and even of contriving to meet unexpected

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<sup>1</sup> Hume's *Dialogues*, Part VII.

emergencies, certain believers in the Bible have deemed it necessary to infer, that all the wonderfully framed systems of matter furnish no proof of a rational and personal, in distinction from a merely instinctive cause. But these theologians have yielded, too soon, to the sophistries of skeptical writers, from whom such objections are borrowed. There is an essential difference between the contriving powers exhibited by the mere animal, and those which are necessary to explain the phenomena of nature. The difference is in kind, as well as degree. The phenomena of nature presuppose a power of abstraction and generalization; a power of originating contrivances which are altogether different from those actually adopted. The brute has no such power. It does not abstract nor generalize, nor can it invent courses of action which are out of the limited sphere in which it is impelled by instinct. The specific variations of plan, which are ascribed to such animals as the elephant and the dog, are as really instinctive, as is the plan when unvaried, which they are constitutionally fitted to pursue. The contrivances displayed by these animals are themselves phenomena of nature, and prove the existence of a contriver, who caused these phenomena through the medium of an animal instinct which he likewise produced. We do not ascribe an ingenious work of animals to their original invention, which presupposes a power of analyzing the various properties of the materials used in the work, and of comparing the various methods which may be adopted for effecting the desired end; but we ascribe this ingenious work to the inventive power of Him, who gave them an instinct which was contrived for the mechanical performance of the specific operations assigned to it, and which is a wonderful substitute for reason. The fact that this instinct is fitted to meet certain unforeseen emergencies, only proves that it is an instinct of enlarged compass. We infer directly from the structure of a human habitation, the existence of a human mind capable of abstracting and generalizing the phenomena which it perceives; and from the properties of this mind we infer the divine existence. But our reasoning is different, when we examine the structure of a bee's habitation. We infer directly from these waxen cells the existence of a God who contrived them, and who produced them through the animal instinct which he also contrived. These cells are constructed according to mathematical principles which their inventor must have understood; therefore the bee was not their inventor. The world over, and throughout all time, have the sides of these

cells been inclined at an angle of one hundred and twenty degrees ; and the parallelograms of the roof, at the angles of one hundred and ten, and also of seventy degrees ; and this inclination is exactly that which is proved, by the *fluxional calculus*, to be best fitted for expedition and ease and economy of building. But even *men* did not discover this fact until the time of Newton ; and yet the mathematical principles which he first developed, have been the undeviating rule for the bee-hive during six thousand years in all countries, in all emergencies. It is unphilosophical to believe, that this rule has been universally applied by accident. The application of it, then, is proof of a mind capable of mathematical reasoning. This mind must have personality. The bee is admitted to be incapable of such reasoning, to have no personality ; its pretended contrivances, then, are not its own original inventions. They are as direct proofs of a God, as if they were not produced through the medium of animal instinct. The axiom, then, that contrivance proves an intelligent and personal contriver, is not refuted or even opposed by the works of the animal creation. It proves that these works, as well as the animals which produced them, were directly contrived by God. It proves that the contrivances of nature and the contrivances of mere animals, cannot be contrasted with one another, as some have unphilosophically endeavored to contrast them ; for they are all the contrivances of God. When we have referred the curious operations of brutes to instinct, we have not satisfied the demands of the mind. We still crave and insist upon the idea of a reasoning and generalizing contriver, both for the instinct and for its operations. If a man think that he has accounted for these operations, by the reference of them to a merely instinctive cause, he cannot have meditated much upon the fundamental principles of his belief, nor upon the nature of moral evidence. He overlooks, or else disputes an important axiom ; and in either case, violates a philosophical law.

As it has been said by those who entirely or partially disbelieve in the scientific character of Natural Theology, that contrivance does not afford proof of a rational and personal contriver, so it has been said that the peculiar tendencies of the contrivance afford no proof of the peculiar character of the contriving mind. Thus is denied another fundamental axiom of what claims to be an established science. It is maintained, for example, that beneficence does not require us to infer the goodness of its author. He may be the cause of a useful arrangement, and yet may not

have benevolently designed its usefulness. In reply to this objection we need only say, that an axiom cannot be proved by any argument more evident than itself; that this, and indeed, every other axiom relating to the divine cause, is assumed and instinctively felt to be true in our habitual processes of reasoning with regard to human causes, and we cannot repress the belief that by "their fruits we shall know them." If this axiom be false, we have but little proof of goodness in any of our fellow men, for we are constitutionally inclined to infer their character chiefly from their actions. It is said that "beneficent contrivances may not have been the result of goodness." But this remark implies, that moral, as distinct from demonstrative truth must exclude the possibility of its opposite. Now the province of moral reasoning is not to prove what may or may not be, but what is; and when it leads to a conclusion that the earth will continue to revolve on its axis, it is not shown to be unworthy of credit by the fact, that the world may be made to discontinue its diurnal motion. The objector adds, that useful adaptations in the *material* world do not prove the benevolence of their author, but a spiritual quality can be inferred from none other than *spiritual* effects, and nothing but a mental phenomenon can evince a mental cause. We can only say in reply, that all the world reason otherwise. Universally, men infer qualities of mind from manifest adaptations in matter. We derive no inconsiderable knowledge of the Egyptian genius from the pyramids; and of the primitive American character, from structures like those of Yucatan. No one questions this axiom except in Natural Theology; and the fact that all men believe it in common life, proves that it is unphilosophical to question it in our reasonings on religion. There is no one property by which the mind of a true theologian is more distinguished, than by his readiness to admit those familiar principles which not only do, but also must, guide the speculations of the majority of our race.

There is still another fundamental law of belief, which has been denied by the opposers of Natural Theology. They have said, that we have no right to believe in the superiority of a cause to its effect, or in the ability of a cause to produce more than it has done already. They sometimes assert, that we have no right to believe the cause different in *kind* from the effect; but if so, the Creator of matter must be material, and the ultimate author of any evil cannot be entirely good. It has even been asserted, that "if there be anything in reference to which

we are not formed in the image of God, in respect to the *kind* of faculties which we possess, then so far forth as these faculties exist in him, he is no God to us." Now there is in the Deity a power of creating matter; but we have no *kind* of power to create matter. Can we not, however, form some idea of a Creator? Must we believe that he is unable to will a globe into existence, simply because he has not imparted to us a creative efficiency? But the objector insists, that if a cause be able to effect something different in kind from itself, we have no right to think it capable of producing more in *degree* than it has already produced. He reasons from the Newtonian maxim, that we must not ascribe an effect to more causes than are necessary to produce it. But he misapprehends this maxim. From the fact that we cannot infer a particular phenomenon to have been the effect of a greater exertion than was needful to produce it, he leaps to the inference, that the producing cause cannot be known to possess more power than it has actually been known to exercise. But the two propositions are essentially diverse, and neither is a proof or a consequent of the other. When we perceive the exertion of a power, we constitutionally believe that the power is not exhausted, that it can again accomplish what it has done once; and a second exertion of the power incites us to a more confident belief that it can perform a third and a fourth time, what it has already repeated. When we see an effect easily produced, we instinctively infer that still greater effects may be produced by the same cause; and when we discover such an efficiency as is exhibited in the creation of one world, we are constitutionally impelled to believe, that the Creator of one has power to create another and a larger world, that he can create a universe, that he can do anything which is an object of power, that he is omnipotent. The principle, that an acting cause which has already astonished us by its efficiency, can yet accomplish more than it has done, lies at the basis of innumerable practical convictions, and is as truly a scientific principle, as the axiom that the course of nature will continue as it has been.

It is not pretended, that all the fundamental principles of belief which are applied in Natural Theology, must be adopted as soon as they are apprehended by the mind. Some of them require a prolonged consideration. They are instantaneously admitted, perhaps, by higher intelligences than we are, and they are always admitted without proof by such as believe in them at all. The fact that we must sometimes meditate upon them be-

fore we yield to their authority, is a sign of our obtuseness, not of their want of claim upon our belief. They do not in all cases *force* our assent, but they appeal to our candor, and our sensitiveness to the merest glimpses of light. It may be added, that a nice sense of their truth, and a sacred deference to them in difficult investigations, are sometimes the last and rarest attainments of a philosophical mind, the *criteria* which distinguish a moral reasoner from a mere advocate or declaimer. It is from a habit of disregarding our constitutional tendencies to believe certain fundamental principles of Natural Theology, that sacred science has suffered more than from any other intellectual defect.

The last objection, which now claims our notice, to the scientific character of Natural Theology, is the imperfect state in which it is at present developed, and particularly the want of logical system in its arrangements. We are willing to allow, that the facts with which it is conversant are not well methodized. The fundamental principles which regulate its deductions, are not exhibited in lucid order. Its advocates differ among themselves with regard to the authority of its axioms even. For example, when Hume would refute the theistical argument from contrivance to a contriver, he contends that this argument, if it have any solid basis, must be founded entirely on experience; but the experience of man does not extend so far as to the making of worlds, and therefore can afford no ground for inferring that the adaptations of matter were designed by a skilful intelligence. Dr. Reid replies to this objection by insisting on the self-evident truth, that, apart from all experience, the fitnesses of means to ends oblige us to believe in a designing cause. Dr. Chalmers, in his treatise on Natural Theology, overlooks this axiom, and replies to Hume on the skeptic's own ground. He reasons as if the adaptation of parts to a whole, can entitle us to believe in an intelligence which adapted them, solely because we have hitherto observed, that such a regular combination of parts has been the result of a combining intelligence. This argument is indeed a valid one, but the elucidation of it is unscientific. It is founded on the principle, that the course of nature is uniform, and since regular combinations of means to ends have, so far as we have observed, resulted from an intelligent contriver, therefore they have resulted from such a cause, in regions and at times which were without the sphere of our observation. But this is not the *only*, nor even the *main* principle on which we should oppose the skepticism of Hume. It is perfectly consistent with the original

principle developed by Dr. Reid, and should not appear to usurp its place. We admit, then, that the laws of belief which govern our reasonings in Natural Theology, ought to be made more conspicuous, recognized more distinctly as authoritative, and exhibited in a more scientific order than they have been. The facts also which we apply, in conformity with these laws, should be more systematically classified, and their connection with the ultimate truths of the science should be made to appear more indissoluble, than they are at present. Still, this want of logical arrangement is not so much an objection against the scientific character of Natural Theology, as of its defenders. When we concede the fact that the science has not been fully developed, we see no reasons for inferring that it is, on this account, no science at all. Time will soon remove this objection, we trust. Every advance of human philosophy is adding to the materials of Natural Theology. All the phenomena which are learned by chemists, geologists, astronomers, and metaphysicians are new data for that science which comprehends all others within itself, and connects them all, by a single new link in their chain of relationships, with Him who is the first and the last of causes. Every improvement in the logical art has also a direct tendency toward the perfection of that system of truths, which embraces all the reasonings of men, and makes them all converge to the proof of our future eternal connections with the Spirit of justice and love. We have exalted hopes for the science of Natural Theology, because we believe in the progress of the mind, and in the subserviency of all the sciences to each other. Already has a firm belief in the existence of an all-wise contriver of the universe, led to many discoveries in the lower departments of knowledge; and these discoveries have developed new proofs of that wisdom which constitutes one great object of the higher department of knowledge, and a belief in which led to the very investigations which afterwards corroborated that belief. In the history of human learning, there is scarcely one more interesting fragment than the reply of Harvey, when asked by Boyle "what induced him to think of the circulation of the blood." He answered, "that when he took notice that the valves in the veins were so placed, that they gave free passage to the blood toward the heart, but opposed the passage of the venal blood the contrary way, he was incited to imagine, that so provident a cause as nature had not placed so many valves without design; and no design seemed more probable than that, since the blood could

not well, because of the interposing valves, be sent by the veins to the limbs, it should be sent through the arteries, and return through the veins whose valves did not oppose its course that way." This is but one of numerous instances, in which a faith in the designing providence of nature has directed the mind to researches, illustrating still more fully the foresight and the wisdom which were, at first, so fully believed in as to incite the mind to new proofs of their existence and greatness. This is the cumulative progress of science, and thus, it is hoped, will Natural Theology develop its own resources, augmenting its materials of proof, and arranging them with increased precision as their value is the more distinctly seen.

We have thus far been content to say, that the truths of Natural Theology are susceptible of scientific arrangement and proof. But we might go further, and affirm that they are sustained by a clearer argument, than are the truths of some other sciences whose authority no one questions. When the comparative anatomist demonstrates, from a single bone, that the animal to which it belonged must have had cloven feet, and branching horns, and must have been a graminivorous and ruminating animal; when from that one, it may be a fractured part of the osseous system, perhaps a tooth scarcely distinguishable from a bruised piece of limestone, he determines the size, the form, the food, the movements, the habits, the dispositions and all the characteristics of whole genera of extinct animals, we are delighted with his philosophical skill. When there were given to Cuvier, "*pele mele* the mutilated and incomplete fragments of a hundred skeletons, belonging to twenty sorts of animals, and it was required that each bone should be joined to that which it belonged to," he then examined the laws of the animal system, and, guided by the analogies of nature as it is now exhibited, he described the whole configuration and character of these species, once living but long since hardened into rock. "I have no expressions," he says, "to describe the pleasure experienced in perceiving, that as I discovered one character, all the consequences more or less foreseen of this character were fully developed. The feet were conformable to what the teeth had announced, and the teeth to the feet, the bones of the legs and thighs and everything that ought to reunite these two extreme parts were conformable to each other. In one word, each of the species sprung up from one of its own elements."<sup>1</sup> Now if it were for the interest of a man to deny the

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<sup>1</sup> Bakewell's Introduction to Geology, pp. 235, 236.



validity of this analogical reasoning, could not far more plausible objections be invented, than were ever urged against the deductions of Natural Theology? Is not the inference which *we* draw from the complicated structure of the Saurian monster, in favor of an intelligent cause of that structure, more logical than the inference which *Cuvier* draws from a mere fragment of a bone, in favor of the minute history of the whole manner of life which that monster once pursued? Yet comparative anatomy is a science, claiming our high admiration. We simply aver, that some of its truths, and also some of the truths of Geology and of other sciences, are incapable of such luminous proof, as are certain departments of Natural Religion. It is to be remembered, that these departments adopt the same principles and processes of argumentation which are employed in other sciences, and often they conduct these processes with much more caution and from more unquestionable data. It is also to be borne in mind, that the conclusions of Natural Theology are sustained by our moral sense. We are compelled to believe some of them, even if we can evade by sophistry the arguments which corroborate them. Conscience forces certain doctrines upon us. The guilty man may reason himself into an apparent atheism, but he fears a righteous punishment in the future world. He cannot expel this apprehension; and thus he believes in the hereafter which he has endeavored to disprove, in the punishment of his sin, in the righteousness of the moral Governor who is to punish him. This testimony of conscience is a scientific proof of the facts attested. What our moral nature compels us to believe, we are logically bound to believe. We place great confidence in this argument. It confirms all the other proofs, and is a distinct evidence, in itself, in favor of the doctrines of Natural Theology. It establishes the character of this science, as one whose propositions are the last to be abandoned. We believe, in fact, that they are not abandoned, even by the very men who imagine themselves to have become atheists and skeptics.

We do not wish to be considered as endorsing all that has been said by some writers, on the moral argument for the truths of Natural Theology. This moral evidence is not to be regarded as superseding the intellectual, still less as in conflict with it. We must reason from the structure of the conscience and heart and will, as we reason from the material world to which our inner nature presents numberless analogies; and we must superadd to these valid forms of deduction that original and inexpressible

testimony, which the moral sense gives in favor of the truths which we can otherwise establish, but which will be, in some measure, believed and felt even when our reasoning powers cease to defend them. In these truths we retain a faith which no argument can eradicate. This instinctive faith is one of those provisions of nature, by which she doubly and trebly guards the most important of her works from harm. It is itself a contrivance, which proves a moral contriver; and is also an impulsive, and in one sense an instinctive cause of our belief in the goodness of that contriver.

The preceding remarks on the character of Natural Theology as a science, indicate many of its uses, and induce us to particularize some of them. First, it interests the mind in the works of nature. It makes us familiar with certain principles, which we desire to see illustrated by outward phenomena. Facts always derive a new importance from their connection with principles. If even the philosopher's stone has excited the alchemist to useful discoveries in science, much more must a religious truth incline all who believe it, to seek for its illustrations among the processes of nature. When we believe, for example, that the wisdom of Jehovah is to be proved by the contrivances which promote the happiness of his sentient universe, we feel a new interest in all those complicated adaptations which can thus be employed as arguments for a great truth. We also feel incited to examine the conformations which are said to result in the misery or disquiet of any individual or species. Natural philosophers have often committed the error of reasoning from the obscure phenomena of nature, as if there were not a vast majority of plain phenomena which can interpret such as are dark. They have objected to the awkward, and even to the cruel contrivances of some departments of creation, as if the obvious benevolence and wisdom of the great plurality of contrivances, should not logically require us to suspend our judgment, in cases which appear to be exceptions to the general law. The spirit enkindled by Natural Theology prompts to a correction of this error. It has already led to numerous discoveries of skill, in arrangements which had previously been deemed inappropriate; of usefulness, in those which had been pronounced injurious. Buffon and even Cuvier, for example, have described the *Ai* and the *Unau* and other members of the *tardigrade* family, as "attempts of nature in which she seems to have amused herself by producing something imperfect or grotesque." "Modern trav-

ellers," says Sir Charles Bell,<sup>1</sup> "express their pity for these animals. Whilst other quadrupeds, they say, range in boundless wilds, the sloth hangs suspended by his strong arms, a poor ill-formed creature, deficient as well as deformed, his hind legs too short, and his hair like withered grass. His looks, motions and cries conspire to excite pity; and as if this were not enough, they say that his moaning makes the tiger relent and turn away. This is not a true picture: the sloth cannot walk like other quadrupeds, but he stretches out his strong arms,—and if he can hook on his claws to the inequalities of the ground, he drags himself along. This is the condition which authorizes such an expression as 'the bungled and faulty composition of the sloth.'" But the researches of men interested in Natural Theology have made it evident, that this animal was not designed for crawling upon the earth, and his want of conveniences for the creeping process is not more objectionable, as a mal-formation, than is our want of the apparatus for flying. He was made for moving among the branches of trees, and he is admirably formed for obtaining his food, and escaping from his enemies, in this his natural situation. "When he reaches the branch or the rough bark of a tree," says Bell,<sup>2</sup> "his progress is rapid. He climbs, hand over head, along the branches till they touch, and thus from bough to bough and from tree to tree. He is most alive in the storm, and when the

<sup>1</sup> Bell, on the Hand, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> On the Hand, p. 32. The history of the speculations of men with regard to this animal corroborates the remark, that the objections which have been urged against the proofs of Natural Theology, arise from ignorance rather than knowledge; that they are not so properly objections against the theological argument, as they are defects in the materials for illustrating it, and that the progress of science is constantly augmenting the resources of the theologian. It was not until the publication of Waterton's Travels, that the sloth ceased to be a chief support to the reasonings of men who desired to prove the unscientific character of Natural Theology. Since the publication of those Travels, Dr. Buckland has written on the "Adaptation of the Structure of Sloths to their peculiar mode of Life," and has shown that this animal "adds another striking case to the endless instances of perfect mechanism and contrivance, which we find pervading every organ of every creature, when viewed in relation to the office it is destined to fulfil." Even if the peculiar relations of this animal had not been discovered, it would certainly be unphilosophical to believe in the imperfection of its mechanism; for such imperfection is contrary to the analogies of nature, and, as other instances of apparent defect have been previously shown not to be, really, what they were in appearance, so might this instance be supposed to be capable of an explanation, and to require, therefore, a suspense of judgment, rather than a positive decision on one side or the other.

wind blows and the trees stoop, and the branches wave and meet, he is then upon the march." This is but a single, and a humble specimen of the Creator's works in which Natural Theology has inspired a fresh interest, and prompted to new discoveries, by connecting every minute phenomenon with the most important of truths.

Nor is it merely for the study of material adaptations, that this comprehensive science awakens a new enthusiasm. It is still more intimately connected with the phenomena of the soul. We derive our first notions of the infinite intelligence, from the spiritual exercises of which we are conscious. The laws of the mind and the heart prove the same truths which are taught by the material universe, and they establish some propositions which the external world alone will not even suggest. It is to be regretted that Ray, Derham and Paley have made so few references to mind, in their proof of the being and the attributes of God. Their reason probably was, that the contrivances in the material world are more visible and tangible, than the laws of spirit, and are therefore better adapted to arouse the attention of ordinary readers. The favorite argument of Dr. Chalmers, also, which is founded on the calculation of chances, derives its chief force from the multitude of separate parts which are combined in one whole, and the complicated adjustments of anatomy are better fitted for this argument, than are the simple collocations of astronomy; and these collocations are more appropriate to the refuting of the doctrine of chance, than are the still more undivided laws of mind.<sup>1</sup> Still there are other processes of argument which are illustrated by mental and moral phenomena, more forcibly than by such as are material. We are grateful to Lord Brougham and to Dr. Chalmers, for their important contributions to this department of our science;<sup>2</sup> and we believe that future writers on this subject, will extend their researches still further into the systems of psychology and ethics, and excite an additional interest in these hitherto neglected studies.<sup>3</sup> The mere fact, that the in-

<sup>1</sup> See Chalmers' *Natural Theology*, Book II. Ch. I. We have previously implied, that Dr. Chalmers gives to this argument from the mere collocations of particles, as distinct from the obviously designed arrangement of them, a disproportionate degree of prominence.

<sup>2</sup> See Brougham's *Discourse*, Sections III. and V, and Chalmers' *Natural Theology*, Books III. and IV.

<sup>3</sup> For proof that the ancient philosophers inverted the order of moderns, and reasoned in proof of a God from mental, more than from physical phenomena, see Brougham's *Note on the Psychological Argument from Final Causes*, *Discourse*, pp. 138—142.

vestigations of Natural Theology require of us an intimate acquaintance with all branches of human philosophy, indicates the subordinate advantages of those investigations, their tendency to improve the taste which is made both more delicate and correct by a prolonged observation of material and mental phenomena; to discipline the reasoning powers, which are taxed nowhere so severely as in tracing the connection of human sciences with the divine; to elevate all the faculties and susceptibilities of the soul; for nothing can impart a nobler pleasure or inspire a purer morality, than to watch the movements of a divinity amid the wonder-working causes which himself has originated. Such an interest in the operation of these second causes, as is awakened by their connection with the author of all things, is a never failing source of devotional feeling. Wherever we go, whatever we behold, in whatever state of mind we happen to be, the character of God may be suggested to us, and the countless displays of his goodness may lead us to repentance.

Secondly, Natural Theology augments our interest in the revealed word, as well as in the sciences of matter and mind. It has been shown to be the crown of all those sciences, but they are not more subordinate to it, than itself is tributary to revelation. The value of all studies may be measured by their tendency to awaken our enthusiasm in the examination of the sacred oracles. This is a preëminent advantage of Natural Theology. It reveals to us the mercy of God, and thus excites our curiosity to learn how he can pardon sin. It convinces us of our future existence, and thus makes us inquisitive to ascertain what will be the precise condition of the soul in the eternal world. It discloses many truths which are essential to our moral welfare, but leaves so many relations of those truths unexplained, as to enkindle an intense desire to understand the word which bringeth life and immortality to light. Natural Theology teaches the total depravity of man, the decrees and the justice of God; and is thus a fit preparative for that more glorious Theology which unfolds the gracious, the redeeming, the electing, the regenerating love of the triune Jehovah. There are many dark passages in the volume of nature, which are illustrated by the book of inspiration. The teachings of the former volume are so far confirmed by the latter, so many of its deficiencies are supplied, that the right minded student of the one will feel his knowledge to be incomplete without an acquaintance with the other. Wherever the Bible has been studied, Natural Theology has been cultiva-

ted, not because it could not have been cultivated without the Bible, but because this book has reflected so much light upon nature, as to make the lessons easy and alluring, which were previously more difficult and repulsive. We feel a quickened interest in the Bible, from the fact of its explaining so many enigmas in the creation. Nor is its beneficial influence upon Natural Theology unrequited. There are reciprocal advantages, which make the true hearted interpreter of nature desirous of scriptural knowledge, so that he may estimate aright the various relations and tendencies of science. Numerous are the occasions on which biblical truth is illustrated by such reasonings as those of Plato, Tully and Plutarch. Far more interesting, because more diversified and rich would be the services of the pulpit, if our ministers would imitate the example of their master, and like him lay the exuberant stores of Natural Theology under a heavy contribution to the revealed. As some truths of the Bible confirm, so others are confirmed by, the teachings of nature. The club of free thinkers which rallied around Lord Bolingbroke, are said to have been checked in their opposition to the Scriptures, by the appearance of the Minute Philosopher. They confessed to a high admiration of that work, and were obliged to admit, that he who opposes the principles of the revealed system, opposes at the same time the principles on which the universe is governed. The effect of the Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature, was still more decisive upon the Infidel world. Perhaps no work has exerted a greater influence in corroborating the instructions of the Bible. The sacred penmen adopt the same principle of reasoning, which is employed by Berkeley and Butler. Often they assert their doctrines, and then confirm them by references to Natural Theology.<sup>1</sup> If they availed themselves of this science when it was so meagre, how much more should we resort to it when it has become so much more comprehensive. While there are men who disbelieve the

<sup>1</sup> For an illustration of the manner in which the sacred penmen appeal to our natural sense of rectitude, see Ezekiel 18: 25 sq. See also 2 Cor. 4: 2, as expressing the general fact, that the apostles addressed themselves to the moral sense of men. For illustrations of the mode of appeal to other facts of Natural Theology, see Psalms 8. 19: 1—6. 94: 8—10. 97: 6. 98: 1, 2. 104: 24. 107: 23, 24. Matt. 5: 45. 6: 26—30. Luke 12: 6, 24. Acts 14: 17. 17: 24—29. Rom. 1: 18—20. 2: 14, 15. Heb. 3: 3, 4. The passages are also numerous, which illustrate scriptural truth by natural phenomena, in such a way as to imply that these phenomena teach the same principle which the Bible asserts, and that an analogy pervades the kingdoms of nature and of grace.

Bible, we should labor to convince them by arguments drawn from what they will and must admit. Every preacher who would silence gainsayers, especially every one who aims to instruct the heathen, must be familiar with the system of truth which the opposers of revelation feel compelled to believe.<sup>1</sup> A true deference to that system will lead a consistent man to acquiesce in the written word. Indeed, in the last generalization, we may say that the written word is so intimately connected with Natural Theology, as to make a real attachment to the latter not so much a preparative for an attachment to the former, as essentially the same thing with it. He who admires the grandeur of Natural Religion, admires the sublimity of the Bible when perceived. He who is enamored of the purity of the one, cannot despise that of the other. The principles of the law are the same in *genus* with those of the gospel. Men may cordially receive some parts of Natural Theology, while they reject some portions of the revealed; so they may be pleased with certain revelations of the Bible, while they are displeased with particular precepts of Natural Religion; but a love to the whole system

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<sup>1</sup> The objector sometimes replies, that the simple presentation of the Gospel will disarm men of their infidelity, sooner than will any labored defence of Natural Religion; that the Moravian missionaries, for example, were successful because they preached Christ and him crucified, and not because they preached the truths relating to the divine existence. We need not answer this objection by saying, as we might, that the permanent success of the Moravian missionaries has been of itself somewhat overrated, nor by denying, as we can by no means deny the fact, that the internal evidence of the gospel is sufficient to dissipate the doubts of some men, and that the authority of the preacher will often secure a belief in his simple testimony. But we may say, with truth, that although some men may be disarmed of their skepticism by the simple exhibition of evangelical doctrine, others cannot be thus won. The internal evidence of scriptural truth is sufficient to convince honest inquirers, but for such as are not honest, more tangible proofs are needed. We say also, that multitudes have been converted from infidelity to Christianity, by arguments from the constitution of nature. This was especially the secret of the success of Dr. Nelson, the celebrated antagonist of American infidels. We add, that where the truths of Natural Theology are not distinctly *avowed as such*, they are often *assumed* in our reasonings with infidels, and some of these truths are the logical grounds of the conversion to Christianity, even when the distinct avowal of them is not chronologically antecedent to such a conversion. We shall not be understood as asserting that the truths of Natural Theology are, of themselves, sufficient to renew the heart; for even the doctrines of the New Testament are, of themselves, inadequate to effect this radical change of our moral nature. We are speaking of that intellectual belief which is the result of accurate ratiocination, and not of that spiritual faith which is the gift of the Holy Ghost.

of truth, as revealed in either volume, is generically a love to the whole system as revealed in both volumes. Infidels have been, at heart, as really hostile to the spiritual truths taught in the book of nature, as to those taught in the Bible; and as they pretended to admire the grandeur of Natural Religion, so they have professed a like admiration for the sublimity of the Scriptures. The justice of God, as learned from the human conscience, cannot be truly revered and adored, without the elements of a heartfelt acquiescence in the scheme of salvation by Christ. So homogeneous is all moral truth, that the Redeemer cannot be thought to destroy one jot or one tittle of the law, as it is written upon the hearts of men by the finger of God. Although men are justified only by faith, yet if they who have not the written law, should do by nature the things contained in the law, they would be justified, according to what they had, not according to what was denied them; and their righteousness, which would in that case, be an obedience to the moral precepts, would be of the same *genus*, though not the same *species*, with the faith without which it is impossible to please God.

But the chief use of Natural Theology remains to be mentioned. It forms the basis on which the written revelation rests. We do not assert that all parts of it are equally fundamental, but certain doctrines which it teaches, are essential preliminaries to a faith in the Bible. Accordingly, the Bible assumes these doctrines, presupposes a belief in them, asserts them for the sake of impressing them on the mind, or recalling them to remembrance, rather than for the purpose of proving them by testimony; and, whenever it attempts to prove them, does it by referring to the same arguments which have been already mentioned as the proofs of Natural Theology. It will not be questioned, that the logical order of our processes is to believe in the existence of a being, before we consider the truth or falsehood of his declarations. It is impossible to learn that he exists, from his merely asserting that he does so, when that assertion is considered, not as an independent fact, but as a mere announcement of a fact. If he should assert that there is no such being as himself, the inference would be as conclusive in favor of his existence from his denial, as it could be from his affirmation. In like manner it is the logical and also the necessary course of our reasonings, to establish the fact of an individual's veracity, before we credit his declarations considered as such. If we believe in his truthfulness, because he himself asserts it, then before we can trust this as-



assertion, we must be convinced of the very attribute which is thus made known to us by testimony. The assertion may itself prove the veracity of the witness, not however when it is regarded as a mere assertion, but when it is regarded as a phenomenon co-incident with other phenomena. On the same principle, the entire moral character of a being must be inferred from other circumstances, before it can be proved by his declarations respecting it. It is not allowable to conclude, that he is benevolent, from the simple fact that he professes to be so ; but his profession must be compared with his practice, ere such a conclusion can be warranted. Yet the testimony of a being, in favor of his own virtue, may be a proof of that virtue, whenever the testimony can be considered as an event, for the occurrence of which no cause but the truth of the assertion can be assigned. The argument is then derived from it, as an event, not as an asseveration. In the same way the announcement of an individual that he exists, may prove his existence ; not when the announcement is viewed simply as such, but when it is viewed as an effect which would be unaccountable on the supposition of the individual's non-existence. From a neglect of this discrimination, has resulted much false reasoning. There are many who say, that the word of God is itself a valid argument for his being and perfections. It is such an argument ; for, first, after we have proved his existence and character in the appropriate way, from his works, we may credit the testimony which declares that he is good, and which thus affords additional evidence in favor of the same truth which anterior considerations must have established ; and secondly, his word is itself a glorious phenomenon which, like every other effect, exhibits proof of its cause and also of the attributes of that cause. The Bible is thus considered as one of the signs or arguments furnished by Natural Theology, and not as a mere asseveration dispensing with all previous evidence of its title to our credit. The generic distinction between Natural and Revealed Theology is this : the former reasons from certain works to the truths which may be inferred from those works ; but the latter reasons from certain words to the truths which are communicated by those words. When it is said, therefore, that the revealed system must be founded on Natural Theology, it is meant, in part, that we must prove the existence and attributes of the supreme Being from what he has done, before we can prove the truth of the declarations purporting to be his. And when it is replied that the Bible is its own proper evidence, and

is itself an effect which must have been produced by a divine author, this reply simply changes the ground of the discussion, and classifies the books of Scripture among the phenomena of Natural Theology, requiring us to reason from them just as we reason from the phenomena of astronomy and physiology. Nor can this conclusion be evaded by asserting, that the Bible is by some men seen and felt to be true, without any conscious process of inference from effect to cause. This alleged intuitive perception of its credibility, is altogether distinct from a trust in its declarations. It precedes such a trust in the order of nature, if not of time, and is the ground on which the belief of those declarations is established. It is an intuitive judgment in favor of the testimony as itself good, pure, holy; and from its inherent excellence we are impelled to the conclusion, as rapid as an intuition, that the testimony is all that it pretends to be, true and divine. This is one of the reasoning processes from effect to cause. Perceiving the moral greatness of the Bible, we intuitively infer the existence of its infinite author.

But when we have thus brought the Scriptures within the province of Natural Theology, it is still useful in the highest degree to investigate the other departments of this science, and employ them as supports, more or less necessary, of the new department which is constituted by the phenomena of revelation. Some of these phenomena are involved in the miraculous agency which is said to have been exerted in proof of the Scriptures. The miracles of the Old and New Testaments may, like other wonderful works, be looked upon as evidences of the being and perfections of God. These few instances, however, of the Creator's miraculous interposition, cannot be deemed so full a display of his attributes, as we find in the innumerable instances of his creative and providential arrangements.<sup>1</sup> Besides,

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<sup>1</sup> Miracles are affirmed by Lord Brougham to be merely evidences of supernatural power, not of goodness. See his Discourse of Natural Theology, Part II. Sect. 3. But the Scriptures frequently appeal to certain miracles, with reason, as indications of moral excellence. It is in vain, however, to pretend that a small number of exceptions to the laws of nature, can be so *decisive* proofs of the Deity's benevolence, as are the laws themselves in their ceaseless operation. It is said, that miracles are not designed to prove directly the goodness of the divine character, but the truth of the revelation, and that this revelation asserts the divine goodness. But the inference in favor of the truth of the Bible from the occurrence of miraculous events, *presupposes* that the author of the Bible and of these events is veracious, and it thus depends on a previous deduction of Natural Theology.

how can these miracles be shown to have occurred? The full proof of them is dependent on the anterior deductions of Natural Theology that there is a God, and that his benevolence may lead him to interpose, in a miraculous method, for the good of his creatures. That some of the main truths relating to Jehovah must be established, before we can be fully convinced of the real occurrence of miracles, has been made evident, we think, by such writers as Brown, Whateley, and Abercrombie.<sup>1</sup> Thus is one department of Natural Theology an essential basis of the external proof in favor of the Bible, even when the Bible is regarded as another department of the same comprehensive science.

But there is likewise an internal proof of revelation. The Scriptures reveal such doctrines, and breathe such a spirit, as betoken a divine original. They are a more wonderful exhibition of wisdom than is to be found in organized bodies, or in the stellar system. As the phenomena of the material and spiritual world are evidences of a higher cause than can be found in created nature, so are the moral phenomena of the Bible too stupendous to be referred to any human or even angelic author. They must be the work of God; they prove his existence and character. Still, even for this proof are the other parts of Natural Theology more or less important. First, they render a valuable aid to the moral argument for the Bible, by affording illustrations and confirmations of it. They are separate vouchers for the same ultimate truths, and the concurrence of testimony is a distinct, peculiar evidence in favor of each of the coinciding witnesses. Secondly, those proofs of the divine existence and character, which are derived from the mere phenomena of the Bible, are met by infidels with numerous objections; and it is not only useful to show that the same objections may be made to the constitution and course of nature, but it is also expedient to break the force of them by proving their futility, before we come to the examination of the written word. It is wise to dissociate the Scriptures, as far as possible, from the cavils of evil-minded men, and to let the argument from nature, rather than from revelation, bear the brunt of skeptical obloquy. It is a dictate of Christian prudence to keep the words of inspired teachers, as far as may be, from being linked in our suggestive processes with the scoffs and banter of licentious writers, and we may in some degree

<sup>1</sup> See Brown on Cause and Effect, Notes E. and F. Whateley's *Rhet.* P. 1. Ch. 2. § 4, and 3. § 4. Abercrombie on the *Int. Powers*, P. 2. S. 3. See likewise Paley's *Evidences*, (Pref. *Consid.*) and Erskine on *Int. Ev.* pp. 110—129.

effect this object by arresting the infidel *in limine*, and vanquishing him before he enters the sacred enclosures. No one can fail to perceive, that the objections of Hume and Paine, Voltaire and Rousseau, Lessing, Strauss and Feurbach may be often answered *in effect*, before we consider the biblical truths which they oppose. We may thus disencumber the Scriptural phenomena of many hurtful associations; may preserve in the popular mind the sacredness and purity of that system, which can often be more advantageously defended while we stand upon its outworks, than when we allow the skirmish of arms within the citadel itself. Thirdly, the whole internal evidence of the Bible is not apparent to all men. Its full force is apprehended only by those, who have cultivated their religious nature to a high degree of refinement. The moral argument for the Bible is delicate, and requires a corresponding sensitiveness in the minds of all who canvass it. But the majority of men are coarse and blunt in their moral sensibilities, and will not appreciate the nice beauties of the word which is too captivating to have been spoken by man. For the majority of minds, then, the argument from nature which is more tangible and more obvious to their gross vision, still remains essential to the proof of the Bible, even when the Bible is regarded as a coördinate part of Natural Theology. What is *necessary* for most men, is *salutary* for all; and thus is it shown, we think, that in every case the science which we recommend is prolific in its intellectual and moral uses. But fourthly, much even of the internal evidence which recommends the Bible to our faith, is dependent upon one branch of Natural Theology. It has already been stated, p. 248, that one office of this science is to disclose the most important applications of the moral code, and teaches what would be right, and what wrong in the Governor of the universe. It reveals to us the standard of perfect virtue, and it is by comparing the Bible with this standard which is ascertained by our moral sense, that we learn the infinite worthiness of the biblical instructions respecting God. The excellence of these instructions is the crowning excellence of the Bible, and constitutes the great argument for its divinity. But it is an argument which presupposes the truth and demonstrates the importance of the theology which is written upon our moral constitution.

It is needless to enlarge upon the numerous collateral advantages of the science which we are considering; for whatever excites our interest in studying the works of God, and connects the

phenomena of the world with their Sovereign Author; whatever awakens our zeal in the search for biblical truth, and impresses us with a sense of the congruity between the teachings of nature and those of grace; whatever constitutes the foundation on which the revealed system must be established, and makes us familiar with those cardinal truths which involve the principle of all others; whatever requires of us such investigations and rewards us with such results, must not only discipline every faculty of the intellect, but also enrich the heart; must exert an influence which, like the author of all science, is omnipresent, and will be everlasting.

We are well aware, that the views which we have now advanced with regard to the province, the scientific character, and the important uses of Natural Theology are not conformed to the standards of some theological parties. There are two conflicting tendencies among divines, in their speculations on this subject. One is a wish to honor the Bible by showing its harmony with the teachings of nature, and by proving, independently of Scriptural aid, the whole system of religious truth. The other is a desire to aggrandize the Bible by showing its necessity, and by proving that the unaided intellect can discover no important theological doctrine. Each of these extremes we regard as unmanly and unphilosophical. The Christian spirit requires us to seek for the truth, and forbids the wish, however politic, to press an argument beyond its natural extent, or, on the other hand, to resist any degree of its natural force. The Scriptures are disparaged, in attempting to prove by them either too much or too little. They are dishonored, whenever we feel obliged to confirm our faith in them by torturing our reason, and urging our way against the instructions of the volume of nature. If we imagine that we can establish every important truth of religion without the Scriptures, we derogate from their usefulness. If, on the other hand, we fancy that we are unable without their aid, to prove any fundamental religious truth, we undermine their foundation; we imply that we could not, without their teachings, feel our moral accountability; that we could not sin against a Deity, because we could not obtain a knowledge of one; that the Bible was not given, therefore, to men who had abused their knowledge, but to men who had received no instruction which they could abuse; that its messages are the result of divine goodness and compassion exercised toward us as miserable beings, but are not the result of divine grace exercised toward us as guilty

beings ; for " grace is no more grace," whenever the recipients of it were previously without a known law, by the transgression of which, they could deserve punishment, and thereby could be fit subjects for receiving a gracious favor.

It is a very singular fact, that with all his alleged rationalism, Mr. Locke attempted to make the Bible responsible for certain articles of our belief, on the previous reception of which the authority of the Bible, and indeed of all truth, is dependent. He distinctly affirms, that " concerning the existence of finite spirits, as well as several other things, we must content ourselves with the evidence of *faith* ;" " we have ground from revelation and several other reasons, to believe with assurance that there are such creatures" as " finite spirits, and other spiritual beings, besides the eternal God."<sup>1</sup> In order, then, to believe the doctrine that there are finite minds in existence, we must first believe the truth of the Bible. But the Bible presupposes the existence of such minds, and also the existence of an infinite spirit, which is certainly not less difficult of proof, than is the existence of a finite spirit. Now some have regarded it as highly honorable to revelation, that it can thus be made the source of all our knowledge respecting the real existence of human intelligences ; but in reality such a supposition renders it impossible for us to entertain a rational faith in the Bible, or even to draw any inference from any premise ; for every process of reasoning implies the existence of a mind which reasons ; and if that which it presupposes is not, therefore, entitled to our belief, then that which it seems to prove cannot be considered as, therefore, true. All such attempts to make Revelation the basis of those doctrines which are either perceived intuitively, or are learned by instantaneous deductions, result in ultimate skepticism, not merely with regard to the truths of reason, but also with regard to the very existence of a revelation. Mr. Locke himself has frequently rebuked these suicidal efforts to exalt the written word on the ruins of the system which God has revealed from heaven. " Reason," he says, " is natural revelation, whereby the eternal Father of light, and Fountain of all knowledge, communicates to mankind that portion of truth which he has laid within the reach of their natural faculties. Revelation is natural reason, enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimony and proofs it gives that they come

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<sup>1</sup> Essay concerning Human Understanding, Book IV. Ch. II. § 12.

from God. *So that he who takes away reason to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both; and does much about the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope.*<sup>1</sup> We deprecate all attempts to force the human mind forward or backward, in order to recommend the written word; for we believe that the highest honor of that word is imparted by the truth, unconstrained, undistorted. Its glory is to be the superstructure, under which lies so magnificent a foundation as the truths of Natural Theology. The more we venerate these truths, so much the greater will be our reverence for the system, which rises sublimely upon and over them. One proof of its divine origin is the fact, that it presupposes so many truths of human reason, and then goes far beyond all which reason can discover; and also that it condescends to remind us graciously of those doctrines which we did "not like to retain in our knowledge," and for our neglect of which it had been just for God to give us up to blindness of mind and hardness of heart. Richard Baxter had no suspicion that he was undervaluing the sacred volume when he said, "I do more than ever of late discover a necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the doctrine of Christianity, and of beginning at natural verities as presupposed fundamentally to supernatural truths." Lysicles is introduced in one of Berkeley's Dialogues<sup>2</sup> as making the following acknowledgement: "The belief of God, virtue, a future state, and such fine notions are, as every one may see with half an eye, the very basis and corner stone of the Christian religion. Lay but this foundation for them to build on, and you shall soon see what superstructures our men of divinity will raise from it. The truth and importance of those points once admitted, a man need be no conjurer to prove, upon that principle, the excellency and usefulness of the Christian religion." A similar concession has been often made by infidel writers. They have seen, that the revealed system of truth is ingrafted upon the rational system, and have been far from supposing that the divines who extol the latter, are thereby induced to depreciate the former. There cannot be a more singular charge. No true friend of either system can wish to divorce it from its help-meet. What God has united, let not man separate. Let reason be regarded as the friend, the indissoluble ally of revelation. "Wherefore, to conclude this part, let it be ob-

<sup>1</sup> *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book IV. ch. 19. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Minute Philosopher*, Dial. IV.

served," in the words of one<sup>1</sup> who, notwithstanding his disesteem of the theory of final causes, could not yet deny the importance of our science, "let it be observed that there be two principal duties and services, besides ornament and illustration, which philosophy and human learning do perform to faith and religion. The one, because they are an effectual inducement to the exaltation of the glory of God; for as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider and magnify the great and wonderful works of God, so if we should rest only in the contemplation of the exterior of them, as they first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury unto the majesty of God, as if we should judge or construe the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out toward the street in his shop. The other, because they minister a singular help and preservative against unbelief and error; for our Saviour saith, 'you err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God;' laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error; first the Scriptures revealing the will of God, and then the creatures expressing his power; whereof the latter is a key unto the former, not only opening our understanding to conceive the true sense of the Scriptures, by the general notions of reason and rules of speech, but chiefly opening our belief, in drawing us into a due meditation of the omnipotency of God, which is chiefly signed and engraven upon his works."

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### ARTICLE III.

#### LIFE, CHARACTER, WRITINGS, DOCTRINES AND INFLUENCE OF CONFUCIUS.

By Rev. Ira Tracy, formerly Missionary in China.

As that great nation, which has from the earliest ages, occupied the eastern part of Asia, is becoming more and more an object of admiration and interest to us, it is natural to inquire *what are its peculiarities, and by what process did it come to possess them.* Its greatness, recluseness and singularity, conspire to awaken our curiosity and attract our attention. This curiosity and inte-

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon, Advancement of Learning, Book I.



rest it is well to cherish. We should have little reason to laugh at the sons of Han for supposing that China is "all under heaven," if we, in the plenitude of our knowledge, should practically and habitually regard it as one of the less important nations of the earth. Our error would be more unpardonable, and of more injurious tendency, than theirs. It includes probably one third of the great family, of which we and they are, in common, members, and for the well-being of the whole of which we should care.

To the welfare of this great family, the Chinese have contributed perhaps more largely than is generally supposed. If they had sent to western nations nothing but their *tea*, our debt to them would not have been small. How many the pleasant hours it has made around the tables of the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant. How different the social visits of our female ancestry, and of our own mothers and sisters too, from what they would have been, had the stupifying ale, or the maddening punch passed around their circles, instead of the mildly cheering beverage which China gave them.

Silk, which is acknowledged to be of Chinese invention, has had not a little to do in refining the manners and cherishing the industry and ingenuity of the western world.

The manufacture of white earthen ware, for the first knowledge of which we are indebted to the Chinese, has also done much to increase our comforts, and improve our sentiments as well as our habits. But for the Chinese, we should, for aught we know, have been using brown earthen to this day.

And not to dwell on many things of less importance that China has done for us, it is worthy of notice and remembrance, that the art of printing, gunpowder and the mariner's compass, which have wrought such general and beneficent changes in the condition of nations and the state of society here, made their appearance in Europe soon after Marco Polo had published his travels in China, where they were all in use.

The Chinese have more peculiarities than any other portion of the human family, except, perhaps, the Japanese, who are probably much like them. Savage and barbarous people cannot have so many, for they have less in which it is possible to be peculiar; and all the other civilized nations of the earth have exerted an assimilating influence upon each other; but the Chinese are a civilized people, whose character, condition and habits have not been affected, in any appreciable degree, by any other civilized people.

Many as are their peculiarities, the most important of them may be traced to the influence of one man. He who understands what *Confucius* was, and what were his doctrines; and how pervading and commanding has been, and still is, their influence on the minds of the Chinese, cannot fail to have a pretty correct idea of what *they* are. Their minds are run in the mould that he formed for them; and they endeavor to conform their civil, social and domestic habits to the instructions which he bequeathed to them.

Of this remarkable man I propose to give a brief account in the present Article. I do it as the best means of acquainting my readers with the most important peculiarities of the Chinese.

Confucius, the great philosopher and teacher of the Chinese, was born in the north-east part of China, in the year B. C. 552. His father, who was a man of high rank, died when Confucius was but three years old. Although his ancestors had, for six generations, held office in their native State, the family was so poor that he was obliged to work for its support during his early youth. He applied himself to study, as soon as practicable, and made rapid progress in the knowledge of the ancient records, which were engraved on pieces of bamboo. His abilities, acquirements and good character, soon became known at Court; and at the early age of twenty years, he was appointed to an important office in his native country, Loo. This independent State was not so large, as is any one of the eighteen provinces which now compose the Chinese empire.

During the next thirty years he held several offices in that, and neighboring States, but did not remain long in any of them. While he sought for office as a means of usefulness, he likewise studied and visited celebrated teachers to increase his knowledge, and travelled to seek opportunity for the promulgation of his doctrines. But he found it difficult to persuade any of the princes whom he visited, to adopt, for any considerable time, the rules of conduct he proposed; and after many disappointments, he returned, at the age of fifty, to his native country, and retired to private life, that he might collect and compile several important works, in which he could embody the precepts and examples of some ancient princes, whom he desired the people, and especially the princes, of his own and future ages, to imitate and obey. In a few years he was called from his seclusion and made governor of a province, and afterwards prime minister. In this office he exerted himself very successfully, and in three

years produced such a reformation, that a neighboring State became alarmed at the increasing prosperity of Loo, and by stratagem seduced the prince and most of his officers from attention to their duties, which so disgusted Confucius, that he resigned his office, and again withdrew from public life.

Encouraged by the successful beginning made here, and hoping to carry out his plans of reformation more thoroughly in some other State, he soon went abroad again, and offered his services to several princes; but they either felt unwilling to adopt his rigid rules of morality and close attention to their duties, and rejected his offers; or soon became weary of them, and dismissed him from their employment.

Thus thwarted every where in his endeavors to get his doctrines put in practice, he retired finally to his native State, and spent the remainder of his life in completing his writings, and preparing his disciples, who had now become numerous, to hand down his doctrines to future ages. As he approached the close of life, he lamented the degeneracy of the times in which he lived, and the rejection of those doctrines, the reception of which, he felt assured, would have given prosperity and happiness to his country and the world. "I am no longer useful on the earth," said he, "it is necessary that I should leave it." He died at the age of seventy-three, in the year B. C. 479.

Confucius seems to have arisen in China at the stage of its progress, in which tradition had so multiplied the facts that were worth remembering, and the experience and observation of successive generations had so accumulated knowledge which ought to be preserved, that a *compiler* was needed; and he seems to have possessed, in a degree rarely seen among men, both ability and disposition to be a *teacher* of his own and succeeding ages. He gave himself to his two-fold work with zeal, and even enthusiasm.

How much aid he derived from his predecessors, it is now impossible to determine. He has so mingled his own sayings with theirs, that no one can tell what are his and what theirs. The first emperors in the long list of China's rulers, are evidently fabulous characters. Even Yaou, who, with his immediate successors, Shun and Yu, figures largely in the books of Confucius, is said to have begun to reign in the year B. C. 2337, ninety years before the building of Babel. It is probable that Confucius used these names, which may have belonged to princes that lived a few centuries before his own time, to give greater weight to the

instructions which he wished to inculcate upon the minds of his contemporaries; and consequently, that most that is excellent in his writings, is his own. However this may have been, it is no small praise, to say of him that he was capable either of originating, or appreciating, such doctrines as he gave to his countrymen, and had a disposition to devote his life to the promulgation of them. The object of his life, so far as we have the means of knowing it, was to do good, and this was the aim, and in no small degree, the tendency of his writings.

His followers describe him as temperate, industrious, kind to his inferiors, respectful to equals and superiors, and say that he exhibited a faultless propriety of behavior, in all the relations he sustained to his fellow-men, and in all the various stations he occupied in the different periods of his life: that he "was mild, but firm; majestic, but not harsh; grave, but pleasant." They see no wrong in him; but he was not entirely blind to his own defects, and repeatedly confessed them. "To be like a sage, or a purely benevolent man, how dare I presume?" "To exhibit in my own person the superior man, I have not yet attained." "There are four things practised by the superior man, not one of which Kung (that is Kung foo tsze, or Confucius) is yet able to do; what I require of a son, in serving a father I am not able to do; what I require of a minister, in serving a prince I cannot do; what I require of a younger brother, in serving an elder brother I cannot do; what I require of a friend, I cannot first bestow."<sup>1</sup>

His conduct, both in private and in public, was in general exemplary. He was doubtless one of the most moral of the heathen. The only recorded exceptions to the moral rectitude of his life are that on one occasion he was guilty of lying, which, however, his followers do not censure; and that he divorced his wife, for doing which no other reason is assigned, than his "desire to acquire wisdom in retirement."

His admirers praise him as humble and free from ambition and every form of selfishness. His readiness to resign his office as prime minister, when he thought he could not be useful in it, is adduced as proof of his freedom from those passions. Nevertheless he appears to us to have been a proud and ambitious man. His ambition, however, was for something nobler than mere demagogues and aspirants for office and emolument ever aim at. There was much of patriotism, and even philanthropy mingled

<sup>1</sup> In this quotation, as I shall also in others, I give nearly a literal translation, for the sake of showing the style of the original.

with it. He earnestly sought office, but it was that he might be the more useful. He ardently desired the prosperity and happiness of his country, and was deeply grieved at the viciousness of its rulers, and the evils it had produced or perpetuated. He longed for a reformation, and believed that it might be effected by the doctrines he taught. To this belief he was strongly, even enthusiastically attached. All his disappointments could not change it. It controlled his whole life.

Religion formed scarcely any appreciable part of his character. His real praise is that he was a moral and political philosopher and reformer, and ambitious to do good; and though, like the rest of men, not without faults, his memory may well be revered by his countrymen; and if we compare him only with other teachers unaided by inspiration, we may see many good reasons why Pope, in his "Temple of fame," should say,

"Superior and alone Confucius stood,  
Who taught that useful science—to be good."

There are nine books which the Chinese speak of as the works of Confucius. They are called the "Four books," and the "Five classics." Only one of them was written entirely by Confucius. The four books were compiled and composed by his disciples, but as they contain some fragments written by him, and a large portion of them consists of his sayings, and their doctrines are wholly Confucian, it is not without propriety that they are called his works. Four of the five classics are collections of the writings and traditions of former ages, compiled and enlarged by Confucius; and one was written by him.

The four books are, *Learning for adults*, *Due medium*, *Dialogues*, and *Mencius*. *Learning for adults* is a short treatise, containing less than 2000 words. Its aim is, to point out the way to become perfect in personal, domestic, social and political virtue. The theory of Confucius, as developed here and elsewhere, is, first reform yourself; then you can easily reform your family, then a district, then a province, and then an empire. The *Due medium* professes to teach, what right character and right conduct are, and how they may be attained. Much of it is obscure, bombastic and fanciful, ascribing to Confucius, and to the superior man, whoever he may be, qualities which do not pertain to human nature, and of which it may be doubted whether the writer himself had any very clear ideas. The *Dialogues* are mere scraps of conversations between Confucius and others. They seem to have

been spoken at different periods of his life; and are recorded in such a manner that this book has been called "the Chinese Boswell." Various incidents of his life, and descriptions of his dress, deportment, habits, etc. are intermingled with them. There are many good remarks in them, and they show much knowledge of human nature, and great skill in adapting his instructions to the various capacities and dispositions of his disciples. *Mencius* contains nothing which it is important to our present purpose to notice.

The five classics are, *Song classic*, *Book classic*, *Change classic*, *Propriety remembrancer*, and *Spring and Autumn*. The *Song classic* is a collection of ancient odes. A large portion of them are historical, some amatory, and a few religious. Confucius was accustomed to make quotations from them in conversation, and his followers often select mottoes from them for the chapters of their books. They are highly esteemed by the Chinese, but Europeans find little *poetry* to admire in them. One reason of this difference of opinion doubtless is, that no foreigner can appreciate so fully as the Chinese do, the beauties of composition in their language. The very nice discrimination of sounds to which they are accustomed from their infancy, naturally imparts a charm to their more highly finished poetry, to which a foreigner must remain a stranger. Their poetry, if I may presume to speak from a very limited acquaintance with it, is strikingly similar to that of the Hebrews, as exhibited in the Psalms and Proverbs. Antithesis and parallelism, together with curious and often beautiful similes, and a most accurate arrangement of words in respect to sound, appear to constitute its most remarkable characteristics.

The *Book classic* is a collection of historical dialogues, and was designed to give a history of China from the time of Yaou nearly to that of Confucius. The principal speakers are the three successive emperors, Yaou, Shun and Yu. This book contains clearer intimations of the knowledge of the Almighty and reference to his authority, than more modern Chinese books do. The style is even more concise than that of the other books of Confucius; and learned Chinese often differ in their interpretation of it. Its obscurity is supposed to be increased by the loss of a considerable part of it, said to have been caused by the burning of books by Whang-te, the builder of the great wall, who ordered that all books should be destroyed, that there might be no record of men greater than himself.

The *Change classic* is a symbolical description of the changes

in the seasons of the year, and in the animal and vegetable world. By different collocations of the symbols used in this book, it is supposed that things past, present and future may all be known. It contains a theory of the creation, in which *yang* and *yin*, the male and female principles, are supposed to be creative and operative powers, which pervade all things, and continue their existence. Confucius himself considered it difficult to understand this book; and doubtless said truly, when he remarked, that if any one could understand it, he could know all things.

The *Propriety remembrancer* is a book of rites and forms of etiquette. By its rules Confucius wished to regulate all the actions of men; even to their walking and sitting, their eating and sleeping, their laughing and weeping. It is larger than either of his other works, and contains a very full discussion of the subject to which it relates; giving reasons for the rules it prescribes, and showing the importance of their being carefully observed in practice.

The *Spring and autumn* is so named, because it was begun in the former and finished in the latter. It is a dry historical work, and seems to have been written as a continuation of the book classic, taking up the thread of history where that book left it, and following it down to the historian's own time.

These five classics are the oldest books extant in China. Confucius doubtless embodied in them nearly all that was valuable in the records that then existed. By compiling and composing them, he became at once the father of Chinese history, poetry and philosophy; the Herodotus, the Homer, and the Aristotle and Plato of the Chinese; for his philosophy is practical like that of the former, yet as theoretical as that of the latter.

Confucius taught that men are *naturally* virtuous. Their vices he attributed chiefly to ignorance and bad example. Consequently he believed that it would not be very difficult to restore them to the practice of virtue. Accordingly he said, probably to some prince: "When you yourself are right, if you do not command, the people will do rightly; but when you are not right, though you command, they will not obey." And again, "Desire them to be good, and the people will be good." His favorite theory has been already noticed. He taught that if a ruler would govern himself and set a good example, that example would be the means of reforming his ministers, and through them and those influenced by them, his whole country; and that if a single country were thus reformed, surrounding countries would soon submit

to this virtuous ruler, and he would become a universal emperor.

The good example, by which he expected such conquests over men's minds and hearts to be effected, consists in propriety of conduct in all situations, and in respect to all the affairs of life. He accordingly insisted much on ceremonial politeness. The science of etiquette was with him the most important part of political science; and the practice of it, the most important requisite in the ruler and the ruled. Still he taught that rectitude is a part of propriety, and that rectitude could be expected to proceed only from a right heart. To exhibit at once some features of his style of writing, and of his doctrines, the following close translation of a part of the second page of the *Learning for adults* is inserted.

"The ancients, who wished to illustrate virtue to all under heaven, first promoted good order in their own provinces. They who wished to promote good order in their own provinces, first regulated their own families. They who wished to regulate their own families, first became virtuous themselves. They who wished to become themselves virtuous, first rectified their hearts. They who wished to rectify their hearts, first purified their motives. They who wished to purify their motives, first perfected their knowledge. Perfecting knowledge depends on investigating things. Things being investigated, knowledge is perfected. Knowledge being perfected, motives are purified. Motives being purified, the heart becomes right. The heart being right, persons themselves become virtuous. Themselves being virtuous, their families are regulated. Their families being regulated, the nation is governed. The nation being governed, all under heaven is at peace. From heaven's son (the emperor) to the common people, all should regard the cultivation of personal virtue as the root."

One of the greatest defects in his theory, teachings and practice, as a moral and political reformer, was his neglect and abuse of the female sex. Although he attaches great importance to the relations of men to each other in the family, society and the State, and gives very prolonged and minute directions respecting the duties of all the other relations; and though he calls marriage the principal relation; yet he says very little about the duties of it; and what he does say, relates almost exclusively to the duties of the wife, and enjoins upon her implicit obedience to the will of her husband. "He does not scruple," says the Chinese



Repository, "to tell mothers, wives and daughters, that they stand in the lowest place in the scale of nature. 'Woman is not a free agent;' she is an inferior, dependent being, and lives only for man."

Mr. Davis, whose "History of China," in two volumes,<sup>1</sup> contains the best account of that country easily accessible to American readers, tells us that the most remarkable passage in the "Four books," is the following: "Being asked if any one word could express the conduct most fitting for one's whole life, he replied: 'Will not the word *shoo* serve?' and he explains it by 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.'" Probably Mr. Davis would not have used so nearly the words of the golden rule, in making his translation, if he had never read them. He gives Confucius more credit than he deserves. The passage, literally translated, is, "What yourself desire not, do not to men." This direction of the sage is good, but it is only a negative precept. It merely requires abstinence from injuring others, which is a very different thing from seeking to do good to them as earnestly as to benefit ourselves. If *we*, enlightened by inspiration and accustomed to reason on such subjects under its guidance, should infer from this negative, the positive duty enjoined by the Saviour's rule, it is by no means certain that the Chinese would make that inference; and I do not know that they have ever made it. And if they should make it, the honor of it would belong to them, and not to Confucius, whose books give no evidence that *he* ever made it. Let him have, if Mr. Davis pleases to give it to him, the honor of having been the wisest and best of heathen; but let not the praise that is due only to the "Wisdom of God," be given to him.

Of religion Confucius says but little. He was himself an idolater, or at least a worshipper of false gods. He speaks of the worship of them, as something to which all will of course attend, and enjoins sincerity in it. Some of his sayings indicate that he was a fatalist; but in others he seems to refer to the Almighty, using the word "heaven," as Christian writers sometimes do. He generally discouraged inquiry respecting spiritual beings, and even the future state of man. One of his disciples inquiring of him respecting the service of the gods, he replied: "Not yet serve men, how can serve gods?" The disciple asking what he thought of death, he said: "Not yet know life, how can know death?"

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<sup>1</sup> Published by Harper and Brothers in the "Family Library."

His great desire and aim was to make men virtuous and happy in the present life. To this he wished chiefly to confine their attention. The means he used to accomplish his object were threefold: 1. He set before them the examples of Yaou and Shan; whose characters he clothed with all the excellences of which he supposed human nature to be capable, and whose lives he adorned with all the virtue, success and happiness, that he considered desirable for the princes and people of his own and succeeding times. 2. He gave many excellent instructions on political, social and domestic morality and economy; relating to the duties of prince and people, husbands and wives, parents and children, friends and neighbors. He taught that in each family children should reverence and obey their parents; and the younger members, the elder; and that in the nation they should consider themselves as members of one great family, of which the emperor is the father. 3. He prescribed minutely the ceremonies, modes of action and forms of address, to be observed in the intercourse of all these classes of persons. The proper observance of the directions he gave, would, in his opinion, constitute propriety of behavior, and propriety of behavior would produce happiness.

He sometimes speaks of benevolence, as if he had right views of it as the chief of virtues. Nor does he seem disposed to contract the meaning of the word, or the exercise of the virtue, to giving a little to supply the present physical wants of the needy, as do many who would know better, if they studied their Bibles, and especially the Greek New Testament. He, on the contrary, teaches that benevolence should actuate all our conduct, leading us to set a good example before others, and to remove, by good instructions, that ignorance which is the cause of many, and he considered the cause of most of the miseries men suffer.

As a politician he had wisdom enough to see that a peace policy is most conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a nation. As a moralist he knew that to pursue our individual advantage to the injury of others, or exalt ourselves on their debasement, is wrong and pernicious. He taught accordingly. Next to those of the Prince of peace, his, of all the doctrines inculcated on their fellow men by those who have sought to instruct them, tend most to cherish the principles and spirit of peace.

The influence of Confucius while he lived, was great, though far from being commensurate with his desires. In the courts of the princes, in whose employment he sought opportunities for

usefulness, it was considerable ; but that exerted on the minds of his disciples, produced the most permanent and important results. The number of those who sought instruction from his lips, is said to have been three thousand. Some of these gathered up the brightest fragments of his remarks, and recorded the most remarkable particulars of his conduct ; and they and their successors, from age to age, have commented on his writings, sayings and actions, till his books and these comments form the classic literature of China, and are the study of the prince and the people, of the father and the son, of the most ignorant pupil and the most learned teacher. The little boy seven or eight years old commits to memory the *Learning for adults*, and the old man of seventy or eighty still studies the *Book classic*. It is impossible that political and moral sentiments, so early and so constantly before their minds, should not do much to form their characters and habits.

Accordingly we find that their government, their social and domestic habits, and their moral, characters, are formed about as nearly on his model, as the pravity of human nature would permit. He taught that the prince should be *the father of his people* ; and so the emperor, be he Chinese, Mongul, or Mantchou, views the whole empire as his family, for whose good government he is responsible, whose wants he must supply, and whose safety he must secure, both from the invasion of enemies and the injustice of each other. He must set before them an example of industry ; and as agriculture is the direct means of providing the necessities of life, he goes out in the spring of every year and guides the plough ; and in summer the empress feeds the silk worms for a similar reason. If the people transgress his laws, they must be corrected with a fatherly chastisement, and thank him, or the magistrate who acts for him, for thus seeking their reformation. If the rivers overflowing their embankments, or drought, or locusts, occasion a famine in any part of his vast empire, he must send food to his hungry children there ; or, what is more commonly done in moderate cases, he excuses them from sending the usual proportion of their crops to the imperial storehouses.

The laws by which the government is administered, are evidently formed on the principles Confucius taught. As example, according to his theory, is of omnipotent influence, if one does rightly, his whole family will certainly be virtuous ; and, if one family is virtuous, the neighboring families will also be made virtuous by its influence ; therefore if a crime is committed, the

whole family to which the criminal belongs, must be guilty, and none in the neighborhood can be innocent. Consequently, *they* deserve punishment, as well as the offending individual, and the laws require that it should be inflicted. But the maxim of the Chinese respecting their execution is, "Let the laws be very strict, but be lenient in the execution of them;" and it is seldom that any but the criminal is punished, except in cases of treason. For this crime, it accords with the doctrines of Confucius, as well as with the spirit of despotism, to make the punishment peculiarly severe. The government *should* be good, and if good, to oppose it was, with him, the greatest of crimes; but if it becomes cruel and oppressive beyond endurance, he taught that it is right to overthrow it. While it seeks the good of the people, it is the institution of heaven, and must be obeyed; but when it ceases to do this, it is forsaken of heaven and doomed to destruction. The influence of this doctrine, impressed on their minds from their very childhood, has been very great, both upon the rulers and the subjects of China. The proof of it is seen, both in the generally peaceful submission of the vast population of its widely extended territory to the authority of its rulers, during so many ages, and in the several revolutions which have removed unworthy monarchs from the throne.

The *peaceful* tendency of the doctrines of Confucius, has done not a little for the benefit of China. The long continued increase of its population finds no parallel in countries where war has often raged, or by which it has been carried on. Its wealth has not been wasted, as has been that of the great nations of the west, in the maintenance of large armies and navies. Its citizens have not spent their skill in inventing, nor their strength in manufacturing, the means of destroying their fellow men. The arts of peace have occupied their thoughts, and they have employed their time to increase the necessities, comforts and conveniences of life at home; and they have done it with such success, that for many centuries they enjoyed them more fully than any other people in the world. It is only within the last three or four hundred years, that the most civilized of Christian nations have become better supplied with them, than are the Chinese. It is a fact worth the attention of every friend of man, that the farther we recede from the times of war, and the more free we become from its expenses, excitements and occupations, the more numerous become those useful inventions and improvements which increase the efficiency of human labor, multiply our enjoyments, and facilitate our progress in every excellence.

The effect of the instructions of Confucius on the *manners* of the Chinese, is very apparent. The fact that his book of ceremonies is the largest of all his works, shows that he attached undue importance to them. His followers have imitated his example, and are a nation of formalists. Attention to ceremonial politeness among them is excessive; and is considered a sufficient reason for falsehood on the tongue as well as in the heart. Excessive formality appears in all their intercourse; from the bowing nine times to the very ground before the emperor, to the complimentary terms which the meanest villain uses in their courts of justice, and the red papers with which the people honor each other on new year's day. A certain degree of attention to such formalities unquestionably tends to prevent a people from degenerating into barbarism, and may, in some states of society, assist them in rising to a higher civilization; but that degree the Chinese, under the guidance of their sage, have exceeded; and their excessive formality increases their hypocrisy.

In the family, Confucius taught the supremacy of the father's authority, the duty of filial affection and fraternal kindness, and the inferiority of wives and daughters. Mothers he would have to share the respect and affection due to fathers. These instructions have had their natural effect. Parents are revered and obeyed to such a degree, that the children of many a Christian family, might well be pointed to those of China for an example, which they would be the better by imitating. If the father chastises his child it is presumed that he does it for his benefit, and it is proper that he should thank him for it. I have seen a Chinese boy when severely whipped by his guardian, of his own accord, bow politely to him, and thank him for his earnest endeavor to correct his faults. The education of females is generally neglected. They have no voice in the choice of their husbands; and in many respects they are deprived of their proper rights and opportunities for enjoyment and usefulness. But the Chinese seem not to be at all deficient in domestic feeling, and the wives and daughters are often, and perhaps generally, treated with more kindness, than the expressions which appear in some of their books, would lead us to expect. Still it is a lamentable fact, that the instructions of their great teacher have tended to deprive females of their proper rank and influence in society, and thus inflicted an incalculable injury upon his country.

The influence of Confucius upon the individual characters of

those who are subject to it, has perhaps been sufficiently indicated by what has been already said. It is only needful to remark further, that it is *universal* in China, though not equally felt by all its inhabitants. He taught that learning, with virtue and ability, which he seemed to think would always be found in company with it, should be a sure passport to office. Accordingly the highest offices in China, save that of emperor, are accessible to the sons of the humblest peasant. Consequently every family that has sons, seeks to educate at least one of them, hoping that he may prove an able scholar, rise to office, and enrich and honor the family. On going to school, this son, after spending a short time on small books that may be called primers, begins to commit to memory the books of Confucius; and his chance of success in life depends mainly on his ability to quote from these books with facility and aptness, and to explain their doctrines. These doctrines, therefore, become thoroughly impressed upon his mind; and his mode of thinking, and style of expression are derived, in a great degree, from the writings of the sage and his commentators. He strives to mould himself into the intellectual and moral image of Confucius and the more ancient sages, whose example Confucius gave him to imitate. Those who do not learn to read, imbibe the doctrines of the sage from those who do.

What the influence of Confucius *will be*, is to us a more important, because a more practical inquiry, than what it *has been*. For twenty-three centuries it has borne almost unresisted sway over the mind of China. But it is now coming in contact with another influence. The doctrines of Jesus Christ are beginning to be compared with those of the Chinese sage. Will the teachers of the gospel find his doctrines a help or a hindrance to their work? To this question no certain answer can be given by man; but we may form some opinion of the probable opposition or aid, which they will find in the books and disciples of Confucius. There will doubtless be some of both.

1. Confucius encouraged a reverence for ancestors, which, whether he so intended it or not, now amounts to worship. To this worship the Chinese are more strongly attached, than to any other. "These wooden and stone idols," said one of them, "are a small matter; but the worship of our ancestors, how can we cease from that?" It seems as wrong to a Chinese to neglect to worship his deceased father, as it does to a dutiful child among us to treat with neglect his living parent.

2. The high estimation in which the sage and his doctrines are held by the Chinese, makes them slow to admit the superiority even of Jesus Christ and the doctrines of inspiration. It will be hard for the proud Chinese to give up the notion, that Confucius, the glory of their nation, the long revered and deified, must be superior to any one of whom foreigners can tell them; and much the more hard because, in consequence of their own evident and great superiority to all the nations in their part of the world, they have for ages been accustomed to look with contempt on *all* foreigners.

On the other hand, Christian teachers may probably derive several advantages from the influence of Confucius.

1. It is probably owing to his influence, that education is so general and reading so common among the Chinese. Schools are numerous and their importance is appreciated. They are glad to have them noticed, and think it a work of benevolence to establish and support them. I have frequently visited schools established and taught by pagan Chinese, for the purpose of giving the scholars Christian instruction; and have always been well received, and permitted to address and question them as long as I pleased. Christian missionaries will be able to establish schools among the Chinese to great advantage; and probably may often bring those already in operation under their influence, at a small expense, and find them good places for preaching the gospel, both to the pupils and their parents.

2. He inculcated universal philanthropy. "All within the four seas," said he, "are brothers;" and brothers, he insists, should live in harmony and kindness towards each other. This favors the residence of missionaries among the Chinese; and their conduct in seeking the welfare of their "brothers" in China, may be shown to be in accordance with the teachings of the sage.

3. He confined his instructions to things pertaining to the present life, and left unsupplied the wants of the soul. The Chinese have, consequently, adopted parts of the religious systems of other nations with which they have become acquainted; but their attachment to them does not appear to be very strong. They feel, though not very deeply, the need of some religion; and as they have none, either in the books of Confucius, or the systems of superstition, which have come in from other countries, that is pure or reasonable enough to satisfy them, we may expect that they will be, at least, less indisposed to consider the claims of Christianity, than they otherwise would have been.

4. He confessed his ignorance on religious subjects, and told his disciples that *a great teacher would arise in the west*. A knowledge of this prediction, which we may suppose he was led to make by some acquaintance with the early prophecies respecting the Messiah, induced Ming-te, who reigned about sixty years after the date of our era, to send messengers westward in search of this great teacher. They went as far as the northern part of Hindostan, where they heard of Buddh and his doctrines; and thinking that he must be the teacher for whom they were sent, they returned to China with books and teachers of his religion. The doctrines thus introduced were propagated chiefly by means of books and schools, and Buddhism is now the religion of a large proportion of the Chinese. We may hope that the prediction of the sage, whom they so highly revere, may be used to advantage by the Christian missionary. Many of them see the absurdities of Buddhism, and they regard its priests with contempt. They may, therefore, be more ready to believe that it was a better teacher than Buddh, that Confucius referred to, and that the messengers of Ming-te did not go far enough westward.

5. His doctrine that the father of a family is to be obeyed, served and loved, and that *his father is to be still more highly honored*, and so on, may be used to show that God, the Father of all fathers, should be supremely honored and loved. According to the doctrine of their own great teacher, they ought to love God with all their soul, mind and strength.

Probably no other heathen nation has been equally under the guidance of a teacher, whose influence, on the whole, could be regarded as so favorable to the introduction of Christianity, as that of Confucius will naturally be.



## ARTICLE IV.

## LIFE OF PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor at Andover.

*Introductory Observations.*

It was the remark of a zealous adherent of Luther, Professor Mayer of Greifswalde, that for the Reformation of the Church, three Luthers would be worth more than three hundred Melancthons. This observation of the eager partizan contains some truth and some error. That Luther merits the first place as a reformer, there can be no doubt. That he could perform the work assigned him far better without Melancthon, than Melancthon could undertake it without Luther, is alike unquestionable. To expect to demolish the errors and abuses of the Romish hierarchy with a cautious and lenient hand, would be a mere delusion. An earlier period had shown, that even men of an intrepid character, with their writings filled with admonitory voices, could pass by and leave few traces behind. A man of dauntless courage, who could wield the club of Hercules, was needed,—one who would stand firmer and more erect, in proportion to the number and fierceness of the assaults which should be made upon him. Such an heroic spirit was Luther, and distant ages will not forget that it was he who broke the fetters of superstition, and led Christendom once more into the light of civil and religious freedom.

But it must not be forgotten, that Luther was one of these excitable spirits, who are inclined, in the violence of passion, to break over all restraint. It was a wise arrangement of Divine Providence that Melancthon should appear, a spirit of gentler mould, who could, with a wise hand and at the right moment, calm and direct the vehement feelings of his great leader. Luther's excessive zeal was tempered by Melancthon's mildness, while Melancthon's yielding nature was quickened and invigorated by the courageous bearing of his friend. Luther alone, or two leaders like Luther, might have rushed into perilous extremes, and occasioned the ruin of the edifices which they were at so much pains to erect. A striking example of Melancthon's

happy influence over Luther is mentioned by the former. "Luther, on one occasion, seemed to be angry beyond measure. A deep silence reigned around among all. At length I addressed him with the line,

'Vince animos iramque tuam, qui caetera vincis.'

Luther, laughing, replied: 'We will dispute no further about it.'

Another ground of the necessity of Melancthon's influence in the Reformation, consists in his extraordinary ability to present related truths in their due order and logical method. Luther, in his unceasing contests, had little leisure to investigate fundamentally and develop fully the truths which he announced in his writings; or had opportunity been allowed him for this purpose, his soul was too impetuous to permit him to construct a coherent doctrinal system. He gives a correct view of the case in the following remarkable words: "I am born to be forever fighting with opponents and with the devil himself, which gives a controversial and warlike cast to all my works. I clear the ground of stumps and trees, root up thorns and briars, fill up ditches, raise causeways and smooth the roads through the woods; but to Philip Melancthon it belongs, by the grace of God, to perform a milder and more grateful labor, to build, to plant, to sow, to water, to please by elegance and taste." Though the destruction of enormous abuses and errors was indispensably necessary, and though Luther was remarkably fitted for this work, yet it was not less important, that, in the bosom of the new community, a man should arise, who could arrange the detached parts of the teachings of the gospel into one whole, and by the symmetry and beauty of the edifice, win those minds to the truth that clearly saw the pernicious nature of error, or who still doubted whether in the midst of so many disjointed fragments, a new and well-arranged system could be formed. Hence Melancthon made it a principal business of his life, to unfold divine truth methodically, so that every one might be convinced, after a calm examination, of the truth of God's word. In a visitation of the churches, in 1527, he first learned the pressing necessities of the people in respect to religious doctrine. Thenceforward, he zealously labored to set forth divine truth with greater precision and simplicity, so as to prevent the bad effects which might flow from very common misapprehensions of the doctrines of Luther.

Again, Melancthon's labors and influence were of inestimable service to the Reformation, in consequence of his intellectual gifts

and accomplished education. With the exception of Erasmus, he was the best Greek scholar of the age. As a teacher, he was quiet and perfectly unassuming in manner; but possessed of that contagious enthusiasm, which gave him, through the thousands of young men who thronged his lectures from every part of Europe, a position of the most commanding power and influence. The Protestant doctrines were thus associated with the revival of literature. Luther was, by no means, unskilled in the treasures of ancient learning. A high position for that period would be assigned him by all unprejudiced judges, yet Melanchthon was in this respect decidedly his superior, his advice in difficult cases being eagerly sought and highly valued. Luther's translation of the Bible into German, the great work of the Reformation, was largely indebted to Melanchthon's exact philological knowledge. He revised and amended every part of it, besides translating the three books of Maccabees in a diction remarkable for its simplicity and purity. In the later editions of this Bible, his careful hand is everywhere manifest. In 1540, Luther wrote to him from Worms, "that we have ventured to put to press without your aid, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, Isaiah and Jeremiah." Melanchthon's knowledge of ancient philosophy was of no little use in the controversies of the Reformation. By this knowledge, he had an adroitness and tact in discussion which very few could equal. He was thus, on several occasions, enabled to unravel the most intricate sophistries of the Romish dialectics. We may refer to the discussions at Augsburg in 1530, at Worms in 1540 and 1557, and at Regensburg in 1541. To this ability in Melanchthon, no one was more ready to give decided testimony than Luther.

We may add that the exalted piety of Melanchthon, accompanied with all the gentler graces of humanity, was of incalculable value to the Reformation. If the boldness and unquenchable zeal of Paul reappeared in Luther, the attractive piety and loving spirit of John were no less apparent in Melanchthon. He was the beloved disciple that would have been invited to lean on the Saviour's breast. Amid the fierce strifes of the sixteenth century, how refreshing it is to find one who tried to copy the peaceful and forgiving temper of his Master, and who breathed on earth the spirit of Heaven. The individual, whom the universities were most anxious to secure, whom Reuchlin and Erasmus loved and honored, whose choicest earthly treasures were the old poets and orators, was most remarkable for his unaffected

humility and fraternal love. The enemies of the Reformation could not but feel the power of his example, nor cease to regret that his talents and character did not continue to support the declining hierarchy.

In the following pages, we propose to detail, at some length, the principal events in the life of Melancthon, especially those which relate to his domestic and social character. These have been, for the most part, passed by in the histories of the Reformation, and many of them in the Lives of Melancthon. The doctrines of the Reformers are so well known, as well as the general history of the period, that it will be unnecessary to dwell upon them at any length. The main source from which we have drawn our materials, is the work of Frederic Galle, published at Halle, in 1840, in 475 pp. 8vo., under the title, "*Versuch einer Charakteristik Melancthons als Theologen und einer Entwicklung seines Lehrbegriffs.*" It was first composed in the form of an essay, to which the Theological Faculty of the University of Halle awarded a prize in 1837. The subject was afterwards thoroughly reinvestigated, and the treatise greatly enlarged. The production bears every mark of having come from an able and candid writer. Its special value, above all the preceding Memoirs of the Reformer, consists in the ample use which the author makes of the Correspondence of Melancthon, collected and published by Dr. Bretschneider, in six vols. quarto, under the general title of *Corpus Reformatum*. Much of this correspondence existed before only in manuscript.

#### *Melancthon's Birth and Parentage.*

Philip Melancthon was born Feb. 16, 1497. His father, George Schwarzerd, was a native of Heidelberg. He was a skilful manufacturer of various kinds of armor, and as such was held, in that turbulent age, in high estimation. He often visited the courts of the princes, and enjoyed the special favor of the emperor Maximilian. As early as 1496, he had taken up his abode in Bretten, a small town in Baden, near Carlsruhe, then in the Palatinate of the Rhine. Here he became connected in marriage with Barbara Reuter, daughter of the burgomaster of the place. He is represented as a man of decided piety and uncommonly exact and fervent in his devotions, notwithstanding that the business in which he was engaged would not seem to be

favorable to the cultivation of personal religion. It is mentioned, as a characteristic fact, that he was in the habit of rising from his bed at midnight, in order to repeat his customary prayer. Hence the Christian education of his family was an object of paramount importance. In this duty he found an efficient co-laborer in his wife, who is described as a discreet and pious woman,<sup>1</sup> who looked well to the ways of her household, and who sought, in the frequent absences of her husband, to impress on the minds of her children, five in number, the lessons of virtue and piety which they had received from their father, and to keep them as far as possible from the contaminations of vice. Her father, in the days of his old age, found no greater delight than in amusing and instructing his grandchildren. Philip especially attracted his attention, as a boy of extraordinary intellectual promise.

The father of Melanchthon died in 1507, after lingering several years under a disease, caused, as it was supposed, by his drinking water from a poisoned well. Three days before his death, he said to his sons: "Since I must now die, I desire that my children may be members of the church, that they may live in communion with it, may have the knowledge of God and finally be happy in eternal glory." Melanchthon mentions this in the *Postils* and subjoins: "I recollect my father said these things when he blessed me before his death." Nine days before his own decease, he repeated the same words to his children.

### *Early Education of Melanchthon.*

Melanchthon appears to have enjoyed all the advantages for education which were then accessible. After spending a short time in the elementary school at Bretten, he was placed under the care of John Hungarus, a domestic tutor, whose instructions

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<sup>1</sup> Winsheim says, "*mater Barbara matrona fuit honestissima, singulari sapientia et morum gravitate praedita.*" A stanza which was frequently on her lips was this:

"He who is a freer spender  
Then his plough or toil can render,  
Sure of ruin slow or fast,  
May perhaps be hanged at last."

Melanchthon sometimes said to his pupils: "*Didici hoc a mea matre, vos etiam observate.*" She remained twelve years a widow after the death of her first husband. She was subsequently twice married, first to Christopher Kolbe, a citizen of Bretten, and after his death to Melchior Hechel. Melanchthon had six brothers and sisters-in-law.

he was accustomed, in later life, strongly to commend. "I had a teacher," he wrote, "who was an excellent grammarian and who passed an honorable old age in preaching the gospel at Pforzheim. He compelled me, in studying grammar, to go through with the constructions, and also to give the rules for twenty or thirty lines of Virgil. He allowed me to omit nothing. Whenever I fell into error, he corrected me, yet with fitting moderation. In this manner he made me a grammarian. He was an excellent man; he loved me as a son, and I him as a father, and I hope we shall shortly meet in everlasting glory. I loved him, though his discipline was severe; yet it was not severity, but a paternal chastisement, exciting me to diligence. He compelled me to look out the rules in the evening so that I could recite them."

During two years Melancthon attended the public school at Pforzheim, a town a few miles south of Bretten, in Baden. The school, then under the charge of George Simler, had attained a high rank throughout Germany. Here Melancthon made such rapid progress that soon after he had completed his twelfth year, he was prepared to enter the University of Heidelberg. At this celebrated institution he remained three years, and devoted himself particularly to the study of the classics.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the house of Doctor Pallas, and taught the sons of the count of Löwenstein. He was distinguished above all his youthful companions, by his acquaintance with the Greek language. "Where shall I find a Grecian?" once exclaimed a teacher, as he propounded a difficult question. With one voice, all the scholars cried out: "Melancthon! Melancthon!" He was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, June 10, 1511. In 1512 he repaired to Tübingen, where he soon received a master's degree, and where he confirmed his reputation, partly by his lectures on the ancient classics and partly by the books which he published, especially his Greek Grammar. He was now ranked among the ablest philologists of his age. In 1516, Erasmus wrote: "What promise does not that youth, or boy, as we might almost term him, Philip Melancthon, hold out? He is about equally eminent in his knowledge of Latin and Greek. What acuteness in argu-

<sup>1</sup> About this time, he changed his name, at the suggestion of Reuchlin, from Schwarzerd to the more euphonic one of Melancthon, both words signifying in their respective languages, *black earth*. This change of names was then not uncommon, e. g. Reuchlin, originally Reuch, as in Latin, *fumus, fumulus*; Erasmus's name in Dutch was *Gerhard*, in Latin, *Desiderius*.

ment! What purity and elegance of diction! What manifold knowledge! What delicacy and extraordinary tenderness of feeling!"

Melanchthon did not, however, confine his attention to classical literature. In other branches of knowledge he felt a deep interest. While at Heidelberg, he pursued with much zeal the study of mathematics and astronomy, under the direction of Conrad Helvetius, and at Tübingen he attended the lectures of Stöfler, who was still more distinguished. "I remember," he writes, "that when I and Oecolampadius were reading Hesiod together, and a certain strange desire seized me, though I was then a mere youth, of comprehending, among other things relating to the rising and setting of the stars, those words, "quadraginta dies latebre Pleiades," no one of the multitude at Tübingen, could aid us, except Stöfler." While here Melanchthon also studied the principles of law and medicine. Still, he attended with special zeal to pursuits of a philosophical nature. The works of Aristotle, which he had long before cursorily perused in defective translations, he now studied in the original, preparing himself to edit an edition of some of them. Subsequently these works engrossed much of his attention. The thoroughness of his philosophical training may be inferred from the fact, that the controversy between the Nominalists and Realists, which was then raging at Tübingen, was by his exertions set at rest; the young disputant contending on the side of the Nominalists, that universal ideas have no reality in truth, but are mere names or mental abstractions.

Though Melanchthon's religious education, while he was under the parental roof, had been conducted in some respects on false principles, yet it had served to implant within him a fresh and vigorous faith. While a boy he had the greatest delight in public worship, and was particularly attached to the lives of the saints. "I recollect," he says in after life, "what joy it gave us when we were lads, to read the verses which are found in the legends of the saints. Similar lines were recited by the preachers in the church, and when we imitated the sermons at home, we repeated those verses. Subsequently, women and girls brought something to our altar, as was customary in the church. If we had had better instructors at that time, it would have been more useful to us. Still, it was a part of domestic education to

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<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Ep. ad Thess.

employ children with such things, rather than to allow them to roam about in the streets with their boisterous noises."

With these early tendencies to piety, it is not strange that Melancthon, after extensive excursions into various fields of knowledge, should turn with earnest love to the study of theology. At that time, however, there was little in this department of science as studied in the universities, which could satisfy the mind. With an almost total neglect of practical theology, a system made up of abstruse and hair-splitting propositions, was the great object of pursuit, which, though useful in sharpening the intellect and worthy of admiration as a monument of human ingenuity, could never satisfy, for any length of time, truly religious feelings. Melancthon's youthful enthusiasm was excited and absorbed by this ingenious superstructure. He sat attentively at the feet of Lempus, the theological master at Tübingen, and the most celebrated teacher in that department, and saw spread out on a black tablet, figures in chalk, designed to aid where verbal demonstrations were not sufficient. Thus for example, the doctrine of transubstantiation was depicted. Still, Melancthon sought for instruction, not merely in the lecture-room and in the volumes of the earlier Scholastics, but with his predilections for Nominalism, he enjoyed, for some time, great satisfaction in the writings of William Occam, the restorer of this theory.<sup>1</sup> But this could last only for a time. Melancthon had now found another and purer source of religious knowledge; he had obtained from Reuchlin a copy of the Bible. Previously his great relative<sup>2</sup> had given him a number of valuable books, while he lived at Pforzheim with Reuchlin's brother George. But the Scriptures were the most precious treasure. With what love and de-

<sup>1</sup> Thus in 1521 he wrote: "Tu vero, Occhame, deliciae quondam meae." Yet in 1529, he says to Camerarius: "I thank you for the Dialogues of Occam, yet they are more frigid than I had supposed. In the whole system there is plainly no solid instruction." Luther, it is well known, had originally great reverence for the "Singular Doctor."

<sup>2</sup> He was related to Melancthon on the mother's side. Melancthon, in his *Postils* mentions the following incident: "I heard Reuchlin telling that he had heard the lectures of Argyropylus in Italy on Thucydides. When he entered the lecture-room, he stated in reply to the inquiry of the teacher, that he had come to listen to something on the Greek language. Being then asked; Do you understand Greek at all, he answered, I do. Read, says Argyropylus. Reuchlin thereupon read a passage. Do you understand it, asked the lecturer? Somewhat, was the reply. What is the sense? The young German gave it as well as he could. O, said the lecturer, Greece, in our exile, has come over the Alps."



light did the young Reformer expatiate over the fields of divine truth, plucking and gathering the wholesome fruits which divine wisdom has here caused to grow. "In reading this book," he says, "he was so constant that nobody would believe that the volume which he always carried in his bosom, was a sacred one, but rather that he was enamored with some profane author." Through this steady application to the sacred writings, his eyes were opened to perceive into what a barren desert Christianity had been borne by her bishops and clergy. For example, a friar read from the pulpit a proposition of Aristotle; another preached that the wooden shoe of the Franciscans was made of the tree of knowledge in Paradise. While such puerilities were proclaimed in the house of God, Melanchthon often read the Bible in silence, during the time of public worship, though sometimes thereby subjecting himself to malevolent remark. His love for the truth and for free inquiry, was much heightened by the result of the controversy which the Cologne theologians had waged with Reuchlin.<sup>1</sup> This eminent scholar had been compelled for his own justification, to prepare some papers to be sent partly to the Papal court and partly to that of the emperor. An elegant transcript of these, Melanchthon made with his own hands, for the use of the author. This friendly service greatly contributed to enlighten his own judgment in respect to the state of the church and the demands of the age. Still more useful was the frequent personal intercourse which he now enjoyed with Reuchlin, who then lived at Stuttgart and often rode to Tübingen to spend several days with his young friend. Their love was like that of a father and his child. The enlightened and unprejudiced mind of the elder necessarily exerted a great influence on the susceptible heart of the younger.

In the Providence of God, Reuchlin became the means by which Melanchthon was directed to a wider and important field of labor. Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was now in search of a competent teacher of the Greek language for his newly founded university at Wittenberg. Reuchlin being consulted,

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<sup>1</sup> Reuchlin was accustomed to read the Bible very diligently, and to carry the New Testament with him on his travels. When at Innsbruck, as ambassador to Maximilian, he took a Greek New Testament, written in golden letters which Erasmus used in his edition of that volume. Two Venetian ambassadors were then at the court, one of them said to his companion, "Lo! those who know this language are applauded in Germany, but are despised among us in Italy."

could recommend no one for the post with greater confidence than Melancthon. "He will promote," writes Reuchlin, "the honor, reputation and usefulness of the university. For I know no one among the Germans who surpasses him, except Erasmus of Rotterdam, who is a Hollander. Melancthon also goes beyond us all in Latin." To Melancthon he wrote July 24, 1518; "Lo! a letter has arrived from our gracious prince, under his own signature, in which he promises you pay and favor. So I will not now address you in the words of the poet, but of the promise of God which was vouchsafed to believing Abraham, 'Get thee out from thy native land and from thy kindred and from thy father's house to the land which I shall show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great and thou shalt be blessed.' Such is the presentiment of my mind. So I hope of thee, my Philip, my care, my consolation. Go then, with joy and good courage."

*Melancthon as Professor of Greek.*

Melancthon travelled on horseback from Tübingen to Wittenberg. At an age so young and with a heart so susceptible, he must have been the subject of various and conflicting emotions. He was quitting a university where he had labored indefatigably to sow the seeds of true learning. But instead of generous support, he had been met, for the most part with the envy and malice of the defendants of the old philosophy; his motives had been traduced, and his doctrines, as they could not be refuted by argument, were made the butt of poor attempts at wit. With the exception of Simler, professor of law, he seems to have had little sympathy among the leading men in that ancient and bigoted institution. On the other hand, he was now leaving the exciting scenes of Southern Germany, the places of his birth, and education. He had bid farewell to not a few young men whom he had charmed by his enthusiasm and made his firm friends by his gentleness and love. And above all, he was leaving the honored Reuchlin, who had been to him more than a father. Besides, he was now entering upon a new and untried sphere. To an adult, experienced in the various fortunes of life, the future would have occasioned some solicitude. How much more must a heart like that of the sensitive and youthful Reformer have been affected? The thought of meeting Luther whose fame was now extending over Christendom, must have been alternately elevat-

ing and depressing. He had never seen the son of the miner, whose spiritual hammer was ringing on the old fortresses of papacy. The ruddy and bashful stripling might seem small in the eyes of the champion of Protestantism, who was not always very considerate towards his weaker brethren. But he went on, trusting in his Almighty Guardian, who was opening before him "a wide field of labor," not free indeed from sharp thorns, but at first full of flowers. At Nuremberg, he formed an intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Pirckheimer. At Leipsic, he was treated with marked hospitality, especially by George Mosellanus, professor of Greek. A splendid entertainment was provided in honor of the youthful guest. On the 25th of August, 1518, he reached Wittenberg and first introduced himself to Luther. His reception was not very exhilarating to his spirits. Luther had some misgivings, as he noticed the timidity and unimposing exterior of the young Grecian. On the 29th, Melanchthon delivered his first lecture in the hall of the university, on Improvements in the Education of Youth. Before him sat all the citizens who made any pretensions to learning, and the Professors of all the Faculties with their pupils. Luther listened to him with the closest attention. Three or four days afterwards, he wrote: "Philip had a crowded auditory. As long as he lives, I desire no other teacher of Greek. He has excited in all the theologians, the highest as well as the lowest, a zeal for the study of Greek." It may be readily imagined how delighted the Reformer would be with this fresh accession to the strength of a university with which, in his view, were bound up the hopes of the church as well as of true learning. A few weeks subsequently, he addressed him with the words, *Mi dulcissime Philippe!* Melanchthon, on his part, felt strongly attracted towards an individual, who, with indomitable courage, had entered the field against the foes of truth, and who was withal a man of the warmest and most generous feelings. In him the youthful Professor recognized the genuine honest German heart, true and unfeigned piety, rare acquaintance with the Scriptures, joined to an exemplary practice of their precepts and extraordinary endowments of intellect.

Melanchthon's success in teaching was such as might be anticipated. He was convinced that it was only by a fundamental philological training, that young men could be prepared for the service of the church. Beautifully he somewhere writes: "To neglect the youth in a State is like taking away the Spring from

the year. Indeed, we take it away when we let the schools run to waste, for without them religion cannot be maintained. If the study of the sciences is neglected, terrible darkness will come over the entire commonwealth." In his passion for the study of Greek literature, Melanchthon surpassed all the teachers of his age. The youth and children committed to his care, were thoroughly instructed in the grammars of the two classical languages. He delivered lectures on various Greek and Latin authors; for example, on Homer's Iliad in 1519, and on Pliny's Natural History in 1520. At that period when so many treasures of classical learning could be found only in the MSS. of libraries, the hindrances, which he had to surmount, were often incredible. "I remember," says Winsheim, "that while I was at Wittenberg—about two years—and heard our dearest teacher lecture on the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, there were only three hearers besides myself; as we were compelled, for want of copies, to transcribe for our own use from the single copy of our instructor; yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, he labored with inconceivable patience, though suffering much from want of sleep and general ill-health." In this branch of labor, Melanchthon followed closely in the footsteps of Erasmus; while the latter advanced classical culture, more by his writings, the former aided it effectually by his oral instructions. Professor Heerbrand of Tübingen, in his funeral oration for Melanchthon, says that his hearers sometimes amounted to *two thousand*, and among these were princes, counts, barons and multitudes of the nobility. At the same time, this illustrious scholar spoke of himself with the utmost modesty. Writing to Wolfgang Fabricius, he says: "Erasmus, that glory not only of the present age, but of all ages, has cast the die for us, you, Wolfgang and Oecolampadius, must follow next. I think Martin and Carlstadt will do something. These I shall follow, *sed longo intervallo*."

Before the end of September, Melanchthon dedicated to the elector Frederic a Translation of one of Lucian's works; in October, he printed the Epistle to Titus and a small Dictionary; in November, he wrote the preface to a Hebrew Grammar. He immediately undertook a more elaborate work, on Rhetoric, which appeared in three books, in January, 1519. In February, followed another discourse; in March and April, editions of several of Plutarch's writings with a preface. In 1520 his Compend of Dialectics was published. An edition of this book and of the Rhetoric appeared afterwards with many alterations. All these

things were done during a very diversified and laborious course of teaching, for Melancthon undertook to give instruction in Hebrew as well as Greek.

The scholars caught the enthusiasm of their teacher. "They are as industrious as ants at the university," says Luther. Reforms in the mode of instruction were proposed; with the approbation of Frederic, lectures were discontinued which had no value but for the scholastic system, and others were substituted founded on classical studies; the conditions upon which academical degrees were granted were rendered less severe; new views and ideas were introduced, all which tended to place Wittenberg in strong contrast with the other universities.

"It was an important circumstance," says Ranke,<sup>1</sup> "that a perfect master of Greek arose at this moment at a university, where the development of the Latin theology already led to a return to the first genuine documents of primitive Christianity. Luther now began to pursue this study with earnestness. His mind was relieved and his confidence strengthened, when the sense of a Greek phrase threw a sudden light on his theological ideas. When, for example, he learned that the idea of repentance (*poenitentia*), which, according to the language of the Latin church, signified expiation or satisfaction, signified in the original conception of Christ and his apostles, nothing but a change in the state of the mind, it seemed as if a mist was suddenly withdrawn from before his eyes."

#### *Melancthon as Theological Professor.*

Melancthon, not long after he came to Wittenberg, began to labor directly for theology. With his exact knowledge of Greek, his lectures on the New Testament could not have occasioned him much difficulty. With restless enthusiasm he sought to supply in a short time his defective knowledge of Hebrew. "Our Philip," says Luther in 1519, "is now engaged in Hebrew; so great is the fidelity and industry of the man that he scarcely grudges any pains." His zeal for theological studies was much augmented by the famous disputation at Leipsic, in the summer of 1519, when he became more deeply convinced of the contrariety of the prevailing church doctrines to divine truth. The taunting language of the pompous Eck: "Keep still, Philip,

<sup>1</sup> Ranke's History of the Reformation, Bk. 2. Ch. 3.

attend to your own studies and do not trouble me," impelled him now to apply himself with great earnestness to theology. On the 19th of September, of the same year, he became biblical baccalaureate, in company with John Agricola. His first theological lectures were on the Epistle to Titus in 1518. In the following year, he lectured on the Psalms, the Epistle to the Romans and on Matthew's Gospel. In reference to the latter, Luther writes: "I am sorry that I cannot send all the brethren to Philip's theological lecture on Matthew, at 6 o'clock in the morning. That little Greek goes ahead of me in theology itself." Melancthon's theological labors were greatly increased in 1521—23, by Luther's frequent absences from Wittenberg. This was especially the case, when the Reformer was in attendance on the Diet at Worms. Still, as we shall subsequently see, his interest in these studies was somewhat vacillating.

At length, after much effort Luther prevailed on the Elector in 1526, to appoint Melancthon in a formal manner, Professor of Theology, and to assign him a salary as such. What a blessing this arrangement became, in the good Providence of God, to Germany and Christendom, it would be difficult to describe. Students flocked to his lectures, says Heerbrand, not only from Germany, but from almost all the countries of Europe. Multitudes, attracted by the splendor of his name, resorted to Wittenberg from France, England, Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, Bohemia, even from Italy itself, yea from Greece. The mode in which Melancthon lectured, was not such as prevails in Germany at the present time. He adopted, in a measure, the Socratic style. By questions addressed to particular individuals, he sought to enliven the monotony of an exercise and develop the talent of the pupil. In addition to his common lectures on week days, he gave on Sundays and festival-days, familiar expositions of the Gospels in Latin. This practice he continued with great conscientiousness during the eleven last years of his life. On this subject Christopher Petzel, to whom the world is indebted for these invaluable fruits of Melancthon's labors,<sup>1</sup> makes the following statement: "When the university was reopened, after the Schmalcald war, on account of there being many Hungarians who could not understand the sermons in the German language

<sup>1</sup> Published under the title, "*Postilla Melanthoniana h. e. Lectionum Evangelicarum. . . . Explicationes piæ et eruditæ Philippi Melanthonis. Hanov. 1594, 95. P. I—IV. Melancthon was never a preacher. He says expressly in 1536, *Ego concionari non possum.**

delivered in the church, Melanchthon began to explain the Gospels for their benefit, on Sundays and festivals, at his own house. Soon, on account of the multitude of hearers, he removed to the public hall these lectures or discourses, in which he was accustomed, in familiar language, to go over the principal points of the text on which the sermon had been founded. As he had had much experience in the training of the young and was furnished with the most various learning, he adapted his instructions to the capacities of his hearers, of whom there was a multitude of youth, and many who were mere boys. He was accustomed to interperse grammatical and historical matters with the catechetical and theological, so that thereby the lecture was not only useful to all, but exciting and agreeable. There are those who recollect, that from the year 1549 to his happy departure from the present life in 1560, he delivered scarcely any lectures which were more popular than these. Though he was not used to dictate at all, but spoke with the utmost freedom so that he might proceed more rapidly and bring the exercise within the hour, still there were not wanting those who could catch and put on paper these familiar, verbal discourses; there were some even so persevering that they did not omit the subordinate points. Such was the anxiety, such the zeal at that time to hear the great teacher! Counts, barons, nobles, students of all classes and professions, the old, young men and boys in great numbers, hung on the lips of the instructor."

"It was of inestimable value to Melanchthon," says Ranke, "that he could here devote himself to subjects which filled his whole soul, and that he now found the substance of those forms to which his attention had been hitherto principally directed. He embraced with enthusiasm the theological views of Luther and, above all, his profound exposition of the doctrine of justification. But he was not formed to receive these opinions passively. He was one of those extraordinary spirits, appearing at rare intervals, who attain to a full possession and use of their powers at an early period of life. When he went to Wittenberg he was but just twenty-one. With the precision which solid philological studies seldom fail to impart, with the nice instinct natural to the frame of his mind, he seized the theological element which was offered to his grasp."

A still more extensive sphere of influence was opened to Melanchthon, by the publication of a multitude of theological writings. Most of these were the lectures which he had delivered

to his pupils, or these at least lay at the foundation of them. Luther himself chose to bring out some of these lectures surreptitiously, rather than permit them to be confined to the narrow limits of the lecture-room. Hence, without the knowledge of the author, he published Melancthon's Exposition of the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, to which he had himself listened in the lecture-room. He thus characteristically addresses the author: "It is I who publish this commentary of yours, and I send yourself to you. If you are not satisfied with yourself, you do right; it is enough that you please us. Yours is the fault, if there be any. Why did you not publish them yourself? Why did you let me ask, command and urge you to publish to no purpose? This is my defence against you. For I am willing to rob you and to bear the name of a thief; I fear not your complaints or accusations."

Melancthon was the first to whom the Protestant church are indebted for what can be properly styled a Manual or System of religious doctrines. His labors in this department of theology were of the highest value. The origin of the volume to which we refer was, in a sense, entirely accidental. In his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, he had drawn up for the benefit of his hearers a summary of the most important topics handled by the apostle. This little abstract was printed by some of his pupils without his approbation or knowledge. As soon as he perceived its imperfections, he determined to publish it in an enlarged and more complete form. Thus originated his *Loci Communes*, first printed in Wittenberg in 1521.<sup>1</sup> Wherever in Germany, any desire had been awakened for the Reformation of the church, this volume received a warm welcome. Luther especially, was almost beside himself for joy. "The book deserves," he exclaimed, "not only immortality but to be admitted among the canonical books. Whoever would now become a theologian has great advantages, for in the first place, he has the Bible which is now so clear that he can understand it without difficulty. Then let him read Philip's *Loci Communes*, so that he will have the whole of it by heart. When he has these two things, he is a theologian whom neither the devil nor any heretic can pull down, and the whole of theology stands open before him, so that he

<sup>1</sup> The full title is, *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum, seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ. Auctore Phil. Melanch.* In 1821, Augusti published an edition of this work, at the completion of the third century from the publication of the 1st edition, with notes historical and literary.



can peruse for edification what he will. Then, if he pleases, he may read Philip's Commentary on Romans, and may subjoin my Commentaries on Galatians and Deuteronomy, and thus gain a copious stock of words. You can find none among all his books, where the sum of religion is exhibited in finer proportions than in the *Loci Communes*. Read all the fathers and sententiaries, you will find nothing to be compared with it. There is no better book, after the Bible, than this."

The first edition was immediately exhausted, and two more editions were demanded the same year. Up to 1526,—five years—the treatise had been printed *fifteen* times in Latin and *ten* in German, with but few important alterations. In the mean time, as Melanchthon was acquiring more learning and experience and a sounder judgment, some points appeared to him to need an entire, others a partial revision. In 1535, a new edition appeared under the title of *Loci Communes theologici*. This was in many respects a new work. It was dedicated to Henry VIII of England, in order to conciliate his favor towards the Lutherans. The king received it graciously and sent the author two hundred ducats.<sup>1</sup> The work in this form passed through, in seven years, *twelve* editions in Latin and *seven* in German. The translation into the vernacular language was made by Justus Jonas. The work was subjected in 1540 to another thorough emendation, especially in the definitions of ecclesiastical terms. In this third form, it was published, during the author's life, *twenty-four* times in Latin, and at the close of 1625, it had been published *thirty-three* times in Latin and *thirteen* in German.

Among the more important works of a theological character which Melanchthon published, were the following: on the Nicene Creed; Defence against Eck; Oration for Luther; Apology for Luther against the decision of the Paris theologians; answers to the impious Articles of the Bavarian Inquisition; also, various works against Flacius, Osiander, Stancar and others; the Augsburg Confession and its Defence, published in 1530, and a greatly improved edition of the same in 1540; Opinions of some of the Ancient Fathers relating to the Lord's Supper; a treatise respecting the authority of the Church and the Writings of the Ancients; and the Confession of the Doctrinal Belief of the Saxon Churches, published in 1551.

<sup>1</sup> This dedication caused Melanchthon some trouble. Luther was not wholly pleased with it. In 1540, Melanchthon wrote: "Let us stop praising the English Nero."

In tone and style, Melanchthon's later writings were not equal to his earlier. For example, his *Apologies for Luther*, published in 1521, are characterized by great elegance, spirit and freshness of diction, while some of his productions of a later date are too diffuse and scholastic. This prolixity was sometimes reprehended by Luther. It appears to have been occasioned, in part, by the anxieties and sorrows with which his advancing years were afflicted.

No one had a more thorough conviction of the importance of logical order in thinking and writing, than Melanchthon. In his view, the first requisite for a theologian was the ability to develop a subject methodically. Hardly anything did he more abhor than that confused and promiscuous collocation of topics which appeared in the productions of some of his contemporaries. In the attainment of a just method in writing on theological subjects, his studies in philosophy were of eminent service.

Perspicuity was another quality which he highly esteemed and earnestly sought. "It is in vain," he remarks, "to expend the utmost pains in science, if we never attain the power clearly to present the thoughts of the soul." This art he viewed as the more necessary in a theologian, from the fact that he can attain his object not so much by a sudden excitement of the passions as by repeated and thorough instruction. Hence, in his later writings, one can very rarely detect anything of an hyperbolic and extravagant nature. "I love," he says, "the exact expression, and I call out aloud in the school daily, that every one should take pains to select appropriate language. I wish that none would ever follow me when I make use of terms which are not pertinent; I am a very severe judge to myself, and I commend others who employ a vigorous censorship." By this appropriateness of style he meant a clear, natural and popular method of address, alike intelligible to the learned and unlearned. This perspicuity, which he so much valued, was greatly promoted, in his own case, by his disrelish for innovations or novelties in theological terms,—a feeling which the German of the present day is not too prone to cherish. Xenophon relates that when Hippias came to Athens to hear Socrates and had asked him what he taught in particular, the philosopher replied: "The same things concerning the same," and subjoined, "But thou, since thou art so extraordinarily intellectual, canst perhaps always utter something new." To this incident Melanchthon often referred, in order to warn his pupils against a prurient love of novel phraseology. "Many are the

Hippiases," he remarks, "who do not say the same things in the same manner. It is the plague and curse of the church, that men are eager for change in respect to the form of its peculiar doctrines."

*Melanchthon's Domestic and Social Character.*

Melanchthon was married, Nov. 26, 1520, to Catherine, daughter of Jerome Crapp, burgomaster at Wittenberg.<sup>1</sup> Although, in this step, he followed the advice of Luther and some other friends, rather than his own judgment, yet he found so many excellent qualities in his wife, and so much happiness in the relation, that shortly after his marriage he wrote to Günther, "that he had married a woman who was certainly worthy of a better man." They had four children, Anna, Philip, George and Magdalen. Camerarius mentions that Melanchthon had always regarded little children with almost excessive tenderness. This fact would lead us to infer that his own children must have been very dear to him. We may mention two or three incidents in illustration. One morning when Melanchthon was weeping, perhaps on account of the divisions and sad state of the church, his little Anna ran up to him, and with the most artless sympathy, wiped away his tears with her little apron. "This token of her sympathy," he afterwards wrote, "went to my heart." At another time while sitting in the nursery, with one hand rocking the cradle and the other holding a book, a learned Frenchman was introduced to him; the stranger showed not a little astonishment in finding a man so distinguished in such a place. One of his daughters, having stayed from home, on a certain occasion, longer than the prescribed time, her father asked her, on her return, in a half serious, half playful way, what she would say to her mother, who would severely reprove her. The little girl, with the most bewitching simplicity, answered, "nothing." The father was greatly delighted, and used frequently to refer to it as altogether in point when he was called to meet the abuses of his enemies. In a passage of his writings, where he is showing how deeply implanted is a parent's affection for his child, he refers to the example of Agesilaus, which might be very naturally applied to himself. "One day when Agesilaus, now old, was riding on a

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<sup>1</sup> He pointed out the day to his pupils by the lines:

A studiis hodie facit otia grata Philippus,  
Nec vobis Paulli dogmata legat.

wooden horse with his son Archidamus, showing him how to perform the feat, a prince suddenly interrupted them. 'Tell no one of this, I entreat you,' said Agesilaus to the stranger, 'until you have sons of your own.'"

But the domestic happiness which Melanchthon enjoyed, was interrupted by various cares and sorrows. His son George, who was born at Jena in 1527, (the plague having compelled the family to remove from Wittenberg,) and who had become to his father an object of the utmost affection, was torn from his embrace by death when two years old. "Nothing in life," he writes, "was ever dearer to me than this child. He was endowed with extraordinary gifts. What a blow his death has inflicted upon me, words cannot describe. No sorrow, except a sense of the wrath of God, can equal that of parents in the sufferings or loss of their children. This sorrow will last as long as the mind is sane." But he was called to suffer more protracted grief by the events which followed the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anna, with George Sabinus. "For her," says Camerarius, "he had an extraordinary affection. To high intellectual endowments, she added the charms of piety and of a winning gentleness.<sup>1</sup> Sabinus seems to have been a vain, self-conceited and ambitious man, though by no means wanting in talent. He was a native of Brandenburg, and came in 1523, at the age of fifteen years, to Wittenberg. On account of his intellectual promise, especially in poetry, Melanchthon received him into his own house as a pupil. Afterwards he studied law and then applied himself with great zeal to the classics, till he was appointed professor of *belles lettres*, at Frankfurt on the Oder, by the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. Two years before, Melanchthon had consented to give him his daughter Anna in marriage. But his office did not meet his ambitious aims; he aspired after something more imposing. When the duke of Prussia determined to found, in 1543, a university at Königsberg, Sabinus resolved to use all the means at his command to obtain one of the professorships. His wife, unassuming, gentle and educated at a quiet home, found her connection unhappy. In 1544, her father wrote to Camerarius as follows: "Sabinus will quit the institution at Frankfurt, because he sees how difficult it will be to satisfy the expectations of so many learned judges. He is in search of some place where he can

<sup>1</sup> Camerarius expresses that peculiar love which a parent has for his first-born very felicitously: "*accedente etiam fortasse aliqua occultiore naturae conciliatione.*"

rule and whence he can reach a court life. This, you must know, is his whole aim. Perhaps it will come to this, that he will remove my daughter still further from my eyes, but I seek to content myself. Recently she complained in a letter to her mother of the faults of her husband, by which she has likewise suffered in reputation. She subjoins, that we must be silent in regard to the matter, and since she has already suffered so much, she wishes to have patience in future." Sabinus at length attained his object, and was appointed first rector of the university at Königsberg. Before he went there, his wife and children made a long visit at her father's house in Wittenberg. Melanchthon's love to her and solicitude in respect to her future circumstances appear vividly in his letters. "The journey of my daughter," he writes to Camerarius, "causes me unceasing pain and sorrow. I pray God that he will look upon our tears. Still you may see how good my daughter always is at home; she is quiet, modest, sober, not quarrelsome, and of an acute understanding." The news of her death must have reached him in March, 1547, and the thought that he could not be with her in her last hours and listen to her dying requests, opened all the fountains of sorrow within him. "I send you," he wrote to Eber of Wittenberg from Zerbst, "an account of the death of my daughter, which, whenever I read it, or only think of it, so excites my paternal feelings, that I fear I shall lose my health. The face of my weeping daughter, I cannot remove from my sight, as she was asked what she wished to have said to her parents; various feelings come over me and fill me with pain." After the death of his daughter, Melanchthon's affections were concentrated upon the four little children whom she had left. With characteristic kindness he thus addressed Sabinus: "It is my wish that we may continue to live on friendly terms; I will remain faithful. Your children at least I will regard as my own, and they are in truth also mine. I love them not less than I loved their mother. What ardent affection I had for her, many know; this is not quenched by her death; it is rather cherished by my grief and earnest longing for her. Since I know how she loved her children, her affections, I think, must be transferred to me." Sabinus complied with this request and committed his four children, three daughters and one son, to the care of their grand-parents. These became the joy and comfort of Melanchthon's declining years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He calls them *filie nostras dulcissimae*. The youngest he sometimes named, on account of her wit, *frax doctorinae*. Sabinus married, in 1548, a

Melancthon's second daughter, Magdalen, was married in June, 1550, to Caspar Pencer, doctor of medicine,<sup>1</sup> a learned and excellent man. After the death of his father-in-law, he occupied the first place among the Professors of the university at Wittenberg, and became physician in ordinary to the Elector of Saxony. Subsequently, he suffered severe persecution; being suspected by the eager partizans of Lutheranism of entertaining the views of those who were termed Crypto-Calvinists. At a period when the best Protestants understood so little the great principles of religious freedom, he was thrown into prison, where he lay twelve years, and during which his wife died. He was married, after his release, to a widow, and passed the rest of his days at Zerbst. But "the iron had entered so deeply into his soul," that he was often seen to weep during the hours of public worship.

Melancthon's second son, Philip, resembled his father in goodness of heart, but was inferior in intellectual endowments. He was a lawyer, and at the time of his death, was *protonotary* of the University of Wittenberg. He died at eighty years of age, childless. Melancthon's wife died while he was absent at Worms, two years before his own death. He was not able to see her in her illness, nor to be present at her funeral. She had been very infirm for a long time and had earnest desires to depart and be with Christ. Her mind, in her last days, was clear and tranquil, and she was cheered by her union with her Redeemer and with the hope of eternal felicity. Camerarius thus sums up her character: "She was a very pious woman, entirely devoted to her husband. A very careful and industrious housewife, kind towards all. In bestowing gifts upon the poor, she not only made use of her own means, but earnestly solicited aid from her friends. She was a woman of the greatest disinterestedness, and in her uniform anxiety to copy the good works of the "holy women" of old, practised an extraordinary economy."<sup>2</sup>

Melancthon's gentleness is exhibited in his method of educating

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second wife, daughter of a senator at Königsberg. Melancthon was delighted in hearing that her features resembled those of his deceased daughter, inferring, as he was disposed to do, that she might also have the same loveliness of character.

<sup>1</sup> "Te oro," says Melancthon writing to Camerarius, "etiam adolescentis Peuceri causa, qui te tanquam patrem veneratur, ut ad ritum publicum et communem precationem usitatum in nuptiis venias."

<sup>2</sup> Her husband mentions that she did not buy a single new garment from her marriage in 1520 till 1524. In this respect, she conformed entirely to the judgment and example of Melancthon.

ing his children. Love, kindness and patience were substituted for sharp discipline. "Mercy," he said in reference to this subject, "rejoiceth against judgment," and "blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy." Mild principles and methods of proceeding, he used to maintain, are more effectual than the severity which was then so common. His views and practice, as might be expected, did not precisely accord with those of Luther. Yet the latter was by no means wanting in a playful and affectionate tenderness towards his children, as his letters abundantly show. "I recollect," says Melanchthon, "that when Martin, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Amsdorf and I were sitting together, and talking at large on the love of parents towards their children, Amsdorf exclaimed: 'I know, I know what it is.' Martin, interrupting him, said: 'you know nothing about it.' Amsdorf had never been married."<sup>1</sup>

In his connections with his numerous friends, Melanchthon exhibited the same unvarying benignity. "There is nothing in life sweeter and more grateful," he remarks, "than the reciprocal kindnesses of friends. Seneca beautifully expresses it, when he says: 'I would not desire wisdom if I must possess it alone.'" Spalatin, Jonas, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, Dietrich, Brenz, Myconius and Baumgärtner were among the friends whom he most cordially loved and honored. But there was one who was dear above all and formed, as it were, the other pole of his life. This was Joachim Camerarius, Professor at Leipsic, and afterwards Melanchthon's biographer. For a period of forty years, not the slightest shade obscured the brightness of their friendship. As often as his circumstances permitted, Melanchthon left what he called his "work house," and rode to Leipsic to enjoy the society of him whom he denominated his other self, *dimidium animae meae*. In 1542, when he heard of the breaking out of the plague at Leipsic, he wrote: "I entreat you to come hither with your wife and family. They can live with us quite conveniently. The large chamber and bed-room stand empty. My wife and daughters wish for intercourse with your family. The expense will not be great." Subsequently, a daughter of Camerarius was

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<sup>1</sup> In 1543, Melanchthon wrote to Aemilius, who was mourning the loss of a child, "I have felt what these wounds are, I recollect that Luther last year, when his daughter Magdalen died, remarked that he could not have believed that the sorrows of parents in the loss of children were so sharp as he had found them to be."

married and went to reside at Wittenberg.<sup>1</sup> Thenceforth the two families lived on terms of almost daily intercourse.

Melanchthon put up with the weaknesses and faults of his friends in a spirit of extraordinary patience and considerateness. When reviled, he reviled not again. His early colleague, John Agricola, treated him for a long time, with great asperity. Yet after all, Melanchthon could write to him thus: "I affirm in truth that I have ever loved you, and that I wish that our mutual good will may continue uninterrupted; at least in eternity it will be pleasanter, if our friendship, begun here, should exist unbroken." Minor differences in religious opinions were of little account with him, provided the essential articles of faith were believed. In 1546, writing to Musculus, he says, "I think that all connected in this university, and of one mind on the main doctrines, ought to be mutual friends, though in the explanation of less important points, one may express himself more, another less correctly." In his correspondence which was most extensive, reaching to every part of Europe, Melanchthon made it a special object to show a disinterested spirit, and to use conciliatory language, so that all Protestants might be heartily united, and present an unbroken front against the assaults of their wily adversary.

#### *Modesty and Gentleness of Melanchthon.*

With all his learning and high reputation, Melanchthon was distinguished for humility and the most unassuming manners. In 1527, he wrote: "My desire is to be useful to youth who are pious and zealous in study; when I was yet young, I had no other aim. At least while employed in sacred studies, I never had it for an object to awaken admiration on account of my abilities; this only appeared important to me, that I should perform what becomes a reasonable man, namely, to gain a more exact acquaintance with divine truth." When looking back on his life, near its close, he could affirm, "I have labored in my office, so far as God has given me ability, to promote the philosophical education of youth, and I have not sought in this instruction, a splendid name." In one of his lectures, he remarks: "A doctor is one who is indirectly called of God, whose vocation it is to teach, not to administer the sacraments, who has not the power

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<sup>1</sup> This lady died in 1558. Her last words "God will not forsake me," Melanchthon could never forget. On his own dying bed he spoke often and dreamed of her.



of governing as a pastor has, but who is under the pastor, *as I am*." When excessive compliments or honors were tendered him, as was sometimes the case, he could hardly restrain feelings of indignation. "I have no pleasure," he writes to one, "in that extravagant praise which you shower upon me with both hands. I must be very arrogant to take it to myself."

Nearly allied to the quality to which we have alluded, was gentleness, or mildness. Sudden bursts of anger were not indeed altogether foreign to him, but the feeling quickly disappeared like some light cloud, that for a moment obscures the face of the sky. Love of peace was innate; envy, hatred and contention were his abhorrence. "Patient silence" was his motto; simple exhibition of the truth, without passion, was his practice. "I will make no answer to reproaches," he writes, "but I will follow the words of the Psalmist, 'they cursed, but I entreated.' Many grievous disorders, says Celsus, are cured by abstinence and quiet. Beautiful is the observation of Cyprian: 'He is not unhappy who hears insulting language, but he who utters it.' No music is sweeter than patiently to bear reproaches. Nobly says Euripides, 'that when two men are contending and one becomes angry, wisdom dwells with him who remains silent.'" Still, Melancthon on some occasions, made use of delicate raillery, and of language which implied the strongest disapprobation of the views of his opponents.

It would not be strange, if the habitual mildness of the great Reformer sometimes degenerated into weakness, which might tempt him to compromise the truth, or shrink from declaring it when it was unpopular. Much has been written by the zealous Lutherans in condemnation of his timidity, and of his disposition to falter in his path, if not to return to communion with Rome.<sup>1</sup> There was doubtless some ground for these charges. The impression of his weakness, in this particular, which is so prevalent, must have had some foundation in truth, yet there were not wanting great occasions when the lamb became a lion, and exhibited a courage worthy of Luther. It was in the conferences at Augsburg, says Mosheim, that the character of Melancthon appeared in its true colors. Here the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the Protestant cause. Under the influence of mild and generous

<sup>1</sup> Mayer published a dissertation in 1695, entitled *De nimia lenitate Melancthonis*, and Schumacher one in 1700, *De Timore Phil. Melanch.*

treatment, he was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness, but when he was addressed in imperious language and menacing terms, he was firm as a rock. A spirit of intrepidity animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt upon the threats of power and the fear of death. The truth is that in this great man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity and to the most invincible attachment to the truth. After the Protestant Confession had been presented to the Council, the cardinal Campegius inquired of Melanchthon, if he still persisted in his opinion. He replied that neither he nor his associates could abandon the known truth, and he besought him not to denounce their sentiments, but to allow them to avow what they could never deny with a good conscience. Campegius answered, "I cannot allow it, for the successor of Peter is infallible." "Well then," rejoined Melanchthon, "we commend ourselves and our concerns to God. If *He* be for us, who can be against us? We shall await with patience whatever may happen to us. In our provinces, there are above forty thousand persons, including poor ministers, their families and parishioners, whose spiritual interest we cannot abandon, but will do whatever we are able for them, praying for the help of Jesus Christ whose cause we embrace; and in our calling we are prepared to labor with patience and endure all difficulties. If it be necessary, we would, if such be the will of God, rather fight and die than betray so many souls." In the Conference at Worms, in 1540, he exhibited the most determined courage. "While the Spanish and French soldiers stood before the door," he said, "I would not assent to the ambiguous articles." "With clear and noble words," says Dr. Goldstein, "Melanchthon expounded many dark passages, and with that earnest and uncommonly sweet voice of his, made, I know not how, a deep impression on the feelings." In the following year, at Regensburg, the emperor found fault with his great pertinacity and vehemence. The following proof of his personal courage is mentioned. In the evening of June 3, 1555, a band of students appeared with tumultuous noises before his house. He armed himself with a huntsman's spear, and in company with his servant, went down to them in the street, and in a determined manner, ordered silence. All obeyed, except a Polish Knight, who rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Melanchthon, nothing daunted, vigorously and successfully defended himself.

*Melanchthon's Piety.*

Piety was at the basis of Melanchthon's character. The fear of God was the animating motive, without which his great intellectual endowments would have lost their worth. "We live," he writes, "because God blows upon us wonderfully with his breath; not through any power of nature. This I myself experience." "The same feelings with which we enter the house of God, ought to accompany us to the school, so that we may here learn and be able to communicate divine things. Over the entrance to many old churches, stands the inscription, hewn in stone, 'My house is a house of prayer.' This should also be inscribed upon the school-house, since schools are a part of public religious service, and therein we teach and learn the truth; and prayer should be connected therewith." Melanchthon had the greatest delight in the public worship of God, especially in the singing of hymns: In his own house, his piety shone forth in a very attractive manner. Indeed he found little there to try his feelings. His wife; children, grandchildren and his aged servant, John, were among those who feared the Lord and rejoiced to do his will.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he awoke in the morning, he offered a short prayer, after a prescribed form. He then read that passage in the Scriptures which was designated in the formularies of the church. He was much, though not superstitiously attached to the Lord's Prayer, and other prescribed portions of the church symbols. Among his favorite texts of Scripture, were John, 10: 27—29, "My sheep hear my voice," etc.; John 14: 23, "If a man love me," etc.; John 17: 20, 21, "Neither pray I for these alone," etc.; and, as might be anticipated, 1 John 4: 16, "God is love, and whosoever dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God and God in him." But it is unnecessary to refer to other facts and incidents which illustrate Melanchthon's religious character. The spirit with which he was actuated and the whole tenor of his life, attest the depth of his religious convictions. The dispositions which he exhibited in controversy and in the presence of princes and emperors, were a surer indication of true piety, than any fervor of zeal or boldness

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<sup>1</sup> Melanchthon, writing to Dietrich, says: "Your sermons respecting the sufferings of the Son of God, I have not yet read, but I will read them diligently. My servant, who is eager to peruse such writings, greatly approves them."

of confession. Foes as well as friends, bear witness to his attractive and almost faultless example.

*Religious Belief of Melancthon.*

There were some events in the history, and several traits in the character of this Reformer, which would lead us to predict with some assurance the characteristics of his theological belief. One of these facts was the elegant classical training which he had received. He, whose mind was imbued with the spirit of Homer and Cicero, would view almost every topic of revelation in a different light from that of many of his contemporaries. The intimate friend of Reuchlin and Erasmus could not be confined in scholastic trammels. The liberalizing influences of an acquaintance with Greek literature especially, must have diffused themselves over his theological speculations. Again, fairness was a characteristic of Melancthon's mind. Though familiar with the dialectics of the schools, he had no inclination to entangle an opponent with sophisms, or to gain a cause by any other method than that of open and honest argument. In this respect he excelled all the Reformers. Truth, not victory, was so manifestly his object, that he conciliated the esteem and love of not a few who would have been otherwise hostile to the Reformation. His countenance and entire aspect were an index of candor and freedom from prejudice. His uncommon amiableness of disposition would naturally keep him aloof from those who would be esteemed the most rigidly orthodox. He was not formed by nature to tread precisely in the steps of the bishop of Hippo, nor give an unconditional adhesion to the lawgivers at Wittenberg or Geneva. His ardent love of truth would preserve him from being a time-server; his loving heart would not coalesce with any bigoted religionist.

From these considerations we should expect that Melancthon would believe both declarations of Holy Writ, "thy word is a lamp to my feet," and "the heavens declare the glory of God." Not only the fanatical sect of Anabaptists, but many high Lutherans, rejected every evidence for the divine attributes from those sciences which do not stand in immediate connection with theology. They contended that the reason of man is altogether blinded by the fall, and that man before his conversion, which is effected by mere mercy, can know nothing of God. But antiquity,

with its noble characters, with its fine conceptions on morals and law, and with its aspirations after religious truth, spoke too loudly and clearly to allow Melanchthon to shut his ears. He believed that there were sparks of that divine light, though feeble and weak, which originally belonged to man in full measure. "Philosophers like Plato, Xenophon and other learned and well principled men," he says, "what did they think of God? Did they mark at all his existence? Certainly, they believed that there is a God. How did they come to this belief? By considering the human soul itself, and then the structure of the universe. You know that in philosophy there are convincing proofs, that the world did not originate by accident, but that it proceeded from one, eternal, creative mind."

At the same time, in upholding the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, as undiscoverable by human reason and as indispensable to the salvation of the soul, no one was more decided than Melanchthon. His teachings give no countenance to modern rationalism. He held fast to the great doctrine of the Protestants, that the Bible is the only authentic rule of faith and practice. Christ, as the truth itself, could not err. His apostles also spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

In the early periods of his theological life, Melanchthon was altogether disinclined to indulge in speculations on the mysteries of Christianity. The extent to which the scholastics had carried their hypotheses, utterly useless as most of these were, deterred him from giving any countenance to their example. At a later day, his opinion was somewhat changed, when the danger of the reëstablishment of the scholastic philosophy was much diminished. He thought that by the temperate use of analogies from the material world, light might be thrown upon the doctrines of Christianity. In this respect, he copied the ancient fathers, particularly Augustine, whose writings he highly valued.

The truths which centre around the cross of Christ, were the object of Melanchthon's profoundest admiration and most ardent love. "All creatures," he remarks, "throughout eternity, will contemplate with the highest wonder, this union of justice and mercy. The reason is astonished at it and sinks to the ground. The theme is so great that were the universe, all angels and all men but one intellect, they could not comprehend its magnitude." But it is unnecessary to go at large into a subject, which is handled at length in the general histories of the Reformation,

and especially, since he has left such clear statements of his opinions in his *Loci Communes* and other writings.

It may be well, however, to advert to two or three topics, on which Melancthon's views underwent, in the course of his public life, considerable change. These topics were Grace, Free-will, Predestination and the Presence of Christ in the Supper. The causes of this change appear to have been the influence of his constitutional temperament, more exact study, an increasing acquaintance with the Scriptures and the church fathers, the effects of Luther's disputes with Erasmus and of his own controversies with the catholic divines. His matured and final opinions may be gathered from the following statements. The doctrine of the fatalists, he contended, cannot be true, because it makes God the author of sin, e. g., of the crimes of a Paris, a Nero and of like men, and because it would render prayer wholly useless. The nature of the freedom of which man is now in possession, he sought to illustrate in the following manner. There are two species or modes of power or authority in man, which he names a *despotic* and a *political*. The first accomplishes what it wills, unconditionally; the other, indirectly and conditionally. God has impressed both forms on the nature of man. The despotic has respect to the control of the external members; the political, to restraining the inclinations of the heart. The last is almost wholly destroyed by Adam's fall. The heart has become blinded and obstinate, continually inclined to sin, so that there are only transient and feeble resolutions elicited for that which is good. But the despotic, though weakened by the destruction of the political, still essentially exists. The bodily members *must* move, or remain at rest, according to the will of the individual. One has the power to partake of, or refuse, the cup handed to him. A thief is under no necessity of stealing. In answer to the question, whether man is entirely passive in conversion, he says, if it were so, the change would be effected by force; there would be nothing said of effort or striving on our part, and conversion would be accomplished as water is poured into a vessel. Such imaginations are to be set aside; indeed experience itself refutes them, because conversion is not attained without a great struggle, and this attests that man is not simply passive. The Holy Spirit does not act in man as in a stock that does nothing, but he so draws and turns man, that he, i. e. the Holy Spirit wills that there should be some action of the will in adults and intelligent persons, which shall accompany his own agency. Pharaoh and Saul

opposed God, not by compulsion, but voluntarily. David freely confessed his crime and turned unto the Lord. Facts correspond with the old saying, *præcedente gratia, comitante voluntate*. Chrysostom says: "God draws, but he draws the willing." In respect to predestination, Melancthon affirms, God has from eternity determined, of his mercy, to make those happy who believe his word. Our happiness is not grounded on our works or on our holiness, but on the immovable foundation of the Divine mercy. For every man this must be an inexhaustible source of consolation and joy. Thus it is clear, that the ground of predestination does not differ from that of justification. In the later editions of his *Loci Communes*, Melancthon lays down the three following propositions: 1. Election is not to be judged of from reason, or the law, but from the gospel. 2. The whole number of the saved are elected on account of Christ. Wherefore, unless we include a recognition of Christ, we can affirm nothing of election. 3. We are not to seek one cause of justification and another of election. In respect to the presence of Christ in the Supper, Melancthon writes as follows: "The bread, which we break, is that external, visible thing by which we are made partakers and members of the body of Christ; in the same manner as it is said, the gospel is the power of God, i. e. it is that thing or instrument by which God works. The words, the cup is the New Testament in my blood, are used metonymically, and one is reminded of the expression *fascēs sunt imperium Romanum*. Christ is present in his own Sacrament, not because a priest there effects a change, or because there is power in the words to transform the thing, but because he most freely wills to be present at a rite which he has instituted, just as the Holy Spirit is most freely present in baptism." Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, adduces the following reasons for the rejection of Luther's view of the Sacrament, in which reasons Melancthon undoubtedly coincided: 1. It subverts the plain teaching of the Bible respecting the nature, particularly the human nature of Christ. 2. It strengthens, in fact, however it may be disguised in words, the whole foundation on which the superstition and follies of the Romish mass rest. 3. It increases among the common people the erroneous and pernicious opinion that this Sacrament, by itself, is a means of grace, whether the partaker truly repents and believes or not.

*Estimation in which Melancthon was held.*

We may here advert to two or three incidents, which indicate the exalted reputation which this unassuming scholar and Reformer enjoyed. In 1535, he received an earnest invitation from Francis I king of France, to repair to his court for the purpose of consultation on existing disputes in religion. The elector of Saxony could not, however, be prevailed upon to permit Melancthon to accept the invitation, though he earnestly desired to do so. About the same time, Dr. Robert Barnes was sent by Henry VIII of England, with letters of invitation to Melancthon, to visit England. Henry offered him ample security from all molestation and even hostages if he required it. This invitation was subsequently renewed. Luther, in this case, was averse to it. At a later period, Melancthon was occupied with the care of the churches and academical establishments in Misnia. He also took an active part in managing the affairs of the university of Leipsic. He was, likewise, consulted in relation to measures for the improvement of the university of Tübingen. Urgent invitations were at various times tendered to him to become a professor at Tübingen, Ingolstadt and other seats of learning.

*Melancthon as a Biblical Expositor.*

"Every good theologian," says Melancthon, "and true interpreter of the celestial doctrine, must of necessity, be first a grammarian, then a logician, and finally a witness." Acquaintance with the Biblical languages was of indispensable importance to the Reformers. In no other way could they thoroughly expose the unfounded pretensions of the papacy. Hence this species of knowledge was regarded by the Romanists with special aversion. "In the Netherlands," says Melancthon, "the Italians affirm that if a man be a good grammarian, he will necessarily be a heretic." Melancthon was consequently led to devote himself, with great energy, to the study of the biblical languages. "It is very little," he remarks, "which I know of languages, yet this little I esteem so highly, that I would not part with it for a kingdom. A very great benefit is this gift of tongues, inasmuch as thereby one can repair to the sources; otherwise, how can he attain to any certainty." "Alas for those who come to the study of the Bible without the aid of other branches of knowledge.



They seem to me like birds that would fly without wings." "As no one, destitute of light, can discern the difference of colors, so without an acquaintance with style, the whole Bible will remain unknown." Unlike many of his contemporaries, Melancthon clearly perceived the value of Hebrew for the interpretation of the New Testament. "Though the works of the apostles," he writes, "are written in Greek, yet the Greek idiom is mingled with many Hebrew phrases and figures. In order to come to a full knowledge of the New Testament, the study of Hebrew must be pursued in the Church." With the same general object in view, the Reformer edited an edition of the Septuagint, which was published in Basil in 1545; rightly perceiving that a knowledge of this translation, which our Lord and his apostles so often refer to, would be of essential aid to a correct understanding of the Gospels and Epistles. At the same time, archaeology and particularly biblical geography, were not neglected. "I often remind you," says this zealous teacher to his scholars, "that you must look out these places on the map of Palestine, not only to obtain light on the text, but to excite your feelings, for things which are *seen* make a deeper impression." Melancthon, also, in opposition to the practice of the scholastics, was fully aware of the importance of ascertaining the meaning of the Bible by a simple interpretation of the text and by a diligent collation of the context.<sup>1</sup>

A second qualification of the exegete, in the Reformer's opinion, was a knowledge of the principles of rhetoric and logic. By a continued study of the Scriptures, he was convinced, that he could not come to a correct acquaintance with many passages, especially in the writings of Paul, without understanding the course of thought and the logical connection. "It is my opinion," he remarks, "that the words of Paul can be best understood, when we have respect to the course and ordering of the thoughts. It is self-evident, that Paul did not write without connection and a sequence of thoughts. He has passages in which he prepares the feelings of the reader for what is to follow. He has his own peculiar art in teaching and narrating, and if one will not pay regard to this in his expositions, what else will he do but that which Chrysostom says, 'fight in the dark,' (*συνεμαρτυρεῖν*)!"

In the third place a biblical interpreter must be a witness. By

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<sup>1</sup> It was then common to try to find four senses in every passage of the Bible, the literal, tropical, allegorical and anagogical.

this the Reformer intended that piety was indispensably necessary to an interpreter of the Bible. He only can properly expound the words given by divine inspiration, to whose heart the Holy Spirit has imparted a witness of their truth. This is now technically termed the theological element. "Spiritual things," he somewhere remarks, "cannot be apprehended when our hearts are not awakened and taught by the Holy Spirit."

It may here be remarked, that Melancthon, like Calvin, has but few references in his writings to preceding commentators. He prefers generally to give his own views of a passage, unencumbered with learned quotations and references. He was not at all inclined to copy, like many of his servile contemporaries, the Christian fathers. "Jerome," he writes, "was a learned man and had in Palestine teachers well-skilled in Hebrew. You ought highly to esteem him, and not, as some asses do, despise everything which has come down from others. That he translated the Bible is a matter of great importance, and for it he cannot be enough thanked. But did he not often err? What man does not mistake? What folly to imagine that a man can be without error! We sometimes mistake, when we are employed in interpreting our own language. We ought to derive advantage from the errors of great men, for human reason cannot discern everything. *Interdum quoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*"

It should be mentioned, that our Reformer, notwithstanding all his excellences as an interpreter, was too much disposed to resort to the allegorical methods of interpretation which were then so much in vogue. He ever felt great interest in small enigmas, ambiguities of speech, playful turns in a sentence, etc. Rhyming even in matters altogether prosaic, was a favorite amusement. At the last Christmas festival of his life, he made, for the use of his hearers, a little poetic paraphrase of 1 Chron. 18: 17. This trait or tendency in Melancthon's mind was a principal cause of his finding allegories and a double sense in certain passages of the Bible, and especially in the ritual ceremonies of the Old Testament. It should be added, that he did not in general apply this method to the weightier matters of doctrine.

The high opinion which Luther entertained of Melancthon's commentaries has already been referred to. Brenz, writing in 1527, says: "The learned commentaries of Philip Melancthon on the Gospel of John are found in the hands of all." Afterwards, when the Reformer deviated from some points in the Lutheran creed, his commentaries were less esteemed, till finally they seem

to have sunk into general neglect. Since the middle of the last century, attention has been again directed to them. Such men as Mosheim, Ernesti and Semler warmly commended them. They are now established in the general favor, though they are somewhat overshadowed by the greater popularity of the writings of Luther and Calvin.

*Melanchthon as a Church Historian.*

Melanchthon had a signal advantage in the study of history in his extraordinary memory. He often refers, in his letters, with enthusiasm to the great events of antiquity. While he was at Tübingen, the work of Naucler, which then enjoyed a high reputation, was printed by Thomas Anselm. The editing of this book, as well as the correction of the press, was entrusted to Melanchthon. Later he edited a portion of the general history of the same author, and also partly prepared for the press an edition of Cario's Chronicon, which, for a long time, had great currency in the schools. But to the history of the church of Christ, Melanchthon directed his attention with special interest. "It is necessary," he writes, "to be acquainted with church history. As a Roman citizen ought to know the history of the Roman State, and every man the history of the things relating to his profession, be he a physician or a warrior, so must the Christian understand the history of the church." "When I was a boy I read much in a book which was written in Greek, and which treated of the history of the apostles and of other saints. Reuchlin had it in his library. I have seen nothing better. It was a MS. whose antiquity was undoubted. The reading of Greek caused me, when I was a boy, no difficulty, and I found joy in it, if I could only learn something of church history."

In 1522, he wrote to Spalatin: "We have from the same library (that at Worms) from which Theophylact was sent to us, some volumes of Chrysostom, as well as a large part of Basil, and not a little of Gregory Nazianzen." He was soon induced to make more extended researches into the field of church and doctrinal history, by the theological controversies which sprung up. The Sacramentarian dispute compelled him to institute a more exact inquiry into the teachings of the Christian fathers on this subject. The fruits of these investigations appeared in 1530, in his *Sententiae Veterum aliquot Patrum de Coena Domini*. In his *Postils* there are numerous indications of his intimate

and extensive acquaintance with the Christian fathers. For example, there are notices of the Manichaeans, Donatists and Pelagians, of the distinctions between bishops, priests, deacons and acolytes, of the destruction of Jerusalem, etc. His acquaintance with the early church is further proved by his book, published in 1539, *De Ecclesiae Auctoritate et de Veterum Scriptis*. By this valuable publication, he took his position as the forerunner and leader of all the Protestant church-historians. The first part is entirely doctrinal, in which the author treats of the relation of the doctrines of the fathers to those of the Bible. He then takes up at length the four oecumenical councils, Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. In this discussion, he decides against the orthodoxy of Nestorius and Eutychus, contending that they had embraced the fundamental errors which had been before condemned in Paul of Samosata. He then considers the doings and decrees of eight of the more important provincial Synods. The church fathers, whose doctrines he examines, are Origen, Dionysius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin and Gregory the Great. The doctrines, which he particularly examines are the trinity, justification by faith and the Lord's supper. The millennial notions of Tertullian he denounces as Jewish figments. Melancthon introduces but few critical remarks on the genuineness of the writings which pass under review.

#### *The Relations of Melancthon to Luther.*

The mutual connection of these distinguished Reformers is a matter of no little interest. The warmth of their early love for each other was in later times, as is well known, considerably diminished. Though no open rupture ever took place, yet it is sad to know that the bright chain of friendship which once connected the "dear Martin" to the "dear Philip" lost any of its lustre. But so it was. And it may not be uninteresting to trace the subject a little in detail. This will prove that the timidity of Melancthon, was not the sole cause of the altered relations of the two friends.

We have already referred to the affectionate reception with which the young Tübingen scholar was welcomed in 1518 by Luther at Wittenberg. The warmth of their reciprocal love and esteem did not abate for several years. It may be well to quote a few of the ardent expressions found in their correspondence. In

1518, Luther playfully wrote, "To Philip Melanchthon, Schwarzerd, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, but never a barbarian." "Our Philip Melanchthon," he writes to Reuchlin, "is a wonderful man, yea hardly anything can be found in him which is not more than human; still he confides in me and befriends me in the highest degree." In this correspondence, it is interesting to observe how the fiery and robust spirit of Luther had made the deepest impression on his gentle and loving friend. So great was Melanchthon's zeal for theology, so glowing his hatred of the corruptions of popery, and so keen was the language with which he publicly defended Luther, that the enemies of the Reformation began to think that they had two Ajaxes to deal with instead of one. Melanchthon thus appeals to Hess of Breslau: "Where is now that Christian courage? Where is thine early heroism of soul, that thou now remainest silent, though thou knowest that piety and truth are on the side of Luther!" So vigorous were the blows that Melanchthon dealt out in defence of his friend, and against Eck, the Paris theologians and others, that the great Reformer began to think that he was destined to play but a secondary part. In Oct. 1519, Luther wrote to Spalatin: "You have seen, or may see, the positions taken by Philip (against Eck), a little audacious but most true. He so replied as to appear a wonder to us all. If Christ pleases, he will go beyond many Martins, a most strenuous foe to the devil and scholastic theology; he knows at the same time their vain devices and the rock, Christ; thus he will be mighty." "Perhaps," addressing Lange, "I am the forerunner of Philip, for whom like Elias, I shall prepare the way in spirit and power, for the destruction of Israel and Ahab's servants." Melanchthon's love to Luther was in the mean time, growing more and more fervent. "More wonderful is Martin," he writes in 1520, "than I can portray in words. I know how much Alcibiades admired his Socrates; I admire this man in a sense altogether different, as a Christian; the oftener I look upon him, the greater he appears to me." To Reuchlin's inquiry, whether he were inclined to leave Wittenberg for Ingolstadt, he gave a decided negative. In 1520, he wrote to Hess: "I would rather die than be separated from Luther." When Luther was in the castle at Wartburg, he wrote to Spalatin: "The academical affairs, as you have learned from others, are in good hands. We only miss our father, doctor Martin. O happy day when I shall once more embrace him!" And again at the news of Luther's illness: "The light

of Israel is kindled by him; were it quenched, what other hopes should we have? Therefore spare no pains to find out the best remedies for him, not only on his account, but for our sakes, yea rather only for our sakes. For I know how greatly he longs to depart and be with Christ. I have asked counsel of the physicians here; what they have answered, you will learn from the messenger. O that I could with this my poor life redeem his life, than which nothing on earth is more divine!" "Our Elias," was a common appellation which Melanchthon gave to Luther. The latter, on the other hand, called his learned friend, "*Unicus θεολόγου διδασκαλίας vindex.*"

Under Luther's predominating influence, Melanchthon had devoted himself to theology, he hardly knew how. While in Tübingen, the thought of editing Aristotle had thrown a peculiar charm over the future. Years passed away, and with them there had been a decided alteration in his views. He did not, indeed, reject all which was then classed with philosophy; he continued to cherish the studies of medicine and the natural sciences. But he condemned in the most decided terms the physics, metaphysics and ethics of the ancients. To study these was in his opinion, not only a waste of one's talents, but positively pernicious to the religious feelings. At the same time, Melanchthon's love for classical literature was considerably abated. He now read, studied and commented almost exclusively on theological subjects, so that Luther began to regard him as his own guide and model.

But early in 1522, Melanchthon's love for theological inquiries was suddenly diminished. His letters for several years betray an increasing desire to resume his old pursuits. One cause of this change in his views, appears to have been the fanaticism which was springing up in various quarters. The doctrines of these enthusiasts had such a savor of godliness, that for a while Melanchthon himself hesitated to condemn them. But when they began to appear in their native deformity and to overrun Wittenberg, the difficulties of the young Reformer's position as a theologian began greatly to oppress his feelings. Multitudes made the doctrines of grace the cloak for the commission both of secret, and of open and revolting crimes. Luther was of course utterly opposed to these wild movements, yet it appeared to Melanchthon and others, that certain hyperbolical expressions of the Reformer gave some occasion for the prevailing disorders, or furnished fuel to the wide spreading flames. These sad events were the occasion of great sorrow and perplexity to Melanch-

thon's tender heart. He saw, with inexpressible pain, that many professed Lutherans, even preachers of the gospel, were beginning to regard ignorance of human learning as a virtue, and to despise their enlightened leaders in proportion to the amount of their learning. "I see," says the Reformer in 1522, "that elegant literature, which is no less neglected now than it was in the age of sophistry, needs many and patient teachers." Again in 1524, "The most foolish opinion which prevails in our days is, that piety consists in nothing else than a contempt for elegant learning and of all the wisdom of the ancients." In his edition of one of the works of Cicero, he indignantly exclaims, "O brazen souls that, so often invited by the weightiest voices of the good to the study of letters, are so stupid that they seem to have become divested of every trace of humanity. No dignity of learning inflames them, none of its ample fruits excite them to change their course. I wish that these pests of mankind were banished to Anticyra by public enactment, that the contagion do not spread any further." It hence appeared to him as a most sacred duty, to insist on the thorough education of the young in the sciences. In this aspect of things, he again turned his attention not only to the classics but to philosophy and to the culture of youth in schools, believing that the shameful ignorance could be expelled in no other manner.

It may be easily imagined that the relations of Luther and Melancthon, in these circumstances, would be somewhat modified. The younger of the two friends was now returning to the studies, from which he had deviated, partly in deference to the opinions of the elder. While the one shrunk with characteristic diffidence from the stormy future which seemed to be impending, the other determined to brave the tempest. In addition, Melancthon continued to live on the most friendly terms with Erasmus, even after Luther had vehemently denounced him. Melancthon, indeed, deeply regretted that the Rotterdam scholar was so hesitating in his religious belief; yet on the contrary, he was of the opinion that Luther had not treated him with sufficient respect and moderation. "Our Arcesilaus," Melancthon writes to Camerarius, in 1534, "has renewed the controversy with Erasmus, which is in truth grievous to me. The passions of both in their old age afflict me very much." Melancthon now found his residence in Wittenberg not a little irksome. The ruling spirits there, had little sympathy for his elegant tastes or gentle nature. He felt like escaping from prison when he was

permitted to journey with his beloved friend, Camerarius of Leipsic. In his solitary studies, he became more pleased with the noble remains of antiquity, accompanied with a feeling of regret that he had ever suspended his interest in them. He was also more fully convinced, that Luther's method of exhibiting the doctrines of the gospel, though in general and substantially conformed to the Scriptures, still demanded on particular points a further development and more exact definitions.

In 1536, Melancthon laid down, in a university exercise, the position that good works in justification are the *causa sine qua non*. Though this position in the sense in which the author understood it, was altogether correct, yet it was extremely liable to misapprehension. A certain Cordatus, a zealous adherent of Luther, first took exception to it, as he received it from Cruciger who was then lecturing on the gospel of John, and making use, as his manual, of a MS. of Melancthon.<sup>1</sup> Cordatus went without delay to Luther, in order to call his attention to the "papistical errors" which would again seek a foothold in his neighborhood. Melancthon, being then abroad, was informed by his friends of the controversy which was breaking out. He immediately wrote from Nuremberg a long letter to Luther and the other theological professors, in order to remove the objections which had been alleged. But Cordatus had, in the mean time, stirred up the whole university. It is reported that Luther publicly refuted the proposition of Melancthon as false and erroneous, by proofs from the Scriptures. This, however, is not certainly known to have been the case. The zeal of Cordatus against Melancthon broke forth with fresh violence, in the following year. On one occasion, he trampled the *Loci Communes* under his feet. Still more violent was his conduct after Melancthon had sent a letter to a preacher at Freiberg, by the name of Schenk, in which he had given his opinion that people who live under tyrannical governments may receive without any violation of conscience, the sacrament in one kind. Schenk and Cordatus now united their exertions, to induce the Electoral Court to adopt decisive measures against Melancthon. Luther was somewhat agitated, but he

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<sup>1</sup> Many of the works, which were published at Wittenberg, in the name of Cruciger, Eber, Jonas, Major and others, were written in whole or in part by Melancthon, who appears to have been the literary *factotum* of the place. He wrote many discourses which others delivered, and it sometimes happened that while he was composing the latter portion, the orator was holding forth the first part.



did not permit his feelings to be alienated from his persecuted friend. When he heard that Melanchthon was dangerously ill at Weimar, in 1540, as he was travelling to a religious conference at Hagenau, he hastened instantly to his bedside, and by his earnest prayers and his hearty sympathies, was the means of raising up his apparently dying friend. "I perceived," says Melanchthon, afterwards, "that the teacher was in anguish of spirit, yet he repressed his own grief lest he should increase mine, and he attempted to raise my spirits, not only by consoling, but often by sharply chiding me. *If he had not come, I should have died.*"

At a later period, the position of Melanchthon was by no means to be envied. Luther, in his declining days, was no longer, in all respects, the same friendly and loving man as before. Bodily sufferings, particularly an obstinate pain in his head, had greatly depressed his spirits. After the year 1543, he expresses in nearly all his letters the earnest desire that the Lord would come at once and release him. He saw with dislike the negligence of the Court in relation to spiritual matters; with disapprobation he looked upon his colleagues in the university; the whole body of professors of law were admonished by him in a public discourse as those who made merchandise of the divine commandments. His old friend Amsdorf, bishop at Naumburg, was almost the only man, with whom intercourse was pleasant. Wittenberg seemed to him to be nothing less than Sodom and Gomorrah.

In 1543, archbishop Hermann of Cologne employed Melanchthon and Bucer to aid him in the introduction of the Reformation into his diocese. They jointly prepared a Reformation-formula, the so-called *Acta Reformationis Coloniensis*. This document was severely censured by Amsdorf. Luther was much displeased with the Article on the sacrament, because he looked in vain for any emphatic refutation of the views of the Swiss Reformers. "There is overmuch talk," he writes, "of the value, fruits and excellence of the sacrament, but it mumbles about the substance just as the fanatics do; therefore I have enough of it, and I am greatly displeased with it." "Luther," writes Melanchthon, "thunders and lightens against others; sometimes he aims at me. Shortly you will hear that I am banished hence, as Aristides was from Athens." The difficulties between these two great men were increased in November 1544, when the landgrave, Philip of Hesse, addressed a letter to the chancellor Brück, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to use every exertion to bring Luther into a more friendly connection with

Melancthon. In 1544, Bullinger of Zürich, replied to Luther's "Brief Confession of the Sacrament of the Supper." Luther was so excited by its appearance, that he resolved to put forth his doctrines in respect to the sacrament in a new and more stringent form, and it was rumored that Melancthon would be referred to by name in it. Melancthon complained with tears to Brück of the wretchedness of his situation. Luther did not, however, carry his plan into execution. Yet in these circumstances, a degree of estrangement between the two friends was unavoidable.

Luther died on the 18th of February, 1546. Melancthon had accompanied him, in December 1545 and January 1546, on a journey to Mansfield, and heard him preach in Halle. He saw him, for the last time, on the 23d of January. When the melancholy news of his death reached Wittenberg, Melancthon was filled with sorrow and consternation. The remembrance of former friendship, the consciousness of his own irreparable loss, distress for the churches now left without an earthly guide, by turns agitated his heart. These various feelings are manifest in the funeral oration for his friend, which Melancthon delivered. His tender regard for his memory was exhibited in acts of kindness towards the widow and children. He accompanied her on her journey to Brunswick, and in various ways manifested a warm sympathy in her condition.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding all the testimonials of unaffected sorrow which Melancthon exhibited, some of Luther's zealous friends were not content. Their veneration for the departed Reformer amounted almost to idolatry. Not satisfied with lauding his virtues and services, they transformed the weaknesses of which he was not free, into so many grounds of eulogy, and demanded that all should render this indiscriminate homage. Melancthon, not yielding altogether to these claims, was made the object of continued calumny and persecution. Such men as Amsdorf, Gallus, Wigand, Judex and especially Flacius, caused his life to become a constant source of sorrow, and made him long for the quiet of the grave. Wo was to him that he sojourned in Mesech, that he dwelt in the tents of Kedar. In 1555, John Stolz related how Luther had appeared to him in a dream and bitterly complained of the treachery of those who, in his life-time,

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<sup>1</sup> She returned to Wittenberg in 1547, and again left it for Torgau in 1552, on account of the breaking out of the plague in the former place. She died at Torgau, Dec. 20, 1552, and was buried in the parish-church there.

were regarded as his best friends. On one occasion, Calvin wrote, that he knew that Melanchthon fully agreed with him in respect to the sacrament; thereupon the friends of the Lutheran view republished an earlier tract of Melanchthon's, written in support of their cause. He was thus placed between two fires; but he chose not to stir up the flames on either side, but allowed them to pass silently over him. But still his secret grief was very great. Often when he walked on the banks of the Elbe, and saw the tumult of the waves, it appeared to be a striking image of his own life. His only consolation in these cruel and reiterated attacks, was the thought that God was a witness that he was innocent. He affirmed, that he would gladly die if he could thus be the means of healing the wounds of the church. He sometimes expressed an ardent wish for death, not only that he might be free from sin and suffering, but from the madness of theologians. A few days before his death, he put down the reasons why he should not be afraid of death. On the left side he wrote: "Thou shalt depart from sin, Thou shalt be free from troubles and from the rage of theologians;" and on the right: "Thou shalt enter into light, Thou shalt see God, Thou shalt behold the Son of God, Thou shalt learn those wonderful mysteries which thou couldst not understand in this life—why we are made as we are, and of what kind is the union of the two natures in Christ.

#### *Last Days and Death of Melanchthon.*

During several of the last years of Melanchthon's life, his earthly ties had been gradually dissolving. Friend after friend had departed to the rest of the people of God. "Let us congratulate Vitus," he writes, "now removed to the delightful society of the heavenly church, and be excited by his example to prepare for the same journey." In addition to his domestic bereavements, he lost Micyllus, Menius and Bugenhagen. The last-named was one of the most eminent Reformers, and united to Luther and Melanchthon in bonds of the closest intimacy. He was, for thirty years, minister of the great church at Wittenberg, and died April 20, 1558, at the age of seventy-three.

It is delightful to see that Melanchthon's intellectual and moral powers remained unimpaired to the last. His letters, at this period, breathe the same spirit of exalted piety and disinterested love, which characterizes those of an earlier date. At the close of

March, 1560, Melancthon went to Leipsic, in order to examine the students of divinity there, who were supported by the Elector, a duty which he had performed for many years. The weather was cold and rough, and on his return, April 5th, the bleak north wind occasioned him great inconvenience and suffering. He remarked, that he had not felt the cold so much during any time in the winter. On the night of the 7th of April, he was able to sleep but little. Towards morning, he was attacked with a violent fever and cough. Early in the morning, however, he resumed his accustomed duties, though he was so weak that he was compelled to rest from time to time on his seat. His son-in-law, Peucer, at once administered remedies but without effect. "If God will," said Melancthon, "I will gladly die, and I pray that he will grant me a happy journey home." In the course of the day, he arose and prepared to go to the lecture-room and read a lecture on logic. All which could be said to deter him had little effect. He would read, he said, a half hour and then take the bath. When he was about to put his foot upon a little stool, his weakness was so great that he almost fell upon his knees. "Ah," he exclaimed, "my lamp is almost out." He then went to the lecture-room but ascertained that it was an hour too early. At 9 o'clock, he went again, but was able to remain only a quarter of an hour. On the following night he was visited with a severe paroxysm of the ague. Still, he could not be induced to relinquish his accustomed duties. On the 9th and 10th of April, he attended meetings of the senate of the university, and spoke earnestly and frequently against the forming of parties among the students. In the afternoon, he corrected for the press several funeral orations for Philip, duke of Pomerania, who had died on the 24th of February, remarking that another Philip would soon follow. On Thursday, April 11th, he partook of the Lord's supper in the church. On the 12th, he delivered his final lecture on the words of Isaiah, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" On the following night, he enjoyed quiet rest, and as he awoke, sung the words which he had often sung when a boy in the church, "with desire have I desired to eat this pass-over." About 4 o'clock, P. M. Camerarius arrived from Leipsic and found his friend sitting on the lowest step of the stair-case which led to his study, supporting his head with his elbows. During the following night, he was sleepless and feverish, and his little strength rapidly diminished. Notwithstanding, he prepared, on the following day, to deliver his lecture, when his son

Philip came in and informed him that his hearers were not assembled. The truth was, that they had assembled and had been dispersed by a notice affixed to the door, stating Melancthon's inability to attend. On the 15th, he said to Camerarius: "I have a desire to depart and be with Christ." He then conversed with his friend on the meaning of the Greek word *avaléō*. He interpreted it as expressing a desire to remove, pass on, or set about proceeding in a journey, that is, to leave this life of toil and misery for the blessed rest of heaven. In his sleep, in the night of the 16th, he said he had dreamed of the words of Paul, "If God be for us who can be against us?" and that they had afforded him much consolation. On the 17th, when Camerarius took his leave, he bade him an affectionate farewell, saying: "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father and giveth gifts to men, keep you and yours and all of us." On the 18th, his bed was taken, by his own request, into his library, upon which he remarked, with great cheerfulness, as he was placed upon it, "This may be called, I think, my travelling couch, if (alluding to the criticism before mentioned) I should remove in it." In the course of the same day, seeing one of his grandchildren near him he said: "I have loved you most tenderly; see that you reverence your parents and always try to please them and fear God, who will never forsake you. I pray you may share his constant regard and blessing. In the same spirit of tender affection he addressed all the younger branches of the family. Letters having been received from Frankfurt, relating to the miseries endured by the persecuted Christians in France, he declared that his bodily sufferings were not to be compared with the distress which he felt on account of the church of Christ.

The 19th of April was his last day on earth. He spoke much of the troubled state of the church and commended her with tears to the Son of God. After recovering from a severe paroxysm, he repeated with the greatest earnestness his accustomed prayer to the three Persons in the Godhead, and then said to Peucer, with his eyes raised to heaven, "I have been in death, but the Lord has delivered me." One present then said: "There is now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus," and he replied: "Christ is made unto us of God wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." With affecting repetition he would often say, "that they all might be one as we are one." Most of the professors and many of the students now assembled in his room. Eber, Fröschel and Sturio read, alternately, the

24th, 25th and 26th Psalms, the 53d of Isaiah, the 17th of John's Gospel, the 5th of Romans and other passages from Paul's Epistles. He then said, that the words, "as many as receive him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God," lay very near his heart. His lips then moved, and he appeared, for a long time, to be praying for himself, while those standing around preserved the deepest silence. Being asked by his son-in-law if he would have anything else, he replied: "*aliud nihil, nisi coelum*," nothing, but heaven; and requested that he might not be further interrupted in his devotions. A second fainting-fit then seized him. Some one, supposing that the spirit had fled, called on him aloud. He replied: "Disturb not my sweet repose, for the end of my life draws near." Many of his favorite passages of Scripture were recited to him. The last word which he uttered was "yes," to the inquiry whether he had understood the passage, "Lord, into thy hand I commend my spirit." Fröschel continued to read from the Scriptures as the lips of the dying man, constantly moving seemed to respond. He ceased to breathe about six o'clock, P. M., April 19, 1560. His age was sixty-three years, three months and three days. The funeral solemnities were attended on the 21st of April. Camerarius had returned from Leipzig, but his grief would not permit him to look upon the countenance of his friend. A discourse by the superintendent Eber, and a funeral oration by Winsheim were delivered in the parish church before an immense audience who had assembled from Wittenberg, from the city and University of Leipzig and all the neighboring country. His remains, enclosed in a leaden coffin, were deposited close to those of Martin Luther.

From a collection of Greek and Latin eulogies, the following written in Latin by Theodore Beza, and which has been thus imitated in English, is selected:

Here then, MELANCHTHON, lies thy honored head,  
Low in the grave among the mouldering dead!  
In life 'twas thine to make all others blest,  
But to thyself denying peace and rest;  
Thine was the holy toil, the anxious tear,  
Dear Philip! to the good forever dear!—  
O earth! let lilies here profusely spring,  
And roses all around their odors fling!  
For rose and lily each their glories blend,  
The sweet, the fair, in our departed friend!  
Soft let him sleep and none disturb his rest,  
None as disturbed while living, none oppressed!

## ARTICLE V.

## THE CHARACTER AND PROPHECIES OF BALAAM.

Numbers XXII—XXIV.

By R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian, Theol. Sem. Andover.

*The condition of the Israelites at the time of Balaam's Prophecies.*

THE Israelites arrived at Kadesh, near the foot of the mountain range which forms the southern boundary of Palestine, in the second year after their departure from Egypt. When the spies had brought back their report, the people there murmured against God, and received the sentence of exclusion from the promised land. Nearly thirty-eight years after, on the first month (April) of the fortieth year from the escape out of bondage, they again came to Kadesh. They now hoped that their dreary sojournings were at an end, and that they should receive a speedy admittance to their desired abode. But the last of those who were "twenty years old and upward" when they commenced their wanderings, had not yet been consigned to their long home in the desert-sands. The decree of Jehovah must be literally fulfilled. The new generation was to be still longer tried, and the contaminations of Egypt must be further purged, by new conflicts and by renewed precepts for future guidance, before they could be meet partakers of the promised inheritance.

The direct route north, up the steep mountain sides, or through narrow defiles, surrounded by hostile tribes, was not thought expedient, encumbered as the Israelites were by their household goods, and accompanied by their women and children. Moses therefore, sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that his "brother Israel," after much suffering in Egypt and by the way, was on the borders of his land, and desired a passage through it, by the "king's highway," without turning to the right or to the left. To this reasonable request, couched in the most respectful language, the reply was returned: "Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword." As the Israelites were not permitted to make war upon Edom, their "brother," they turned southward and "journeyed from Kadesh

and came unto Mount Hor." Here, according to the command of God, the priestly garments were transferred from Aaron to Eleazer, and Aaron "died in the top of the mount" and was gathered to his people, and all the house of Israel mourned for Aaron thirty days.<sup>1</sup> "From mount Hor they journeyed by the way of the Red Sea<sup>2</sup> to compass the land of Edom." During the passage around the southern extremity of Mt. Seir, the people were discouraged by the length of the way; and were punished for their discontent by the "fiery serpents."<sup>3</sup> Passing northward until they had crossed the Arnon, the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, when Sihon king of the Amorites refused the request of Moses for a passage through his land, and gathered all his people together to withstand him, Israel smote the Amorites with the edge of the sword, and possessed the land from Arnon to the border of the children of Ammon.<sup>4</sup> After this victory the Israelites pitched their tents in the valley before Nebo, and "dwelt in Heshbon and the villages thereof."

During the abode at Heshbon, the song of triumph, (ascribed to the poets, רַמְסֵיִם,) over the Amorites the conquerors of Moab, was probably composed and addressed to the people, in order to prevent such discouragement as had a little while before brought upon them the judgment of God:

Come to Heshbon,  
Built up and fortified is the city of Sihon.

In order to enhance the value of the possession of this city and the country around in the estimation of Israel, the poet proceeds to describe its conquest by the Amorites:

For a fire issued from Heshbon,  
A flame from the city of Sihon,  
It devoured Ar-Moab,  
The dwellers on the heights of Arnon.  
Woe to thee, Moab,  
Ruined art thou, people of Chemosh.<sup>5</sup>  
He [Chemosh] hath made his sons fugitives,  
And his daughters captives  
Of Sihon, king of the Amorites.

<sup>1</sup> Num. 20: 22 sq. and 33: 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> The Euxine Gulf or Eastern arm of the Red Sea.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 21: 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Num. 21: 21 sq.

<sup>5</sup> National god of the Moabites and the Ammonites, and hence "people of Chemosh" is here put for the Moabites.



We, (the Israelites,) it is added, have utterly vanquished even these conquerors of Moab :

But we cast our arrows ;  
Perished is Heshbon to Dibon ;  
We laid waste to Nophah,  
Which extendeth to Medeba.

Whilst the main body of the people remained at Heshbon, they sent out expeditions against Jaazer, and against Og king of Bashan, and smote his people and possessed his land. After the return of this expedition, (or perhaps before the return they broke up simultaneously from the two camps,) the children of Israel left their quarters in the plain before Nebo and "set forward," and as stated in Num. 22: 1, "pitched in the plains of Moab, beyond Jordan by Jericho." Thus, verse first of the twenty-second chapter of Numbers must not be connected directly with the last verses of the preceding chapter, but with the thirty-first verse : "Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites," so that there is a correspondence between the account given here and in Num. 33: 48 : "And they departed from the mountains of Abarim and pitched in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho."

The "plains of Moab," where the Israelites abode not only during the occurrences connected with the prophecies of Balaam, but also during the promulgation of the second law, as recorded in the book of Deuteronomy, until they passed the Jordan, were the narrow strip of land, scarcely two leagues in breadth, lying along the eastern bank of the Jordan, opposite to the plains of Jericho.<sup>1</sup> The Dead Sea was on the south of it, mount Pisgah on the south-east, and the mountains of Gilead on the east ; and toward the north, losing its specific name, this plain continues, as the valley of the Jordan, even to the sea of Tiberias. This country, as has already been indicated, seems from Numbers 21: 26—30 to have been taken, but a short time previous to the arrival of the Israelites, by the Amorites from Moab, whose name it yet retained.

In reference to the geographical designation, *בְּעֵבֶר יַרְדֵּן*, *ἐκ πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, beyond Jordan, it is only necessary to say here, that it is very commonly used in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua for the part of Palestine east of the Jordan.<sup>2</sup> When

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 4: 13. 5: 10, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The same thing is true of *בְּעֵבֶר* and *בְּעֵבֶר יַרְדֵּן*. They always mean beyond, *trans*, either with reference to the speaker or as an established geographical designation.

the phrase is used to designate the country lying on the west of that river, as in Num. 32: 19. Deut. 3: 25, it has a subjective reference to the writer or speaker who had lived on the east side of the Jordan, or conceived himself as being on that side.<sup>1</sup>

The Moabites who, driven from the valley, now occupied the mountainous country, along which the Israelites passed before they entered the valley of the Jordan, were "sore afraid of the people, because they were many." They did not, however, venture to impede their course. But as the Israelites passed peaceably by their territory, purchasing food for sustenance with money,<sup>2</sup> they looked down from their mountain-dwellings upon the long train of the wanderers, and forward to the victorious Amorites, whose conquest of them was yet fresh in their minds, thinking no doubt that these multitudes were advancing to certain ruin, and that they, therefore, would not molest them. But when they saw the busy encampment so firmly established on their ancient territory, they were "distressed because of the children of Israel." That their fears were groundless appears from Deut. 2: 9, where it is said in reference to this time, that the Lord commanded them: "Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle, for I will not give thee their land," etc. Thus Calvin in commenting upon this passage pertinently says: "*Ultro data fuerat fides, promissa securitas et oblatum foedus,*" but, "*Reprobas semper agitari vanis terroribus.*—*Deus singulari privilegio Moabitas exemerat ab omni molestia; ipsi autem anxietatis materiem sibi fabricant.*"

In these circumstances the Moabites had recourse to the Midianites who dwelt upon the eastern border of their territory, and in language befitting the character of herdsmen, express their apprehensions from this strange people: "Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field." Why, if there had been danger of this, thou evil and suspicious nation, had they not already done it? Did they not, to avoid any injury to thee, go a circuitous way along thy borders? *Haec continentia eos omni sollicitudine liberasset, nisi maligne sibi pravas suspiciones imaginati essent.*<sup>3</sup> These Midianites were not a warlike people, but traders, ("merchantmen," Gen. 37: 28,) and the information which they had acquired in their journeys for traffic, suggested an expedient for their delive-

<sup>1</sup> See Hengstenberg, *Die Authentie des Pentateuches*, Bd. II. S. 313 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 3: 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Calvin, *Comm. Numer.* 22. 1.

rance, which they thought safer than an immediate conflict, and which doubtless met the cordial approbation of Moab.

### *Early Life of Balaam.*

It is not the design of the author of the book of Numbers, to give the history of Balaam any further than it aids in unfolding the dealings of God with the Israelites. We are therefore obliged to gather the little knowledge which we have of his early life, from scattered hints. The name Balaam (more correctly Bileam, בִּלְעָם), seems to be derived from בָּלַע, devouring, and עַם, people,<sup>1</sup> or from בָּלַע, with the unusual ending -ām,<sup>2</sup> meaning, destroyer of the people, or simply destroyer. Thus his name is descriptive of his profession, according to the account in the passage under consideration. Whether this name was given him at his birth, in anticipation of his course of life, and indicating the employment of his family; or according to an oriental custom, after his character was developed, it is not material to inquire.

Balaam was "the son of Beor." Both Simonis and Hengstenberg derive the name בְּעוֹר from בָּעַר, to feed upon, consume, and make it to nearly correspond in meaning with Balaam.<sup>3</sup>—By the authors of the Vulgate and old Syriac versions, פֶּתוֹר was understood as a personal appellation of Balaam, and rendered "ariolum," and פֶּתוֹרָא, but it cannot now be doubted, that it is the name of his dwelling-place, פֶּתוֹר, Pethor, with the ה local,<sup>4</sup> indicating direction (*to*). The derivation of פֶּתוֹר from the verb פָּתַר (Chald. פָּתַר), to interpret a dream, is generally acknowledged. It is not improbable then that this place, in accordance with its name, was inhabited by a class of people devoted to the practice of magical arts. That in later times the Babylonian Magi were collected in separate towns like the priests' cities among the Israelites seems evident from Pliny<sup>5</sup> and Strabo.<sup>6</sup>

Pethor, it is said in Numbers 22: 5, was "by the river of the land of the children of his people." In Deut. 23: 4, "Pethor of

<sup>1</sup> See Simonis, *Onomast.*, p. 459, and Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Fürst, *Heb. Lex.* בִּלְעָם. For a confutation of Gesenius' derivation of the word, see Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Simonis, *Onomast.*, p. 88. Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 21. For different significations, see Gesenius' and Fürst's *Lexicons*.

<sup>4</sup> See Nordheimer's *Heb. Gr.*, § 642, 643.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Nat.* 6, 25.

<sup>6</sup> 16, 1.

Mesopotamia," is designated as Balaam's dwelling-place, which shows that the river *נַחֲלֵי*, *נַחֲ* with the article, here as elsewhere in the Old Testament, must be the Euphrates. This too is in accordance with chapter 23: 7, where Balaam speaks of having been brought from "Aram" and from the "mountains of the east." Aram, *אַרָם*, is undoubtedly used instead of *אַרְצֵי מִסְרִיִם*,<sup>1</sup> Mesopotamia, and is parallel with "mountains of the east." So that it is evident, that Pethor was situated somewhere among the Highlands in Mesopotamia upon the Euphrates, eighteen or twenty days' journey<sup>2</sup> from the Plains of Moab.—"The land of the children of his people," is probably added merely to designate Balaam as a native Aramaean, which renders his blessing of the Israelites more unexpected and wonderful, than if he had dwelt farther west, or had been in any way connected with the Israelites.

We are not limited to the origin of the name of Balaam and his place of residence, for proofs that he was by profession a soothsayer. In Joshua 13: 22 he is called *וְיִסְיָאֵל*, the soothsayer. The original meaning of the verb *יָסַם* is probably found in the

Arabic *قَسَمَ*, to divide, to divide into parts, and hence like *יָרָה*, to decide, decree, divine. The masculine participle, as well as the other forms of the verb, is always used in a bad sense to designate soothsayers and diviners. And the connection in which it is found in the passage in Joshua, also indicates the sense in which it is to be there understood. Besides in Num. 22: 7, it is said that the elders of Moab and Midian departed to go for Balaam, with the rewards of divination, *וְהַמְּחָרִיטִים*, in their hands. It seems evident, therefore, that Balaam was known as a soothsayer or diviner before the embassy was sent to him by Balak. Numbers 23: 3, 4, 15, 16, and 24: 1, might also be referred to here in proof of his recourse to divination, but a particular examination of these verses comes more properly in a subsequent part of our discussion.

This character of Balaam is also in accordance with what we are able to gather of the history of his nation and country. It is evident that idolatry was prevalent there.<sup>3</sup> According to Joshua 24: 2, Terah the father of Abraham was a worshipper of idols, and Laban and his daughter Rachel, (Gen. 31: 30 sq.) were more intent upon the possession of the household gods, than upon

<sup>1</sup> 24: 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Tholuck, *Vermischte Schrift. Th. I. S. 408.*

<sup>3</sup> Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften I. S. 408.*

the preservation of family ties, or even the observance of the precepts of common morality.

It seems also evident, that Balaam was not, as has sometimes been contended, a *mere* heathen soothsayer. It is not, however, our object at present to show how far he acted the part of a true prophet, in his proclamations in reference to Israel. That topic will be alluded to in the sequel. Our present wish is to give as correct a view as we can, of his character and life previous to the time of his summons to curse the enemies of Moab and Midian.

The fact that his reputation had extended so far, indicates that he did not belong to the common herd of his profession. And the circumstance that he alone is desired, and so earnestly desired, would render it probable that he was thought to be peculiarly qualified to render the curse in this particular instance efficacious. "Behold a people has come from Egypt—come now I entreat you, curse for me this people—for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed and whom thou cursest is cursed." The probability that Balaam was not a mere heathen soothsayer, but stood in a peculiar relation to the God of Israel, is strengthened by his conduct when the messengers arrived. After they had preferred the request of Balak, Balaam answered: "Lodge here this night and I will bring you word again as the Lord, (יהוה not אלהי,) shall speak to me." He would appear to indicate by this to the messengers, that he was accustomed to go to Jehovah, the God of Israel, in circumstances of difficulty, to seek counsel and direction. When "Balak sent again princes more and more honorable than they," offering abundant wealth and honor, and saying, "Let nothing I pray thee hinder thee from coming unto me," Balaam answered: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, יהוה אלהי, to do less or more" (anything), therefore tarry here this night also that "I may know what the Lord, יהוה, will say unto me more." The addition, my God, אלהי, to Lord, יהוה, in this verse, seems to contrast Jehovah, as his God, with the gods of the Moabites. So in 23: 21, Jehovah, יהוה, is the God of Israel, "his God," אלהיו, in distinction from the Elohim of the heathen tribes around.

Some other specifications in reference to the use of the name Jehovah, יהוה, may not be inapposite here as indications of the knowledge and claims of Balaam. In his conversations with the messengers and with Balak himself, he always uses יהוה, except

in chapter 22: 38, where it is not difficult to give a reason for his using the more general term.<sup>1</sup> In the prophecies; too, Elohîm is not found, except in connection with Jehovah in 23: 21, although the poetical name, *El*, בַּלַּא, (Elyon, אֵלֶּיּוֹן, and Shaddai, אֱשָׁדַי, occur once each,) frequently appears alone and in parallel phrases with Jehovah. This very general use of the peculiar name of Israel's God cannot be accidental, since the narrator uses Elohîm in close connection with the words of Balaam. In chapter 22: 8, for example, Balaam says: "I will bring you word again as the Lord, אֲדַבֵּר, shall speak unto me;" and in the following verse the historian says: "And God, אֱלֹהִים, came unto Balaam," and in verse 10, "And Balaam said unto God, אֱלֹהִים, Balak hath sent unto me," etc. In like manner in other places; as in 23: 4. Have we not here an indication of the author's feeling in reference to Balaam? Does he not indicate the hypocritical pretensions of him who had from mercenary motives enlisted under the banner of Israel's God, and would now, if permitted, curse those whom he ought to have been desirous to bless.<sup>2</sup>

The question naturally arises, whence did one who was not of the posterity of Abraham obtain knowledge of the true God? Tholuck<sup>3</sup> supposes that it was the remnant of a primitive monotheism and pure worship handed down by tradition, but almost extinct in the time of Moses. In this particular he finds a parallel to Balaam in Melchizedek, "priest of the most high God," who, although not of the lineage of Abraham, was a true worshipper of the one God. But Melchizedek knew nothing of the name אֱלֹהִים, Jehovah, by which God revealed himself to his chosen people, and which was ever in the mouth of Moab's prophet.

The only supposition which fully accounts for the knowledge which Balaam possessed of Jehovah seems to be, that it was derived from the Israelites; of whom there would naturally be many floating reports, widely diffused among the heathen tribes, during the forty years of their wanderings.<sup>4</sup> That there was communication between the region upon the Euphrates and Edom, is clear from Gen. 36: 37, where in an enumeration of "the kings that reigned in the land of Edom," it is said, that "Samlah died and Saul of Rehoboth by the river [the Euphrates],<sup>5</sup> reigned in

<sup>1</sup> See Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuches*, Bd. I. S. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Hengstenberg, *Authentic*, Bd. I. S. 408, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Vermischte Schriften*, Th. I. S. 408.

<sup>4</sup> Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 12 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See Rosenmüller's *Com. upon the verse*, and *Bib. Alterthumsk.* Tom. I. P. ii. p. 270.

his stead." The supposition is also entirely in accordance with the character of Balaam, as exhibited in the account before us. With a mind awake to everything which concerned his profession, he would naturally be attracted by the reports of the deliverances effected by the new God of this people, who had come out of Egypt. He had perhaps heard of the passage of the Red Sea, of the waters of Meribah, of the miracle of the brazen serpent, and a new source of celebrity and of pecuniary gain, enticing to his besetting sins, was opened before him. He, it may be, adopted Jehovah as his God and named himself Jehovah's prophet. And it is evident, that Jehovah in the accomplishment of his own great purposes, vouchsafed unto him peculiar manifestations of the divine character. Another argument in favor of this theory, might be drawn from the knowledge of the promises contained in Genesis, on which parts of his prophecies are based, but a bare allusion is all that can be given at present.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the passages which speak of the terror spread abroad among the heathen tribes by the children of Israel, such as Ex. 16: 14 and Joshua 5: 1, two examples may be adduced in illustration of our position. In Ex. 18: 1 sq. it is said: "When Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard of all that God had done for Moses and for Israel his people, and that the Lord, יהוה, had brought Israel out of Egypt;" he went out to meet Moses, and learning more particularly from him of the deliverances of Israel, "Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the Lord, יהוה, had done to Israel," and said, "Now I know that the Lord, יהוה, is greater than all gods, אלהים.—And Jethro took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God." In Joshua, 2: 9 sq., Rahab says to the spies whom she had concealed: "I know that the Lord, יהוה, hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land faint because of you. For we have heard how the Lord, יהוה, dried up the waters of the Red Sea for you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites that were on the other side of Jordan, Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed. And as soon as we heard these things, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more courage in any man, because of you: for the Lord, יהוה, your God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath."

<sup>1</sup> Compare Num. 23: 10 with Gen. 13: 16. 23: 24, and 24: 9 with Gen. 49: 9, 24: 17 with Gen. 49: 10; and see also Gesch. Bil. S. 13.

*The Embassies to Balaam.*

The first ambassadors having arrived upon the banks of the Euphrates, presented themselves before the Mesopotamian soothsayer, and delivered their message, closing with the strong expression of their master's confidence: "*I know* that he whom thou blessest is blessed and he whom thou cursest is cursed." Although this declaration in connection with attending circumstances, is an indication of the peculiar qualifications of Balaam for the object required, yet it is true, that a belief, that certain persons, holding a peculiar relation to the gods, could surely call down their vengeance, by certain forms of incantation or formulas of cursing, was widely diffused throughout the heathen nations of antiquity. Traces of it are found scattered through the classical authors of Greece and Rome,<sup>1</sup> engraven on the monuments of Egypt, preserved among the traditions of the Arabs of the dark ages,<sup>2</sup> as well as recorded upon the pages of divine inspiration. Job, while speaking of the day of his birth, in his misery, says: "Let the cursers of the day curse it." Nor is this feeling confined to ancient nations. The Arabs of the present day still retain a similar superstition.<sup>3</sup> Herder in speaking of ancient tribes as well as of the "rude nations of the present day," says: "they attached much importance to the blessings of their soothsayers. They believed that misfortune awaited them, if they had offended one of these, and even ascribed invincible power to the precise words and figures of the curse or of the blessing."<sup>4</sup>

Although Balaam seems to have been aware, that the people which he had been called to curse, were objects of the peculiar favor and care of Jehovah, yet he did not return the messengers an answer at once; for it may be supposed that "the rewards of divination" which were in their hands, and the honor which he hoped would attend him, had already begun to exert their influence. He requested them to lodge there that night, and he would bring them word in the morning, what Jehovah would have him do. "And," it is said, "God came unto Balaam."

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. 38. 3 sq.

<sup>2</sup> De Sacy, in the Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscript., (quoted by Tholuck,) and Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. Ed. Oxon. 1806, p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> See Lane's Modern Egyptians and various other accounts of Travellers in the East.

<sup>4</sup> Spirit of Heb. Poetry, Marsh's Tr. Vol. II. p. 171.



That there was a real revelation from God to Balaam at this time, the language and subsequent occurrences prove beyond a question. But whether it was made in a dream as to Abimelech, Gen. 20: 3, and to Laban, Gen. 31: 24, or by a vision, the other customary mode of his revelation in that early age,<sup>1</sup> cannot be determined. The night when the external senses, in consequence of darkness and silence, were in a measure closed, was an especially appropriate time for the latter, as well as the former mode of communication. Besides, the fact that the revelation was expected, and not sudden and unforeseen as in the other instances referred to, would not seem altogether in keeping with the supposition of a dream. It need not excite surprise that God made a special revelation of himself to one, who was not truly in heart his prophet. Did he not come to Abimelech king of Gerar in a dream by night? And did not "he that revealeth secrets" make known to king Nebuchadnezzar by a "dream and by the visions of his head upon his bed, what should come to pass in the latter days?"

The question: "What men are these with thee?" has been supposed to be, not merely a phrase thrown in to introduce what follows, but to contain a kind of reproof for the desire of Balaam to go with the messengers, which had caused their detention, in order that, if possible, he might obtain permission of Jehovah. Calvin says: *Interrogando, qui sint viri illi, perversum ejus affectum oblique castigat.*

The refusal to allow Balaam to accompany the messengers, in order to curse Israel, was explicit and decided: "Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed." Balaam accordingly arose in the morning and sent away the messengers, saying; "Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you." By this answer he should seem to indicate his own willingness, his desire even, to accompany them, but that he was under the necessity of being subject to the command of his God. Accordingly it has been justly said: *Specie quidem modestiae simplices fallerent hæc verba, Non ibo quia Deus vetat; sed minime dubium est, quin, ut eum trahebat ambitio et avaritia ad gratificandum, significet se alioqui propensum fuisse ad suscipiendum iter, nisi divinitus esset prohibitus.*

The grounds on which his desire was based, his ambition and love of gain, seem even to have been manifest to the princes of Balak, and in accordance with this impression, on their return,

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<sup>1</sup> See Numbers 12: 6.

"Balak sent yet again princes more and more honorable than they," who urged Balak's promise to promote him to very great honor and to do for him whatever he should desire. Balaam's answer, had it been sincere, was befitting a true prophet of Jehovah: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more [anything]." Why then, vain man, dost thou detain the messengers to make another effort to gratify thy evil desires.<sup>1</sup> Dost thou not know that God is not man that he should lie or the son of man that he should repent. Hath he said and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken and shall he not make it good? Think not to retain the favor of God and yet minister to thy own evil desires. Thou canst not serve God and mammon. But thy wish is granted and thy destruction sealed: "Go with them," but not to curse; although thou thinkest not so, thy golden dreams shall vanish. The word that Jehovah shall speak to thee thou shalt do, and thou shalt not "die the death of the righteous, and thy last end shall not be like his." Thou wouldst not relinquish the service of

Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell  
From heaven;—[whose] looks and thoughts  
There always downward bent, admiring more  
The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed  
In vision beatific,

and thy doom shall be with him and his followers.

There seems, at first view, to be a discrepancy between the command in the twentieth verse: "If the men come to call thee, rise up and go with them," and that in the twelfth: "Thou shalt not go with them;" as also between the permission to go, in the former passage, and the declaration in the twenty-second verse: "And God's anger was kindled because he went." But the difficulty disappears on a closer examination. The stress of the prohibition is upon the object of the journey. "Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse the people; for they are blessed." The last part of the verse, thrown in without a connective, as a parallel phrase, indicates the objects of the refusal:

<sup>1</sup> Calvin says: *Praeclara vox, et index generosae fortitudinis, Etiam si Balaam mihi domum argento et auro plenam dederit, non transgrediar Dei mandatum. Sed cur non statim procul ablegat improbos licitatores, qui eum ad transgressionem sollicitant? Videmus ergo ut se potius venditet quam Deo tribuat justam gloriam. Voluit enim hac obedientiae jactantia sibi acquirere sancti Prophetæ titulum et honorem.*—*Com. in Num. 22: 15 sq.*

"Thou shalt not go to curse this people." But as Balaam was not satisfied with the declaration of Jehovah, but still desired to curse those who had been pronounced blessed, with the intention of punishing his disobedience, He says, when Balaam presents himself again before him: Go—"but yet the word that I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do." In the first instance, the going in the abstract is not prohibited, only going in order to curse; and in the last, going is commanded but with the restriction which precludes that, on account of which he was before commanded not to go. So that there is a perfect consistency between the passages. If this be the correct explanation of the preceding verses, then the phrase "that God's anger was kindled because he went,"<sup>1</sup> is easily understood. The permission is given in anger, that Balaam did not rest satisfied with the explicit command first given, and is in no way a retraction of the obligation of that command; rather, when rightly understood, it is a substantiation of it, by compelling Balaam to go to bless those whom he would curse, and thus inflicting a penalty for its violation. In the expressive words of one from whom we have already several times quoted: *Ironice ergo permittit Deus quod interdixerat. Si quis absurdum existimet, Deum qui veritas est, simulate loqui: in promptu est solutio, Deum nihil finxisse, sed homini in sua contumacia obstinato laxasse habenas, acsi quis protervum filium et moribus perditis emancipet, quia se regi non patitur.*

#### *The Occurrences of the Journey of Balaam.*

"Balaam rose up in the morning and saddled his ass and went with the princes of Moab." A common mode of travelling in the time of Moses was upon asses, so that there is nothing strange in the fact that one who expected to be loaded with riches and honor, set out on such an expedition in so unostentatious a manner. While on this journey, "the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him" (to oppose him). This representation of the appearance of the angel and the speaking of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic translation of Saadi, the explanatory word, طامعا, *ex aviditate*, is added to the declaration that, "he went;" and in the passage in 2 Peter 2: 15, it is said of those who in addition to other crimes, have exercised a heart with covetous practices, "they have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν."

ass, has been the subject of various and contradictory opinions among biblical expositors. / With some it has been considered so strange and unnatural, as to render the genuineness of the passage questionable. Others have supposed that it was a figment of Balaam to cover his retreat, should he not be successful in the object of his mission ; or that his horse stumbled and fell, which he considered to be a bad omen, an indication that God was displeased with him for undertaking the journey, and that this circumstance occasioned the imaginary conversation with the animal on which he rode and with the angel of Jehovah. Still others, on the opposite extreme, suppose that a literal angel, with an actual sword, stood in the way and talked with him, and that the animal literally uttered the words of a man. / But it is impossible, were it desirable, to enumerate all the explanations which have been made of these words, much more to discuss all the theories which have been devised for escaping the difficulties of the passage. It is only necessary for our present purpose, to endeavor to give the most reasonable explanation of these occurrences.

The ass turned aside out of the way, and Balaam smote her to turn her back. In a narrow pass between two vineyards Balaam's foot was pressed against the wall, and he again smote the faithful animal on which he rode. Subsequently when the divine messenger stood in a narrow place, where there was no way to turn to the right or left, the ass fell down and Balaam became angry, and struck her with a staff [divining rod], and the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she expostulated with her master for his cruel treatment. "What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times?" 'Hast thou not ever ridden upon me? and have I been wont to be restive and obstinate? How then didst not thou suppose there was good reason for my conduct?' Until this time, Balaam had seen nothing to prevent him from proceeding directly on his way; but Jehovah now opened his eyes, and he saw the angel, and bowed himself in adoration before him. The angel chided Balaam for his blindness, which was even greater than that of the stupid animal on which he rode, and for his consequent cruelty. "And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me."

It cannot be doubted by those who acknowledge the genuineness of this passage, that the several occurrences, of which we have enumerated only some of the most prominent, were reali-

ties to Balaam. The plain, straightforward narration demands this. The only question is, in what *manner* did they present themselves to him. Did God exert such an influence upon a beast, that she saw his messenger which men did not see, and distinctly uttered the words of a rational being? Or did he exert such an influence upon Balaam himself, that the expostulation of the messenger of God and his own faithful animal, sounded in his ears and sunk into his heart? The difference is really and strictly formal. There is not indeed such a gulf fixed between the two, as at first view there seems to an occidental reader to be. The one is as really, though not so palpably, accomplished through the direct agency of God, as the other. On the one supposition, God causes such exhibitions as are perceptible to the bodily organs; in the other, he causes the direct internal perception of the same thing. In the one case, the instrument is brought a little more directly into view than in the other. It can hardly be supposed that the ass was endowed with a reasoning mind, by which her words were prompted. Bochart well says: "Non tamen hic verus fuit asinae sermo. Sermo enim est imago mentis; et τὸν λόγον προφορικόν præcedit ὁ ἐνδιάθετος. At in asina nihil fuit tale: non capiebat animo voces, quas ore suo proferebat." We ought not to judge this case by our own feelings in reference to visions and dreams, or by the standard of the present age and this western world. We should remember that the Lord had said: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a *vision*, and will speak unto him in a dream." These were evidently the customary methods by which he revealed himself in the Mosaic age. "Why then," says Herder, "should not the Divine Being, who would now employ the voice of this crafty diviner, going not in fact to curse but to bless, proceed in the way which was the most customary, and most effectual upon the mind of the diviner. A fearful phenomenon was to meet him in the way. He actually heard and saw, in a waking vision what is here related, and how trifling for us to inquire, Whether the ass actually spoke? and How? Whether and in what way God gave her reason and human organs of speech, etc.? To the diviner the ass spake in a vision, that is, he heard a voice and saw an appearance."<sup>2</sup> It may not be amiss, however, since so much stress has been laid

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.*, S. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Vol. II. pp. 173, 4. Marsh's Translation.  
Vol. III. No. 10.

upon this point, to enquire which is the more probable manner of this divine communication.

In the first place, it seems quite certain that the angel was seen by Balaam in vision, and not with the physical sense. That he did not see it, at first, and not until Jehovah had opened (literally uncovered, פָּתַח,) his eyes, would indicate an internal communication. It was only when, in the language of the apostle, the veil that was upon his heart was taken away, that he saw. Similar language is used in 2 Kings 6: 17, "I pray thee *open* [the verb פָּתַח,] his eyes that he may see. And the Lord *opened* the eyes of the young man; and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." Here there is an evident reference to seeing in vision. So in Ps. 119: 18, "Lord open mine eyes, פָּתַח עֵינַי, that I may behold wonders in thy law," the prayer is for internal illumination. When פָּתַח is used in the Bible in connection with עֵינַי, it seems to denote that one sees something out of the ordinary course, or desires an especial illumination.

There is but one way in which the blindness can be explained, if there were a real physical appearance of an angel, and that is, that God closed Balaam's eyes so that he could not see; for an accidental inattention is impossible in the circumstances. But in that case there would have been no guilt in not seeing, whereas it is plainly implied in the thirty-fourth verse, that Balaam felt condemned for his blindness: "I have sinned, for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me." The visions of future wealth and honor that would accrue from this expedition, were too vivid before the eyes of the prophet for him to perceive what was the will of the Lord. This was his guilt.

Now if the angel was perceived by the internal sense, it is a strong argument in favor of explaining the speaking of the ass in the same way. For the different parts of the narration of the supernatural phenomena, are so blended together and mutually dependent, that the manner of their occurrence cannot be supposed to be so widely separated, without doing violence to the connected relation. But there are other arguments in favor of this manner of understanding the communication of God to Balaam.

1. We have no evidence that Balaam ever received any other communication from Jehovah, except through visions. When the messengers arrived, in both instances, he waited until the

night, the proper season<sup>1</sup> for visions and dreams. There is no evidence of a personal appearance of God, when Balaam retired before his first and second prophecy; and in the third and fourth, he designates himself as one in an unnatural, *prophetic* state, who saw the vision of the Almighty.

2. No astonishment is produced in Balaam by the speaking of the ass. He answers the question, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? directly, and with as much coolness as if it were a common occurrence for him to be thus addressed; and even with a severe threat: "Because thou hast mocked me, I would there were a sword in mine hand for now would I kill thee." Is not this reply most unnatural on the supposition of an external communication? Would not his answer in that case have indicated fear, reverence, dread, as to a messenger of Jehovah? Augustine says: "*Nihil hic sane mirabilius videtur, quam quod loquente asina territus non est, sed insuper ei velut talibus monstris assuetus, ira perseverante respondit.*"<sup>2</sup> Wonderful indeed is it, that such an unheard of thing made no impression upon him. A stupid learner, "in schola asinae," he must surely have been. The contents of the speech only seemed to have any significance with him; the fact of so unnatural and strange an occurrence is not noticed.

3. In Numbers 22: 22, it is said, that when the angel first appeared, Balaam "was riding, and his two servants were with him." And the Moabitish messengers were also yet in company with him according to the thirty-fifth verse: The "angel of the Lord said unto Balaam, Go with the men.—So Balaam went with the princes of Balak." This, be it remembered, was said after the occurrence of the supernatural phenomena, so that they could not, as has sometimes been supposed, have gone on before, to prepare for the reception of Balaam. It is not a little strange, if there was an external communication to Balaam, that no evidence appears that the messengers and servants were aware of it. It may be that the messengers were separated for a time from him, but his servants were with him (verse 22). It is possible also that God shut up the sense of sight and hearing in all these men. But it is far more probable that the communication was not to the external senses of Balaam.

Objections have been urged against this manner of explaining

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Zechariah 1: 8 sq. "I saw by night," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Quest. 48 in Num., Hengstenberg, S. 62.

the wonderful phenomena which occurred to Balaam on his way to the Plains of Moab:

1. As the relation occurs in an historical book, there is no ground for considering it as occurring in vision, unless it be expressly stated. To this objection it may be replied, that frequent cases do occur of a like nature in the Old Testament. The authors are so well aware that the customary method by which God reveals himself, is in visions and dreams, and that such exhibitions of himself have all the characteristics of reality, that they do not seem to think it necessary to apprise the reader of the precise method of a given communication. Thus, we are not informed of the particular way in which the command is given to Abraham to offer up his son Isaac, but we infer from the phrase in Gen. 22: 3, "And Abraham rose up early in the morning," that it was by a nightly vision or dream. So in Gen. 21: 12 sq. "God said unto Abraham let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bond woman."—"And Abraham rose up early in the morning"—"and sent her away with the child." In Gen. 15: 1, it is said that "the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a *vision*," and the verses that follow seem to make a part of that vision, and yet in the fifth verse, God is represented as taking him forth and saying to him: "Look now towards heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them." But in the twelfth verse the sun is represented as going down, so that this must have been a *vision* which, contrary to the usual method, occurred in the middle of the day.<sup>1</sup>

Similar passages occur also in the New Testament. The voice which came from heaven, in answer to the prayer of Christ, in John 12: 28, 29, seems to have been but partially cognizable by the outward senses; for the people who stood by "said that it thundered, others said, an angel spake to him." The great mass recognized merely a murmuring, only those who were divinely illuminated understood the words. A parallel case is found in Acts 9: 4 sq. where only Paul understood the words spoken, those who were with him merely saw the light and heard a voice. A good illustration of the narrow separation between the external and internal in supernatural communications, is found in 2 Cor. 12: 2—4, where the apostle Paul knew not whether in his rapture to heaven, he was in the body or out of the body, *Εἴτε ἐν σώματι, οὐκ οἶδα· εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ οἶδα.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Gen. 28: 12 sq. 32: 2. 1 Sam. 3: 1: sq., et oct.; and see Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 51, 2.



2. It is also objected, that we cannot draw the line of demarcation between that which was seen in vision, and that which actually occurred before the eyes of all. But as Hengstenberg well says, this appears not to be difficult. So long as the narrative is in the province of ordinary external occurrence, we may suppose that it commemorates external events. There can be no doubt, that Balaam saddled his ass, and taking his two servants with him accompanied the princes of Balak; that he beat, three several times, the animal which had carried him out of the way, crushed his foot against the wall, and fallen down under him. But in reference to those events which may be considered as falling at least as naturally within the province of the internal as the external sense, such as the appearance of the angel with the drawn sword, we must judge by the probabilities in the case, and they, it seems to us, favor the supposition of a subjective communication. Let it not be said that this explanation limits the power of the Almighty. We neither deny nor disbelieve, that God might have actually caused the beast, which furnishes the metaphor for expressing the most inveterate stolidity, to have uttered the words of a rational man, or that he might have placed an angel, visible to mortal eyes, with the veritable appearance of a sword in his hand in the way of Balaam; all that we intend to say is, that the other explanation seems to us more natural and answers all the demands of the case.

3. It is said that "God opened the mouth of the ass," and in 2 Pet. 2: 16, it is asserted that Balaam "was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet." It cannot be denied that, at first view and by themselves, these passages seem to indicate that there was an external communication. But they do not necessarily favor this opinion. They are easily explained upon the supposition that there was a direct communication to Balaam; and as that seems to be the most natural explanation of the whole account, we need not hesitate to give them that interpretation. By the first phrase, then, nothing more seems to be intended than to show the agency of God in the production of these wonderful phenomena, and to give a just representation of them as they passed before the mind of the seer. In the second passage, the apostle speaks first of the rebuke of Balaam and then gives the manner in which it was effected. Now the rebuke is the same, whether God put the sound of words into the mouth of the dumb beast, or into the ears of Balaam, as coming from the beast; and we could

not expect the apostle in the circumstances, to give a detailed account of the manner in which it was effected. He merely wishes to indicate the severity of the rebuke, which consisted in showing that the beast saw what Balaam, although a professed seer, did not behold. And this is accomplished whether the speaking is considered as an objective or subjective occurrence.<sup>1</sup>

"And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned;—now therefore if it displeaseth thee, I will get me back again;" but the angel replied: "Go with the men; but only the word that I shall speak unto thee that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak." From these words it seems that it was not the object of these wonderful phenomena to prevent the journey of Balaam, but only to impress upon his mind that he was to speak only that which should be given him to declare by Jehovah. It seems probable that, notwithstanding the command that was made to him before leaving Mesopotamia, he was hastening on with hope of obtaining the rewards promised him. His subsequent history would perhaps warrant us in believing that unless some such warning had been given him, he would have thrown off all remaining restraint, and cursed the chosen people of the God whose prophet he professed to be. His tardiness in receiving the warning is also another indication how much his heart was set on his own emolument, and how little on doing the will of his master. It is true his curse would not have directly availed anything; but so strong was the belief in the efficacy of such incantations, that it might have discouraged the Israelites and given hope to their enemies. And this would have had the more influence, since he professed to be the servant of Israel's God, and had so vehemently declared, that he could do nothing which Jehovah did not approve. Besides, as it has been said: *Voluit [Deus] per os Balaam probare quam efficax et immutabile esset suum consilium de adoptione populi, quo veritus ejus et constantia magis illustraretur.*—Calvin in Num. 22: 35.

We are not told in what part of the journey the warning was given; but it is probable, that it was not far from the borders of Moab, so that the vision might be fresh in the remembrance of Balaam when he should stand before the king, and receive his proffers of honor and wealth. In the very next verse after it is

<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of this whole subject of the supernatural communication of God to Balaam, see Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 48—65, and Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften* S. 410, 411, note.

said that "Balaam went with the princes of Balak," we are told that "Balak when he heard that Balaam was come, went out to meet him unto a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon, which is in the utmost coast." It has been before stated that the Amorites had taken possession of the country of the Moabites unto the Arnon;<sup>1</sup> so that a city which had been in the interior of their dominions was now a border city. The Arnon was the dividing line between Moab on the north and the Amorites, and the city here designated was Ar, which is mentioned in Numbers 21: 15, 28, and which, in later times, was called Areopolis.<sup>2</sup> This special honor paid to Balaam by the king, of going out in person to the borders of his country, to welcome him, was undoubtedly shown with a view to conciliate his favor, so as to render him more earnest in cursing this wandering tribe from Egypt. His first salutation to the seer was equally well devised, to persuade him of the royal power and munificence: Did I not send to thee, to call thee? Why did you not come to me? Am I not indeed able to honor you? If Balaam had not received the signal warning by the way, we can hardly suppose that he would have maintained his integrity, when tempted by such alluring prospects. But the angel with the drawn sword was before his eyes, and the miraculous words were sounding in his ears, and he dared not do otherwise than he was commanded. He accordingly replied: "Behold I have come to thee; now can I say anything? The word that God puts into my mouth that will I speak."

From Ar they passed on in company to Kirjath-huzoth, (Strassburg, the city of streets,) where Balak offered oxen and sheep as a thank offering for Balaam's safe arrival, or more probably as a propitiatory sacrifice to Balaam's God, for the favorable issue of the business on which they were the next day to enter. He also sent of the offerings to Balaam and the princes that were with him, as a further pledge of the honor which he had promised to bestow upon him. Calvin says: *Huc tendunt omnia, blanditiis illectum fuisse Balaam, ut eum puderet regi tam magnifico, et à quo non modo amice, sed liberaliter tractatus erat, quisquam negare.*

### *The first Prophecy.*

Balak, impatient to know the event of his plan for defeating the Israelites, took Balaam early the next morning after his arri-

<sup>1</sup> See 21: 26.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius Thesaurus and Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* 8. 66, 234 sq.

val, and went upon the Bamoth-Baal (heights of Baal), where he could see "the extremities," the whole of the people. This place is probably identical with the Bamoth in Chap. 21: 20, and was a spur of the Pisgah mountains, extending into the valley of the field of Moab. There seems to have been two reasons for choosing a high place for the scene of this solemn execration of Israel. First, the curse, it was thought, would be more effectual if uttered with the people in full view; and, secondly, mountains and elevated regions generally were considered, by the ancients, as sacred; since they are nearer to the Heaven, where is the source of all holiness. God has been pleased to make upon mountains some of the most striking exhibitions of himself. On Sinai Jehovah spoke with Moses, and the people saw the thunders and the lightnings and the noise of the trumpet and the mountain smoking, and stood afar off from fear; on Horeb he also passed before the awe stricken prophet in the storm, the earthquake, the flame and "in the still small voice;" on Tabor was the transfiguration of our Saviour, and the appearance of Moses and Elias talking with him. Aaron was called home from the top of mount Hor and Moses after he had caught a glimpse of the promised Land from Nebo, died, and God buried him there in a valley, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. The altars of the heathen gods were often placed upon the mountain-tops, and the Israelites are chided by the prophets for nothing more than for their desire to worship on high places. The height upon which Balaam was taken, probably received its name, from its consecration to Baal, but it does not appear to have been chosen, at this time, particularly on that account, but because of its favorable position.

According to Balaam's direction, seven<sup>1</sup> altars were erected and seven oxen and seven rams were sacrificed to Jehovah. The choice of the same number, *seven*, for the altars and the offerings before each of the prophecies of Balaam, seems to indicate some imagined appropriateness in this number, to be employed in the worship of Jehovah; and this is abundantly confirmed by its use in other passages of the Bible. The custom of offering sacrifices before undertaking any important work, was prevalent throughout the nations of antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Divination especially was accompanied by sacrifices. Diodorus of Sicily says, that the

<sup>1</sup> For the origin and use of seven as a sacred number, see Bähr's *Symbol.* I. 145 sq., and Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 70 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Naegelsbach, *Die Homerische Theol.* S. 181 sq.

Chaldeans, to whom Balaam holds a close relation, were accustomed to attempt to avert ill and procure favor, by their offerings and enchantments.<sup>1</sup>

After he had sacrificed, Balaam left Balak by the burnt offerings, and went upon a hill, ܡܕܝܢܐ, which literally means a bare place, from ܡܕܝܢܐ, to scratch, scrape, to make bald, like the Syriac ܡܕܝܢܐ. See Job 33: 21 and Isa. 13: 2. Here a higher spot of ground than that in which they were, is designated, where the view was not obstructed by trees. This is in accordance with Hartung's description of the position chosen by the Romans for their auspices: "For this purpose a high place, where the view is unobstructed was selected. In the town it was commonly the citadel;—in the country, a projecting, barren, unfrequented mountain-summit."<sup>2</sup>

It should be noticed here, how careful Balaam is, to impress it upon Balak, that he can say nothing but what is given him to say by Jehovah, and also how dependent he is upon the direct influence of Jehovah: "Peradventure Jehovah will come to meet me, and whatsoever he sheweth me, I will tell thee." The prophet undoubtedly now felt that his message must be an unwelcome one, and he desired to throw off the responsibility, and to indicate to the king his own willingness to curse Israel, if he were not constrained by a higher power. We are told that "God met Balaam," and put a word into his mouth and commanded him to return and speak it. The king and the princes faithfully watched their smoking altars, casting probably now and then an anxious look upon the glistening tents of their enemies, spread out in the plain below, with the hope, that ere long mildew and wasting would settle upon them, and that the angel of death would hover over them with pestilence and death on his wings. As they saw the seer slowly returning, it is easy to imagine that the royal chaplet hung over a brow almost distorted with the mingled emotions of fear and hope. But the hope to hear the curse streaming from the enchanter's lips, was speedily dissipated by the following unequivocal communication.

7. And Balaam uttered his prophecy, and said :

From Aram Balak hath brought me,

The king of Moab, from the mountains of the East :

<sup>1</sup> 2. 29, quoted by Hengstenberg, S. 70, where see other proofs of the prevalence of this custom.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung's Relig. der Römer S. 118.

'Come, curse for me Jacob,  
Come, denounce Israel.'

8. How shall I curse whom God curses not?  
How shall I denounce whom Jehovah does not denounce?
9. For from the rocky heights I see him,  
And from the hills I behold him;  
Lo, a people that dwelleth alone,  
And among the nations is not reckoned.
10. Who can compute the dust of Jacob,  
Who, the number of the fourth of Israel?  
Let me die the death of the righteous,  
And let my last end be like his.

Verse 7. *His prophecy*, כְּנִבְיָא. The verb כָּנַח signifies originally, to liken, to compare (one thing with another); so the Arabic مَثَّلَ, assimilavit, aequiparavit (alterum alteri), and the Syriac مَثَّلَ. The signification, to rule, to have dominion, common in Hebrew, is not found in any of the cognate dialects except the Phoenician. The noun כְּנִיּוּת, signifies a similitude, a comparison. Its use in the Hebrew Bible corresponds substantially to this original meaning of the word. It is found to designate passages where there is a similarity of language and sentiment in parallel phrases, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Hebrew poetry. Hence it is frequently used to designate a sententious saying, an apothegm, a proverb, as in the Proverbs of Solomon, 1: 2, 3, 6, 7, et cet., Job 13: 12; also a song, a poem, as in Job 27: 1. 29: 1. Ps. 49: 5. 78: 2; so in Arabic مَثَلٌ, parabola, sententia, Syriac مَثَلٌ. Chald. כְּנִיּוּתָא. It is worthy of notice that it is never used for prophecy as such, but only to designate the poetic language used in prophetic passages. Hengstenberg makes the use of this word in reference to the prophecies of Balaam an indication of the difference between them and real prophecy. See Gesch. Bil. S. 78. The word *prophecy*, by which it has been translated must, then, necessarily be understood in a very general sense, especially in reference to those parts of the messages of Balaam in which there is no prediction, as in this first communication.

*From Aram*, מִן־אַרָם, Sept. ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας, from Mesopotamia. אָרָם is from the obsolete root אָרַם, to be high, elevated; hence it designates the mountainous region, or the highlands, as opposed

to the *בְּנֵינָן*, the low country. See Ges. Thesaurus. When used alone it generally denotes Western Syria, and when Mesopotamia is designated *מִדְּבָרִים* (of the two rivers) is added. But the qualifying word is omitted here. That it must however mean Mesopotamia is clear from the parallel passage, Deut. 23: 5, where the residence of Balaam is declared to be Pethor of Mesopotamia *מִדְּבָרִים*; and from Num. Chap. 22: 5, "He sent messengers unto Balaam son of Beor, to Pethor which is by the river" (*נַחַר*), the Euphrates. See p. 253, and Hengstenberg's *Gesch. Bib. S. 81.*—*Hath brought me*, *וַיְבִיחֵנִי*, Hiph. future tense from *נָחַח* with the Suffix *נִי*, me. In animated narration where a past occurrence is spoken of as passing before the mind, the future tense may be used in Hebrew. Literally, *brings* me, the historic present of occidental languages., See Stuart's Heb. Gram, § 504 b. 2. and Nordheimer, § 967. 2. c.

*The king of Moab*, *מֶלֶךְ-מוֹאָב*, corresponds to Balak in the first member of the parallelism. It is not, therefore, in apposition with that word, as it has often been translated, but there is an ellipsis of *וַיְבִיחֵנִי*, *hath brought me*, after it. The word corresponding with the last word of the first member of the parallelism, stands first in the second member; so in verse 17: Rise up Balak and *hear, listen* to me, son of Zippor; although in other cases throughout these prophecies of Balaam, the position of the words corresponds in the two members.

*The mountains of the East*, *בְּהַרְרֵי־קֶדֶם*, Sept. *ἐξ ὀρέων ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν*, i. e. from the mountainous parts of Mesopotamia upon the river Euphrates, north-east from the plains of Moab. But the general designation, east, is in accordance with the common usage of the Hebrew writers, who were accustomed to specify only four principal points of the compass. The appellation "mountains of the east," for his native country, was probably suggested to Balaam by the mountainous region of the Moabites in which he now was; see verse 9. In Deut. 33: 15 and Habakkuk 3: 6, *בְּהַרְרֵי־קֶדֶם* may be rendered, the ancient mountains; but the parallel phrase, *בְּדִבְרֵי־אֶרֶם*, precludes that interpretation here.

*Come*, *וָלֵךְ*, Imper. from *וָלַךְ* or *וָלָה* with *ו* paragogic. The paragogic letter seems to be used here to soften the command, and make it an earnest request, as, come, I pray you. So in *וָאָרָה* and *וָזָכְרָה* in this same verse; and in 22: 6, where, as frequently elsewhere, it is followed by the precative particle *נָא*.—See Nordheimer's Heb. Grammar, § 207. 1. The language in the remainder of this verse corresponds to chap. 22: 6, with the exception of its

poetical form.—*Curse for me*, אָרַד לִי, Imp. from אָרַד with ה parag. For the form here, see Nordheimer's Grammar as just quoted above. The primitive meaning of this word is plain from the Arabic *أَرَى*, to abhor, detest. In Gen. 3: 14, the part. אָרַד is used in nearly the same sense, i. e. avoided with abhorrence art thou, etc. Here it is used with a more intensive signification like the Greek *ἀπάσαι*, 'to curse'. So in Judges 5: 23, and in Job 3: 8. In this last passage as well as in the one under consideration, it is used in reference to that class of men so common in the East, who were supposed to have the power of bringing misfortune or evil upon those persons or things, in reference to which imprecations were made. In Malachi 2: 2, the same word is used in reference to the curse which Jehovah inflicts upon the disobedient priests.—לִי, *for me*, Dat. Commodi, i. e. in my behalf, so that I may prevail over him and drive him out of the land, 22: 6.—*Jacob*, יִשְׂרָאֵל and יַעֲקֹב are here used as designations for the Israelites without any distinction in meaning, as in the 10, 21, 23 verses, also in 24: 5, 17, and often elsewhere. The name Israel, first given to Jacob to indicate his power with God, (Gen. 32: 28,) literally, when used for his descendants, designates them in their higher existence, in their relation to God.—*Denounce*, דָּנָה, Imper. with ה parag. as above, from דָּנָה. For the Euphonic change in the vowels, see Ges. Lehrgebäude, § 47. 5. It is a poetic word meaning to be angry, and hence as here to speak in anger, to curse, *denounce*. The original signification of the word, as given by Gesen., Fürst and others, to foam at the mouth, does not seem to be well substantiated by the reference to V. cong. of دَعَى in Arabic. In Hebrew, at least, it is used only in the tropical significations as given above. In the LXX. דָּנָה is translated by *ἐνιματάσασαι*, to imprecate curses upon; and in the Peschito version, by *أَلَصَّ*, the Aphel form of *أَلَصَّ*, which means, to destroy, 'perde mihi Israellem.'

Verse 8. *How*, הֵן, literally, *what*; but here it is used simply as an interrogative adverb, *how*, in what way. So in Gen. 44: 16, "How shall we clear ourselves," etc., and also in 1 Sam. 10: 27. See Noldius, Concord. Partic. Ebraeo-Chald. word הֵן.—*Shall I curse*, אָקֵב, fut. Kal. from קָבַב, (according to Gesenius from קָבַב). קָבַב is from the same verb with the masculine suffix ה- instead of י-, the common form. For the interchange of quiescent letters when preceded by the same vowel, see Stuart's Heb. Gr. § 122.



This word signifies, to hollow out; compare قَب in Arabic; and then, metaphorically, *to curse*, to pierce with words like נָקַב.—*Denounce*, נָקַד and נָקַד; see under verse 7. This word, being intransitive, is not here followed by an object, for although the construction is allowable and occurs in the preceding verse, yet a repetition of it would not be in accordance with good usage in Hebrew.—*God*, אֱלֹהִים, from the verb אָגַד, to be strong, powerful, signifies the Powerful one, and hence, God as preëminent in power. It is, however, never used distinctively for the Supreme God in prose, without either an attributive, as אֱלֹהֵינוּ, אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, or another name of God, as in Gen. 33: 20, אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; but it is very often used in poetry as the name of God, both with and without the article and with the suffix of the first pers. sing., אֱלֹהֵי. For the origin of the name Jehovah, יְהוָה, see Gesenius' Thesaurus, and an Article translated from Tholuck, in Bib. Repos. Vol. IV. p. 89 sq., and for its use by Balaam, see p. 355 above. This whole verse would be literally translated:

How shall I curse, God curses him not;

How shall I denounce, Jehovah denounces not.

But the suffix ה- him, according to a common idiom of the Hebrew, may be supposed to have the relative pronoun, אֲשֶׁר understood before it, and hence be rendered by *whom* in English. See Stuart's Heb. Gram. † 478 and 553 d; Nordheimer, † 408. 1. 6, and † 909.

This verse seems to have reference to Chap. 22: 6: "for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed," etc. Balaam intends in this particular case to renounce his ability to curse contrary to the will of God. This people are his especial care, and who will venture to curse those whom he blesses. The point at issue between Balaam and Balak, seems not to be that of cursing contrary to the will of God. Balak does not desire that; but supposes that Balaam has influence to bring the will of God into harmony with his own will. This power Balaam renounces, at least in reference to the people now before him. The ground of Balaam's certainty that God will bless Israel, seems to be twofold. The promise to Abraham, Gen. 13: 16 and 22: 17 sq. which will subsequently be brought more distinctly into view, and a direct communication from God: "Jehovah put a word into Balaam's mouth," by which his previous knowledge was confirmed, and which compelled him to make the affirmation, God curses not.

Verse 9. *For*, וְ introduces the proof, contained in this and the

first half of the 10th verse, of the preceding assertion, that Jehovah is not angry with and does not curse Israel.—*From the rocky heights*, מִרֹאשׁ צָרִים, (literally, from the top of the rocks,) and *from the hills*, מִן־בְּצֻרֹת, are different designations of the high places of Baal, בְּצֻרֹת בָּעַל, on which Balaam stood. See p. 368.—*I see him*, אֶרְאֶנּוּ, first pers. sing. fut. from the verb רָאָה = Greek ὁράω to see, and הוּא sing. suffix pronoun referring to the collective noun עַם in the 3 *stichoi*. The Hebrew writer, when carried along by the excitement of his theme, frequently employed a personal pronoun without any immediate antecedent; and the noun to which the pronoun refers is sometimes introduced in a subsequent clause. Nordheimer, § 867, 1.

*I survey him*, אֶשְׁבֵּרֶנּוּ, from שָׁבַר, meaning primarily, to go around or about, and secondarily, to look around. Here it seems to designate the act of running the eye over any space or body of men to distinguish peculiarities, numbers, etc. The future is used in both these *stichoi* to indicate an action going on in the time of narration. See Nordheimer, § 964. 2. ב.

*Lo*, הִנֵּה, a demonstrative adverb or interjection, like the Arab. **أَنَّ**, Latin, *en*. Much less frequently used than the form הִנֵּה with *paragoric*.—עַם is used in contrast with גוֹיִם in the next *stichoi*, which in the plural is generally used for other nations than Israel, *foreign nations*. *Dwelleth by itself*, לְבָדָר יִשְׁכֵּן. The verb שָׁכַן means, to let one's self down, *to settle down*, and hence like the Arabic سَكَنَ, to abide, to dwell, followed by a preposition with the noun designating the place in Gen. 26: 2, *et saepe*. Here it is used without a specification of the place, but with a designation of the manner, *alone*.—לְבָדָר is compounded of a preposition ל, in respect to, and בָּדָר, separation, hence, *apart, alone*. In Deut. 33: 28: Israel dwelleth in safety, alone, the fountains of Jacob, etc., where בָּדָר corresponds to בָּטָח, *safely, securely*, in the first *stichos*; the ground of the security appears in v. 27: "He shall thrust out the enemy from before thee, and shall say, Destroy them." Jer. 44: 31 is a good commentary upon this passage: "Arise get you up into the nation that is at ease, that dwelleth without care, saith the Lord, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell *alone*." See also Judges 18: 7. Israel dwelleth apart from other nations, does not mingle with them and is secure against all their assaults. This is spoken generally of Israel, as the true Israel of God. When they revolted from him and transgressed, their security was gone; they no longer, in the full sense of this passage, dwelt,

לְבַדָּהּ, *alone*. Dicit autem habitatarum esse solum, ut alienis auxiliis minime indigeat. לְבַדָּהּ enim tantundem valet ac solitarie, vel seorsum. Dicitur ergo populus ita habitaturus esse, ut sua sorte contentus sit, non desiderat alienas opes, neque averseat aliena auxilia—Calvin, Com. in Num. 28: 9 sq.—*It is not reckoned*, הִיחָשָׁב, the Hithpaël fut. from חָשַׁב, lit. he reckons not himself. This clause is parallel with the last in meaning. See Hengstenberg's remarks upon this verse, Gesch. Bil. S. 84 sq.

We are not to suppose that a mere physical view of the camp of Israel is all that is meant by *seeing* and *beholding* in this verse. God made this view a medium of unfolding to Balaam more fully the peculiar relation of this people to himself, of giving him, in connection with his knowledge of the promise to the Patriarch Abraham, a deeper insight into the future destinies of this people which he had been called to curse.

Versè 10. *Who can compute the dust of Jacob*, מִי יִסְמְרֵה אֶפְרַח יַעֲקֹב. There is an evident, and apparently an intentional allusion here to Gen. 13: 16, "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth then shall thy seed also be numbered." So Balaam: "The posterity of Jacob is as innumerable as the dust of the earth, and whenever that can be numbered they may be." This seems to be strong language to use in reference to a people no more numerous than the Israelites at this time, but it is justified by the allusion to the promise which was already then taking effect, and would go on to its fulfilment. The idiom by which a thing now in the process of accomplishment is spoken of as if already completed, is very common in poetic and especially in the prophetic style of the Hebrews, and for this purpose the praeter tense is often employed, thus denoting the absolute certainty of the occurrence of the thing stated. See Nordh. Heb. Gr. § 966. 1. α. It should not be forgotten, too, that the reason given for the terror of the Moabites is that the "people are many," Num. 22: 3; and that in Deut. 10: 22 it is said: "The Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude." Calvin says in reference to this declaration of the number of Israel: Tenendum est, quamvis populi scelere ad exiguum numerum redacta fuerit illa multitudo, non tamen frustra hoc fuisse pronuntiatum; quia paucitas illa tandem exundavit, at totam mundum expleret.

*And the number*, וְיִסְמְרֵה. The noun יִסְמְרֵה is strictly an accusative used adverbially (see Stuart's Heb. Gr. § 428. (2), and Gesenius,

‡ 116) having *מִי מִנּוּ* implied before it: Who shall compute by number, etc., but the meaning is the same and more clear to render it in English as in the construct state before *מְדֻבָּר* and governed by *מִנּוּ* implied. Rosenmüller considers *מִנּוּ* as a noun used for the verb in the infinitive and governing *מְדֻבָּר* in the accusative.—*The fourth of Israel*, *אַרְבַּע יִשְׂרָאֵל*. There is without doubt a reference here to the division of the camp of Israel in Num. ii. and x. where the different tribes are arranged for marching, on the east, south, west and north sides of the tabernacle.

*Let me die*, *תָּמָה נַפְשִׁי*, literally, let my soul die, etc. According to a very common idiom in Hebrew, the personal pronoun is here supplied by the most distinguished and essential part of the man. *נַפְשִׁי* is often so used; also *לֵב*, *קָנִים* and some other nouns.

*The death of the righteous*, *מוֹת יְשָׁרִים*. *יְשָׁרִים* is from *יָשַׁר*, straight, right. The omission of the article may be accounted for, from the poetic style which often omits it where it would be used in prose. But an additional reason may be, that it is used here for the Israelites, and substantially as a proper name, the Jesharîm, like *יִשְׁשֻׁרִן*, *Jeshurun* in Deut. 32: 15. 33: 5, 26. The Israelites are spoken of as emphatically the Jesharîm. See Hengst. Gesch. Bil. S. 97. If it be asked how this term, *right* or *righteous*, can be properly applied to the Israelites, who so often erred from the right way of the Lord, and rebelled against him; it may be replied that there were always some among them, an *ἐκλογή*, to whom this term was appropriate, and who were ready to lift up their voice against the prevailing defection. And repentance and return always succeeded revolt, showing that there was among them a foundation for rectitude, which did not exist among heathen nations. And besides, a reason furnished by Calvin in his commentary on this verse, may have weight, though not to the exclusion of the one before given: *Recti vocantur Israelitae sicut aliis locis, non propria rectitudine, sed Dei beneplacito, qui eos dignatus fuerat segregari ab immundis gentibus.* The propriety of this name, then, depends both upon objective and subjective reasons, the promises of God and real character.

*And let my last end be like his*, *וְאֶחָדִי אַחֲרֵיָי קִמּוֹ*, literally, like him, i. e. like his end. *אַחֲרֵיָי* means the end, the extreme part of anything, as of the sea in Ps. 139: 9; but it is oftenest used of time, to designate the end, event, the last days, *אַחֲרֵיָי הַיָּמִים*, Isa. 2: 2; and it is evident from the parallel phrase

that it here signifies, the end of life, death. But what was the definite idea in Balaam's mind? Did he connect with a happy death the idea of immortal blessedness? Many have so interpreted this passage, but, as it seems to us, without good reason. There appears to be no sufficient evidence, that Balaam's thoughts, when he gave utterance to his desire for the death of the righteous, יִשְׂרָאֵל, extended beyond the grave. The whole prophecy has reference to prosperity in this life. The effect to be produced by his curse is a temporal effect. The Israelites had become so numerous and powerful that their enemies could not expel them; even execrations were of no avail. The promises in the Pentateuch respecting the Israelites, which Balaam seems to have in mind while uttering this and the preceding verses, have reference to prosperity in this world. The probability, then, is that Balaam, as he beholds the present good estate of Israel, and recalls the promises of God, that it shall continue until the end of this life, feeling his own ill deserts for the course he is now taking, and having, perhaps, some premonition of his unfortunate end, breathes forth the longing desire, that even to the end of his life, the good fortune which now belongs to the righteous, the Israelites, and will attend them, may be his. This seems to be the most natural and easy explanation of the words in their connection.

And here we might leave the discussion; for the natural import of the language and the whole spirit of the context, should seem to be sufficient grounds for an interpretation, especially where there are no stronger objections to it than in the present case. But one other argument may be adduced. It is in accordance with the spirit of the whole Pentateuch, to suppose that temporal death only is referred to by Balaam. A happy and peaceful death is frequently spoken of as an especial object of desire, and promised as a particular favor to the faithful, when there is no allusion to a happy existence beyond the grave. In Gen. 15: 15, it is said to Abraham, that he shall go to his fathers in peace, and shall be buried in a good old age; and passages of similar nature are frequent; Gesch. Bil. S. 96. On the other hand, to say the least, no other so distinct expression of a belief in immortality is found in the whole Pentateuch, as here, (see Hengstenberg's Beitr. III. S. 576, 7,) if the common interpretation among the older expositors is the right one. If Balaam gives utterance to his desire for the happy immortality of the righteous, the passage stands without a parallel in the Books of Moses, and

God vouchsafed to the false prophet a clear view of that, which the apostle Paul says, was brought to light by Jesus Christ through the Gospel. Surely there ought to be more solid reasons for adopting such an interpretation than have yet been given.

[To be continued].

## ARTICLE VI.

### REDEPENNING'S LIFE OF ORIGEN.

By Rev. B. Sears, D. D. President of Theol. Institution, Newton.

*Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre von Ernst Rud. Redepenning, Doctor und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Göttingen. Erste Abtheilung, pp. 461. Bonn. 1841.*

A GREAT man is not only the product of the age in which he was born and educated, but also the originator of some peculiarities which mark the age next succeeding. He is an essential link in society, connecting the past with the future, but transmitting more than he received. In order to form a right estimate of the character and merits of Origen, it is necessary to keep in mind both the time and the place of his birth and education, as well as the peculiar events which rendered his life so remarkable. Alexandria was at that time the principal seat of Grecian culture. Its Museum in the quarter of the city, called Bruchium, with its colonnades and walks, its stupendous library and large hall for public disputation, its numerous smaller apartments for study and for copying from books, and its dining hall for the accommodation of those who were supported there as men of learning, resembled rather an academy of sciences than a university, but was more extensive and magnificent than either. To increase the accommodations, the Serapeum had, long before Origen's time, been added. In this city, there was by far more of mere learning and knowledge than there had ever been in Greece, but infinitely less of genius. The Alexandrian scholars were mostly philologists and eclectic philosophers. Their philosophy, now both Grecian and oriental, had more surface than depth. Their theosophic and Gnostic speculations, had led even many pagans to contemplate subjects kindred with some of the more mysterious truths of revelation.

In the church, miracles had mostly passed away. In Phrygia and in proconsular Africa, Montanism had arisen to insist on a religion of mere feeling, and on new and continued revelations. The heresies which had sprung up and thickened on every side, had been opposed by the engine of tradition and by the external authority of the church. The plain and practical, but materialistic tendencies of Irenaeus and of Tertullian, and of most of the theologians of Asia Minor, of Italy and of north-western Africa, while they answered some important temporary purposes, and contained many elements of truth, failed to satisfy men of contemplation and philosophic tastes and habits. An attempt would naturally be made, and nowhere more naturally than in Alexandria, to reconcile the principles of theology with those of philosophy and science. The effort was in fact made, though with indifferent success.

Origen was born about the year 185, in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He was of pious parentage, and his father was a man of some learning, and of a respectable fortune. Origen was instructed in the rudiments of knowledge and in Christianity, by his excellent father. But it was under Clement of Alexandria that he prosecuted his studies with the most signal success. The story of his early courage and zeal, at the time of his father's martyrdom; his youthful epistle of encouragement to his father, while in prison, entreating the latter not to shrink back from martyrdom out of regard to those who would be left as widow and orphans, and his determination to die with his father, which could be prevented only by a stratagem of his mother, who hid his clothes from him, all this is familiar to the student of ecclesiastical history.

At the age of seventeen, Origen was left fatherless and penniless, for the paternal estate had been confiscated. He was invited by a wealthy and benevolent lady, to become a member of her family. Though a Christian, she was not well-grounded in the principles of Christianity; and therefore she had also invited Paul of Antioch, a Gnostic teacher, to become an inmate of her house, and even adopted him as a son. The young Origen, who had shown himself ready to contend for the martyr's crown, could not be bribed even by kindness to swerve in the least from the convictions of his judgment and conscience. So firm was his persuasion of the error of dualism, that he would not join with the Gnostic teacher in domestic worship.

In his studies, he had the power of rapid acquisition, and a tenacious memory; and yet he digested all his knowledge, and

was remarkable for the clearness of his views. His love of learning and his entire devotedness to Christianity, were equally conspicuous. He very soon engaged in giving public instruction in ancient literature. As pagans were among the number of his pupils, he did not fail to commend to them that religious system, of which his mind and heart were so full. Plutarch and Heraclas were his earliest converts; the former was the first of the many of Origen's disciples who suffered martyrdom, the latter became an associate teacher with his master, and afterwards bishop of Alexandria. Before he was eighteen years of age, Origen was made teacher of the catechetical or theological school of Alexandria by Demetrius, the bishop. In the mean time, Aquila succeeded Lætus, as proconsul of Egypt, and renewed the persecution with great severity. Origen still showed himself a bold Christian, and personally attended on those of his friends who were apprehended, and continued to visit them up to the moment of their execution. Often on these occasions was he stoned by the rabble. At times he was sought for at his lodgings by soldiers, but he succeeded in escaping from their hands. Though he frequently changed the place of his abode, his pupils, in even greater numbers, resorted to him by night, and he continued his instructions at the midnight hour.

Origen was naturally possessed of all that ardor of feeling, and all that hardihood which are requisite to constitute an ascetic; and these natural tendencies were nurtured and strengthened by the peculiar influences under which his character was formed. He lived at time when Stoicism and the Pythagorean system, as modified by Platonism, were prevalent at Alexandria, in both of which sensual delights were despised, and self-denial diligently inculcated. Judaism, in this city, had long before taken the same ascetic direction, and the oriental systems of philosophy, which were zealously propagated there, contained the essential elements of Brahmanism. What else than an ascetic could Origen well be, born and educated as he was, in such a climate and under such influences? Egypt, at this time, was a second India, in which Pagans, Jews and Christians were nearly agreed in sentiment in respect to practising austerities. How easy the task of interpreting the words of Christ and of the Apostles, in certain passages of Scripture, literally, and of perverting or rather mistaking them, to support such a theory of virtue! Maimonides, the Jew, had there taught that "he who would understand the law, must live on bread and



water, sleep on the ground, lead an austere life, and devote all his time to study."

Origen, supposing that the Gospels and Epistles coincided with the prevalent notions of so many different parties at Alexandria, literally followed those instructions. He possessed but one coat, went bare-footed for several years, and avoided the use of wine and of whatever else was supposed to excite sensual passions and desires. After the fatiguing labors of the day, required of him as a teacher, he devoted the greater part of the night to the study of the Scriptures, and then threw himself upon the floor and indulged in but a short repose. Though his activity and zeal for study were never interrupted, his constitution was impaired and his nervous system weakened and deranged for life.

In order that he might, after the example of Paul, be able to teach gratuitously, he sold all his manuscript copies prepared by his own hand, of the writings of the old Greek authors, for a sort of pension of four *oboli* a day, to be continued for a certain number of years.

The view which he took of the words of Christ recorded in Matt. 19: 12, led him to an act which then created some surprise, and since that time has called forth much discussion. Both the theory of morals, then almost universally prevalent at Alexandria, and the practice of multitudes in that age, must be kept in mind by any one who would find the true explanation of this extraordinary act. To such an extent did the practice referred to prevail near the end of the second century, that the sovereign of Edessa was obliged to prohibit it by law. For the same reason, did the Apostolic Canons, and the Council of Nice exclude eunuchs from the Christian ministry. The priests of Atys and of Cybele were eunuchs. Ministers of State were often such; and in the time of Septimus Severus, a single courtier had a hundred eunuchs in his house. Origen himself, who afterwards seems to have had more enlightened views on the subject, says that many Christians interpreted the words of Christ literally and practised accordingly. At a later period, Chrysostom had occasion openly to oppose and to condemn this custom.

Origen was thirty years of age, before he gave particular attention to the study of philosophy. It has been supposed that his sentiments in respect to the importance of philosophy, underwent a sudden change at this time. But this opinion is unfounded. The entire course of his studies was evidently pro-

gressive, and both external circumstances and internal wants regulated that course in its successive stages. In his childhood, he had studied what was then called *encyclopaedia*, and the Scriptures under his father. He afterwards became a teacher of philology, or of *grammar*, as it was then termed. Next, he became a catechetical or religious teacher. His works give evidence of a knowledge of all these branches of study, except mathematics. To rhetoric he attached but little importance. Logic and natural science appeared more important to him. In history, he was much inferior to Clement, his teacher. In biblical antiquities, he was but an indifferent scholar. Thus, for about ten or twelve years, from the age of eighteen to that of about thirty, he appears to have limited his studies to those branches of knowledge, which were regarded as requisite to an interpreter of the Scriptures. But at length his celebrity as a teacher, the necessity of refuting heretics, the circumstance that persons philosophically educated were found among his pupils, and, more than all, the fact that his own mind, in its natural progress, had now reached those great moral questions, of which philosophy treats, all combined to lead him ultimately to philosophical study.

Origen shows himself, in his writings, well versed in all the systems of philosophy current in his day; but he was most attracted to new Platonism, and was a diligent reader of the works of Plato. Still the particular attention which he now gave to the study of philosophy, probably under Ammonius Saccas, seems to have wrought no great revolution in his sentiments, a circumstance which proves that he did not approach that study unprepared.

About the year 211, at the age of twenty-six, or as some suppose a few years later, he made a journey to Rome, in order to acquaint himself with the doctrines, practices and general character of its truly ancient church. The Alexandrian and Roman views of the Christian church were widely different. By the latter, the one church and body of Christ were contemplated as a visible organization; by the former, as an invisible. In Rome and Carthage, separatism was dreaded as the worst of evils, and the *baptized* were looked upon as constituting the church. In Alexandria, the alienation of the mind and of the heart from the truth, was regarded as the chief evil, and the *holy*, both in heaven and on earth, were viewed as constituting the true church. Origen's opinions in regard to ecclesiastical organization and discipline, were substantially the same as those which

are now most commonly entertained by evangelical Christians. They were far more spiritual and rational than those held by the Roman church, and by Cyprian and Augustine. The chapter in which Redepenning presents a summary of Origen's system of church discipline, is in fact a valuable treatise on the subject for practical purposes. In general, the golden mean between formalism and latitudinarianism is happily chosen. Still, it appears that Origen admitted a modified supremacy of the church of Rome.

His stay at Rome was short. On his return, he continued, at the special request of Demetrius, his connection with the catechetical school. It should seem that Origen had contemplated retiring from the business of public instruction, for the purpose of prosecuting uninterruptedly his critical studies. As the rush of pupils was so great that he could no longer give all the instruction needed, Heraclas, above mentioned, after having pursued his philosophical studies for five years at the school of Ammonius Saccas, was associated as an assistant with his old friend and teacher.

It was not far from this time, about the thirtieth year of his age according to Redepenning, but five years earlier according to Möhler, that Origen learned the Hebrew language. Jerome says: *Tantum in Scripturis divinis habuit studii, ut etiam Hebraeam linguam contra aetatis gentisque suae naturam edisceret*; which last words Redepenning correctly translates or paraphrases, "contrary to the practice of the age and of the Alexandrian scholars." But Suidas and, after him, the Magdeburg centuriators and others explained the words, *contra aetatis naturam*, as meaning, "in his old age." Eusebius, Jerome, Vincentius, and Fabricius, Tillemont, Richard Simon and Ernesti have greatly overrated Origen's Hebrew learning. Le Clerc, Huet, the elder Rosenmüller and Gesenius have pronounced it superficial. With some modification, Redepenning adopts the opinion of the latter.

The acquaintance of a wealthy Alexandrine Gnostic, by the name of Ambrose, whom he converted to the orthodox faith, had an important influence upon his life and labors. For not long after the partial rupture between Origen and his bishop, Demetrius, in consequence of his having preached, while he was but a layman, during a visit to Caesarea, his friend Ambrose provided for him fifteen amanuenses and transcribers, and thus became his patron and the gratuitous publisher, so to speak, of his works. Nearly ten years of literary labor and authorship were the result of that

noble patronage. Would that every Origen might find an Ambrose! The commencement of the celebrated Hexapla was the first fruit of that act of beneficence.

More than one hundred and fifty years had passed away, since the New Testament was written, and yet no commentary, properly speaking, had yet appeared. Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Tertullian and others had, indeed, written a few brief practical notes on the Scriptures; but learned and critical commentaries, according to the present meaning of the word, were as yet unknown in the Christian church. Origen led the way; and though it was in a manner which does not satisfy the present age, he was copied by subsequent commentators till the time of the Reformation. Even in the Paraphrase of Erasmus, says our biographer,—and Ernesti had said it before him—the best parts are copied either from Origen or from Chrysostom.

The first literary production which Origen actually published and which he himself calls *τὴν ἀναρχὴν τῶν γραφῶν*, was his commentary on John. Thus, though he became a voluminous writer, he did not come forth as an author, till he was about thirty-seven years of age. Jerome, who wrote so much, was in his fiftieth year, when he became an author, an age at which most men retire from such labors. This commentary agrees in arrangement, nearly with those of our own day;—commencing with a general introduction, and then proceeding to the explanation of single words verse by verse. But it differs from them, and resembles the more loose and bulky English commentaries, in allegorical explanations, practical remarks and long doctrinal discussions. The account which Redepenning gives of Origen's earlier writings, or those composed in Alexandria, and especially of the important work *De Principiis*, furnishes abundant evidence of great research and profound study.

Owing to the jealousy of the bishop of Alexandria, and perhaps to some other unknown causes, Origen, about the year 330, at the age of forty-five, left Alexandria never to return. The story of this unhappy misunderstanding is a long one, and must be passed over here. He removed to Palestine and established a school at Caesarea, which became even more celebrated under him than the one he left at Alexandria. At this point of the narrative Redepenning closes his first volume. For the appearance of the second, which shall describe the remaining twenty-four years of Origen's eventful life, his retirement to Cappadocia during the persecution under Maximian, his temporary residence and litera-

ry labors at Athens, and the last ten years of his life in Caesarea, spent in delivering public lectures and daily homilies, and in writing his great work against Celsus, we shall look with intense interest. In the volume on which we have now commented, the author has shown much diligence and distinguished ability. Particularly does he excel in those minute microscopic details which are the charm of biography, and which alone can breathe the spirit of life and reality into general history. But he passes some judgments and advances some opinions with which we cannot agree. In his theology we have not entire confidence. He has too strong a sympathy with the philosophical and theological peculiarities of Origen. But the historical investigations are conducted with manifest integrity and candor.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### THE WINES OF MOUNT LEBANON.

By Rev. Eli Smith, Missionary in Syria.

THE following communication was written in Beirût in February, 1845. If the statements contained in it are not full in every point, it will be remembered, I trust, that the article was written in a country where it was very difficult to obtain authentic and exact information. I have selected such information as rests, I believe, upon good authority, and have preferred, where such cannot be found, to be silent. I may add, that having had very little to do with wines all my life, my knowledge on this subject was very vague, until I entered upon the present investigation for the purpose of writing the following Article. Some of my previous impressions I have now been obliged to correct. My information has been obtained from seven districts of Mt. Lebanon, viz. Bsherry, Ksarawân, the Kati'a, Metn, Jurd, Shelhâr, and Menâsîf, extending from Tripoli nearly to Sidon.

The methods of making wine in this region are numerous, but may be reduced to *three* classes.

1. *The simple juice of the grape is fermented, without desiccation or boiling.* The quantity thus made is small, and except in particular cases, where the soil or climate is favorable, it will not keep. Bhamdûn, a village in the Jurd, is the only place where I have seen this method of manufacture. There the average temperature of the air in August, has been found for two years, to be about 70°, and this winter one fall of snow has lain for a month on a part of the vineyards, before it entirely melted away. Yet, though the climate is so temperate, the wine I am speaking

of will not keep a year. It is made by treading the grapes in baskets, through which the juice runs, and is thus separated from the skins and seeds. The quantity of wine produced is in weight about half the weight of the grapes pressed. It is harsh and unwholesome, but possesses rather strong intoxicating powers.

2. *The juice of the grape is boiled down before fermentation.*—In this way it is made in much larger quantities, especially in places which manufacture it for sale. The must is first separated from the skins, and the boiling is done before fermentation. The effect is to clarify the must, by causing the crude substances to rise in the form of a scum, which is removed by a skimmer. As soon as this ceases to rise, the boiling is stopped, and the must set aside for fermentation. The quantity is usually diminished only four or five per cent. by boiling, and the wine is commonly sweet.

3. *The grapes are partially dried in the sun before being pressed.*—Wine is made in this way in nearly or quite as large quantities as the preceding. The most approved method is the following. The grapes, stems and all, are spread in the sun from five to ten days, until the stems are entirely dry. They are then pressed, and the must, with the skins and stems unseparated, is put into open jars. During fermentation, it is stirred every day in order that the scum which rises may sink to the bottom, and not by contact with the air contract a sourness which would spoil the wine. In this state it is left a month or so, after which it is strained off, and sealed up in close vessels. The object of leaving the wine upon the lees, or sediment of skins, seeds and stems, is to refine it. It acquires a richer color, and the dried stems absorb the sour and acrid particles. The longer it is left within a limited period, the better it becomes. Wine thus made is usually astringent, and keeps better than either of the kinds above mentioned. The superior of a convent in the Metn, which makes about 900 gallons a year, told me, that by boiling he had not been able for years to make wine that would keep a twelve-month, owing to something peculiar in the soil around his convent. He had now adopted the plan of sunning the grapes, and he found no difficulty in keeping it. His grapes, thus treated, yield about thirty per cent. their weight in wine. A man of my acquaintance at Bhamdûn made some wine this way last year, as an experiment. Fifty *rolles* of grapes, after being exposed seven or eight days to the sun, until their stems were quite dry, made 16½ *rolles* of wine. This wine was of the yellow astringent kind, had an almost aromatic flavor, and a good deal of strength. It should be remarked, that not near all the difference in quantity here mentioned as yielded, between the third and the first two methods, is owing to the drying of the grapes. In the instance last spoken of, the stems and skins left in the must, absorbed a large quantity, which was taken out with them and distilled into brandy. Different kinds of grapes, also, yield very different quantities of juice. Wine made in this way, will, I am told, sometimes burn, and even become thick.

There is often a combination of the processes above described. Sometimes in the *first*, the juice is not separated from the stems and skins, until after fermentation; as described under the third process. When the

grapes come to unusual maturity, wine thus made is said sometimes to keep well. Indeed, it should be remarked, that the ripest grapes are always preferred for wine ; and for this reason the leaves are often picked from the vines in order to expose the grapes more fully to the sun. Hence, also, a larger portion of the grapes that grow low down on the mountains, is made into wine, than of those that are cultivated near their summits. An acquaintance at Bhamdûn made some wine last year in the manner just described. It was of the same kind with that of his neighbor who dried his grapes, but its color was lighter, its taste harsher, and it had much less body. Sometimes, in the *second* process, the grapes are first sunned. In the *third*, also, the must is sometimes boiled a little with the stems and skins in it, so as to separate a part of the scum. It is thus made to partake of the taste of both the sweet and astringent wines, and is said to keep better than the latter. It will exhilarate as much as the astringent, but will not intoxicate so soon.

I have not been able to learn that sour wines are made in any part of the country.

According to statements I have received from the distillers at Beirût, the yellow astringent wines usually yield the most brandy ; though some sweet wines are equal to them. The quantity depends upon the body, or what they call the *thickness* of the wine ; and that depends a good deal upon the nature of the soil on which the grapes grow. Whether the wine is made by drying the grapes or boiling the must, is, they say, a matter of indifference. The same quantity of grapes, I am assured, made into wine in either of the three processes above described, will yield the same quantity of brandy. *The best wines yield 33 per cent. of what is called good brandy.* Whether it is equal to proof spirit, I do not know.

I have no means of ascertaining how much wine is made in Syria, or in Mount Lebanon. It is not the most important, but rather the least so, of all the objects for which the vine is cultivated. The principal vine-growing regions, are the more elevated parts of the mountains. The vineyards of Bhamdûn, which is nearly 4000 feet above the sea, cover an unbroken space, about two miles long by half a mile wide. The vines are trained on the ground. During the season of grapes which lasts about three months, they form the principal food of the inhabitants. Besides what is thus consumed, the village makes about 180,000 lbs. of raisins, one third of which is for home consumption, and about 24,000 lbs. of *dibs*, all of which is also for domestic use. The wine made is an item of no consideration ; it amounts only to a few gallons. The grapes, when dried into raisins, yield about 30 per cent. their weight, and about 25 per cent. when made into *dibs*. The surplus raisins are carried to the city markets, where they are manufactured into a species of candy, call *heldûsh*, which is much eaten by all classes ; or steeped in water for a drink, which is much used, especially by the Mohammedans during Ramadân ; or a small portion of them is distilled into brandy. In many places, the proportion of wine made, is greater than at Bhamdûn ; and in a few it is the principal object for which the vine is cultivated.

Wine in Syria is not an article of exportation. Small quantities pass

through the custom-house annually, but they are chiefly shipped as presents to friends in other countries. An English house, some years ago, shipped six cases to London for trial. It lay there in the custom-house two years for want of a market, which it would not command because of its having too little body. When it was finally about to be sold by the government for the duties, the owners ordered it to be reshipped. They finally drank it at their own tables in Beirut, where it arrived in a good state of preservation. It was of the ordinary strength, and not brandied. Before leaving Beirut, it had only been filtered through paper on being bottled, and that chiefly to clarify its color. In 1835, I sent a bottle of unstrained, unbranded Mt. Lebanon wine to a friend in the United States as a curiosity. It had then been in the cellar of the British consul here, more than a year, and in 1840 I found that my friend had some of it still on hand. It was in a good state of preservation, having no acetous taste whatever. I do not certainly know in what way either of these wines was made, but I believe it was in the third mentioned above. I cannot learn that there is any particular difficulty in preserving Mt. Lebanon wines that have been properly made, even in the warm climate of Beirut. An acquaintance has just told me, that he has now on hand wines that are six or seven years old, unfiltered and unbranded, and they are still good.—The price of good wine is about 3 cts. the pint.

The process of filtering through paper, mentioned above, and indeed that of straining in any way, after the wine is first separated from the skins of the grapes, seems to be hardly practised at all by the natives. Only one individual has told me that they ever filter through paper. He said it was done by some connoisseurs, not to make the wine less exhilarating, but to remove the gross particles, which injure the stomach and brain. It exhilarates as much, but will not so soon make a man dead drunk. I have been told that the same result is sometimes obtained, by putting a few drops of olive oil in a bottle of wine.

The habit of enforcing wines, by adding brandy, is here, so far as I have been able to learn, entirely unknown. I am always answered, "brandy is dearer than wine; how can it, therefore, be used for purposes of adulteration?" Equally unknown are drugged wines of any kind.—On the other hand, unintoxicating wines, I have not been able to hear of. All wines, they say, will intoxicate more or less. So in regard to fermentation, when inquiring if there exists any such thing as unfermented wine, I have uniformly been met with a stare of surprise. The very idea seems to be regarded as an absurdity. The name for wine in Arabic (خمر, the same as the Hebrew, יַיִן) is derived from the word that means to ferment. It is cognate with the word for leaven, and itself signifies also fermentation. I have not been able to learn, even, that any process is ever adopted for arresting the vinous fermentation before it is completed.

In regard to the wine used at the sacrament, I have questioned both papal and Greek priests, and received the same answer. It must, they say, be perfect, pure wine. If unfermented, it will not answer, nor will it if the acetous fermentation be commenced. The acknowledgment of



the necessity of fermentation by the papists, is worthy of special notice, inasmuch as they reject fermented bread. This rejection is owing to their belief that our Saviour used unleavened bread at the institution of the ordinance; and their admission of fermented wine, consequently, indicates a belief that he used fermented wine, notwithstanding it was the feast of unleavened bread. To this, so far as I have observed, the custom of the Jews in Palestine now corresponds. In 1835, I called on the chief Rabbi of the Spanish Jews in Hebron, during the feast, and was treated with unleavened bread and wine. Finding the wine was fermented, I asked him how he could consistently use it, or have it in his house. He replied, that as the vinous fermentation was completed, and there was no tendency to the acetous, it did not come within the prohibition of the law; and that if any wine was found at the beginning of the feast, in danger of running into the acetous fermentation, it was in that case removed.

The only form in which the unfermented juice of the grape is preserved, is that of *dibs*, which may be called grape molasses. The juice, immediately on being expressed from the grape, is mixed with a small quantity of clay, and then boiled down about one half or until there remains about 25 per cent. of the weight of the grapes. The people say the object of the clay is to clarify the juice; but it seems also to have an influence on its sweetness. A friend of mine last year made some grape syrup, by simply boiling the juice without the clay, and it retained the acidulous taste of the grape; whereas *dibs* has nothing of it, but is a pure sweet. In its ordinary state it has the consistency of molasses; but in some places where the best is made, it is beaten after it becomes cold, until it assumes a bright yellow color, and the consistency of ice cream; in which state it remains until the next summer. It enters so largely, as I have mentioned above, into the family stores in some ports, that at Bhamdûn, for example, a place containing not over 600 souls, about 24,000 lbs. are made and laid up, which requires about a quarter of the grapes of the village. It is classed among the eatables, and not among the articles to be drunken. I am told that it is sometimes used to sweeten water for drink, but I do not remember that I have ever seen it. It is generally eaten in its simple state with bread, or used in cooking. As found in the city markets, this article is very often adulterated with the juice of the *kharmûb*, a sweet pod which is generally supposed to be the husks with which the prodigal son fed the swine, and is considered the lowest kind of human nourishment. I do not see how there should be any more difficulty in exporting *dibs*, than there is in exporting molasses. I once sent a quantity to a friend in England, which I believe arrived safe. Others have been equally successful in sending it to the United States. The price of the best is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cts. the pound.

## ARTICLE VIII.

## TURKISH TOLERATION.

By Rev. Eli Smith, Missionary in Syria.

It has come to be generally understood, that Turkish law tolerates only certain existing Christian sects, forbids the rise of new ones, and thus presents a barrier to the introduction of Protestantism. Such was the prevalent understanding of the case among the Franks at Constantinople, when Mr. Dwight and myself visited that city in 1830 and 1831; and this view was presented in the volumes which contain the results of our researches in Armenia. The same view has been repeated by almost every traveller, who has touched upon the subject since. This view, however, needs to be very materially modified. Fifteen years' experience and inquiry in that country, have thrown new light upon the subject, and it seems important that this light should be diffused among the Christian community.

It has been evident from the first, that the above mentioned view of Turkish law, did not hold good in *Syria*. Whatever obstacles Protestantism may have had to encounter there, it has never been told, either by magistrates or people, that it had no *legal* right to an existence. Those who lately declared themselves Protestants at Hasbeiya, were never accused by the Turkish authorities, from the brother-in-law of the Sultan downward, that they had taken an illegal step. On the contrary, the high functionary just alluded to, officially declared, that notwithstanding what they had done, they remained dutiful subjects of the Sultan. The common people have never shown that they had a suspicion, that there was a principle in Turkish law, that stood any more in the way of a person's professing Protestantism, than of his joining any other Christian sect. Persecution has always been expected; but it was from the *arbitrary power* of magistrates and ecclesiastics, or from the violence of the populace, and not from the execution of law.

At Constantinople and in that vicinity, I am not aware that this discrepancy between the received exposition of the Turkish rules of toleration and actual experience, has been found to exist. Perhaps the ideas current at the capital in 1831, on this subject, prevail there still. If so, the following suggestions, though offered with diffidence, it is believed may explain the difference between Constantinople and Syria, in relation to this subject. It is proverbial of the Turks, that they rarely repair what has fallen into decay. The walls of Constantinople still show the very breaches made in them when the Turks took that city. If many exceptions to this rule have of late appeared, they are innovations

upon old Turkish habits, borrowed from abroad. Scarcely more have the Turks been given to municipal reorganization. As they occupied fortresses and settled in cities without repairing or remodeling; so, instead of reconstructing existing organizations, they merely superinduced their own still semi-nomadic institutions upon them. This was the easiest course for a semi-barbarous people, when it found itself in possession of an empire made up of several nations, speaking unknown tongues, which it had not the disposition, perhaps not the ability, to acquire. Where any one of these nations presented itself as a unit with its own head, and its own internal organization; to govern it through this head and this organization, at least in part, was much more convenient, than to attempt a reconstruction of society, which required more powers of organization than the conquerors yet possessed. The *Greek* nation did thus present itself as a unit, with its head in the person of the patriarch, and its organization ramified into every diocese and parish. No sectarian distinction divided it. It even embraced two other nations within itself, the Albanian and Slavonic; which having no distinct national or sectarian existence, were naturally treated as integral parts of the Greek people. The Greek nation was therefore treated as an organic body, the patriarch was acknowledged as its head, and invested with the necessary powers as a magistrate. The *Armenian* nation presented the same unity of organization, but its head was not at hand. The *Catholicos* had his see at a great distance from the capital. In this emergency, the bishop of Brusa was brought to Constantinople, and made, by the government, head of the nation, with the title of patriarch. When the *Spanish Jews* moved into Turkey, they were another distinct nation. As such they were consequently treated, and their chief Rabbi was clothed with magisterial powers.

The important idea intended to be brought to view in the preceding remarks, is this: That what now appears at the Turkish capital, so distinctly as an exclusive establishment of certain sects, was in its origin and intention, *not ecclesiastical*, but *wholly municipal*; not an establishment of sects, but an organization for the government of nations. Each nation happened to be a distinct sect, and an ecclesiastic was acknowledged as the head of each; and hence the system came in time to wear its present sectarian, ecclesiastical aspect. But it was properly at the outset a *Turkish* municipal expedient, and had not its origin in the older Mohammedan laws respecting religious toleration. In confirmation of this view, let me revert to the fact, that the Armenian patriarch is in no sense the ecclesiastical head of his nation. Ecclesiastically considered, he is only bishop of a diocese. He can no more consecrate bishops, than can other bishops. This is the business of the *Catholicos*. Nor can he perform any ecclesiastical functions beyond his diocesan limits. His patriarchal title is of Turkish origin, and his powers, above those of his fellow bishops, are given him from the same source for magisterial purposes. Another confirmation of this view is at hand. Among the multitudes attracted to Constantinople as the capital of a great empire, is a little knot of a few hundred Christian *Arabs*. In conformity with the system there prevalent, they also must needs be treated

as an organized body, and have a head. But so little was thought by them, or the government, of its being an ecclesiastical arrangement, that the person acting as their magistrate, is actually a *Turk*. Again, take the case of the recently acknowledged sect of papal Armenians. The labors of papal missionaries during many years, had resulted in the conversion of a good many Greeks and Armenians to the Romish church. The Greek converts generally took Frank protection, and thus the question of toleration, in regard to them, was evaded. The Armenians retained their national connection, the patriarch still representing them as their head before the government; and by paying certain fees to the Armenian clergy, they managed to keep all quiet, while they, at the same time, had their own clergy and worship. At length the Armenian patriarch, on the breaking out of the Russian war, saw fit to cast them off. That act deprived them of any acknowledged municipal existence, and they were persecuted for a time as outlaws. At length the government was persuaded to give them a head, as a distinct community. According to analogy, this head was to be a patriarch. A patriarch was appointed by the pope. But here a difficulty arose. The Sultan would not accept, as their municipal head, a person of foreign appointment. No more would the pope accept, as their patriarch, a person of Turkish appointment. The difficulty resulted in the appointment of two persons with the title of patriarch. The pope's patriarch was the real ecclesiastical head of the sect, the Sultan's was only its municipal head, and no real patriarch at all, though bearing the name.

One important suggestion, arising out of the view of the subject thus presented, deserves to be noticed, before I pass to a consideration of the state of things in Syria. It is this: That should it be necessary for Protestantism, in and around Constantinople, to have a municipal organization and a head, like the other sects, that head *need not be an ecclesiastic*. A bishop of foreign allegiance, and foreign appointment, he can never be. A lay head, with a purely municipal organization, will answer every purpose of the Turkish government. Then, different denominations of Protestants can enjoy equally the benefit of the same act of toleration; the great advantage will be gained of giving the Turkish government no occasion to control, or interfere with, purely ecclesiastical matters; and the clergy will be left to the simple discharge of their spiritual functions, unencumbered with municipal duties, and uncorrupted by secular power.

In *Syria*, the Arab nation occupying that country, did not present itself to its Turkish conquerors as a unit. It had no national organization, and no head. On the contrary, it was split up into, at least, eight sects, five Mohammedan and three Christian, each feeling little or no national affinity with any other. For the Turks to introduce their national municipal system here, was plainly impracticable. Nor was it introduced by sects, which would not have failed to be done, had the system in its original intention, been sectarian and not national. The Greek patriarch of Antioch and his bishops do indeed receive firmans from the Porte, yet neither he nor the other patriarchs and bishops in Syria have ever been in practice, treated by the Turkish authorities as municipal magistrates,

nor have the clergy had the collection of taxes. The taxes, it is true, are in many places, collected by sects; but then, it is by lay committeemen, chosen by the people of each religious community, and in each town by itself, while in country places, the distinction of sect, in this matter, is very often not at all observed. The Turks having thus never introduced into Syria, their own peculiar expedient for the government of subject nations, the older Mohammedan principles of religious toleration, have been left comparatively unembarrassed, and allowed to exert their more liberal influence.

What the original principles of Mohammedan law, upon the point in question, are, we have the means of knowing with great exactness. They are contained in a legal document, which I will give in full; after first explaining the circumstances in which it was issued. The city of Aleppo, in Syria, was for a long time the seat of a flourishing papal mission; and as the result of its labors, many converts were made from among the Arab members of the Greek church. At length, in the year 1175 of the Hejira, somewhat more than eighty years ago, the Greeks obtained a firman for persecuting the Catholics; by authority of which they oppressed them, and imprisoned a number. Then the Catholics petitioned the Porte, and obtained a *fetna* in their favor, which is the document in question. A *fetna* is the decision of a *Mufti* upon a point of law, and a *Mufti* is an official expounder of law. His opinions are obtained by proposing questions in writing, often stated in the most abstract manner, without the naming of parties; and they remain mere abstract opinions until acted on by a *Kadi*. The *Kadi's* business is to decide whether the conditions, supposed in the question, correspond to the circumstances of the case under trial; and his favorable decision gives executive authority to the *fetna*. The document I am about to quote, having emanated from the chief of the *Muftis* at the capital, is of the highest legal authority. I am not aware that any one has yet searched for it among the records of *fetnas* at Constantinople. But I have found it in two modern Arabic histories of Syria, and as it, at the time, stopped the persecution that was raging, and is, as it were, the charter upon which the liberties of the Greek Catholic sect are founded, its genuineness does not admit of a doubt, nor is it to be doubted that it received the necessary *exequatur* from the proper judicial authority. Such a document ought to be searched for, however, among the records of the office from which it issued.

The question proposed was the following: "What do you say, (may God preserve your Excellency,) in case a tolerated person is appointed patriarch or bishop over the tolerated Christians, Greeks and other strangers, dwelling in the city of Aleppo, or Damascus, or other cities of the Ottoman empire, by virtue of a royal edict from his Highness our master, the Sultan, to attend to their concerns both general and particular in affairs of religion, such as marriages, prayers, invocations and other legal matters; and then a portion of them dissent from and disobey him, contrary to the command of our master, the Sultan, and mingle with the untolerated Franks, and embrace their religion, and pray in their churches, intending thereby to disobey the command of our master the Sultan,

and elevate themselves above Mohammedans? Shall they be constrained to obey the royal command by conforming to the said patriarch or bishop? And if they disobey the command of our master the Sultan, and elevate themselves above Mohammedans, shall they be considered untolented, their covenant of toleration be regarded as broken, the treatment of the untolented be inflicted upon them, their blood be shed with impunity, and their property and their children be a lawful prey to Mohammedans? Favor with an answer, and yours be the reward."

A few explanatory remarks upon this question may be proper before we proceed to the answer.

1. The terms "tolerated" and "untolented," by which I have translated the Arabic *dhimmy* and *harby*, relate to the two classes into which Mohammedan law divides all non-Mohammedans. One consists of those, who, by submission and paying the capitation tax, become entitled to toleration; as is the case with Turkish rayahs. The other includes all who resist Mohammedan authority and refuse the tax. Upon these, it is one of the cardinal duties of Mohammedanism to make war, and their lives, property and children are a lawful prey to any Mohammedan.

2. The worst construction is evidently attempted to be put upon the proceedings of the Aleppine dissenters, as if the case had been made out by an enemy.

3. The right of seceding from a church over which an ecclesiastic has been appointed by authority of the Sultan, is one of the points brought into question—a point which covers the case of a removal of relations from one acknowledged church to another, even in Constantinople.

• 4. Joining with a foreign sect and worshipping with Franks, is adduced as an aggravation of the charge. This, in case of the seceders in question, had reference to their adherence to Roman Catholic missionaries. But it is equally applicable to converts to Protestantism. The latter are no more chargeable with seeking a foreign ecclesiastical alliance, and thereby joining an unacknowledged sect, than were the former.

5. The calling of the Aleppine seceders, Greeks and strangers, does not imply that they were not Turkish subjects. That they were understood to be subjects, is distinctly shown by the answer. They were in fact Arabs by nation, and the term Greek is here used only with reference to church relationship.

We will now proceed with our fetna.

"Answer.—Praise be to God the author of rectitude. You are acquainted with what is manifest in the standard books of the Doctors of the school of our Imam en-Naaman, their comments and fetnas; that infidelity is all of one sect. So that if a Christian embraces the religion of a Jew, or a Jew the religion of a Christian, or of a Frank, it shall not break his covenant of toleration. As is declared by the author of the *Kunz*, and others of our respected Doctors, the covenant of a tolerated person is broken, only by his retiring to a country of the untolented, or by victory over such a country. Now if you understand what we have affirmed, you will see, that if a portion of the tolerated Christians unite with the Franks, and adopt their religion, and pray in their churches, it is not disobedience in them, nor an attempt to elevate them-

selves above Mohammedans. Nor can we say that they have gone from one religion to another; as we have already affirmed that all religions opposed to Mohammedanism, are infidelity of an equal degree. Wherefore their covenant of toleration is not to be broken, nor are they to suffer the treatment of the untolerated. Inasmuch as the untolerated Franks, if they enter the country of Mohammedans under an assurance of safety, are secured. If they remain a year and do not return to their country, they become tolerated, and are to receive the treatment of those who are tolerated. It is not lawful to shed their blood, nor to take any of their property, while they are in our country; as is manifest from what has been already said. Nor does their not paying tribute render any such thing allowable; nor is our not taking tribute from the Franks who live among us a fault on our part. Even if they refuse to pay it, according to the declaration of the author of the *Kunz*, their covenant of toleration is not broken by their refusal of tribute, nor can we call them untolerated. Wherefore it is not lawful for us to shed the blood of the Franks aforesaid, in our country, nor to take any of their property without right. Much more is it not lawful in reference to the tolerated who are subject to our laws. It is not lawful for any one who believes in God and the last day, to interfere with the portion of the tolerated, be they Aleppines, Damascenes, or others, or to demand of them obedience to the patriarchs or bishops professing infidelity. Especially as it is affirmed in the dogmas of the professors of the *Sunneh*, that to approve of infidelity is infidelity; from which may God defend us. We have appointed over them a magistrate with a royal edict from his Highness our master the Sultan, which does not forbid them to adopt the religion of others. And if there be anything in the royal edict which directs to conformity to the patriarch or bishop, it must have occurred by oversight, arranged at the suggestion of the patriarch or bishop, it being impossible that it should have occurred by intention of the Sultan; may God most high establish him in victory. Wherefore it shall be meritorious for his Excellency our master the Vizier, and the magistrates of Mohammedans, to prevent the tolerated person, patriarch or bishop, from interfering with the tolerated strangers. This is the answer, well considered and decreed. Let no other be considered or attended to. And God knows best.

(Signed,)

SOLEIMÂN EL-MANSÛRY, of the school of Hanîfeh.

The *Imam en-Nauman*, mentioned above, is the founder of the school of Hanîfeh, the one of the four orthodox schools of the Mohammedan law which prevail at Constantinople and in Turkey proper. The *Kunz* is a standard work in Mohammedan law. The professors of the *Sunneh*, are the dominant sect of Turkey in distinction from that of Persia. A *believer in God and the last day* is only another phrase for a Mohammedan. With these explanations, this fetna is a very intelligible document. By it the following points are clearly decided.

1. A Christian transgresses no law of Mohammedanism by going from one acknowledged sect to another. As soon as he declares that he no longer belongs to his former sect, the authority of the head of that sect over him ceases. Nor may a Mohammedan magistrate force him to re-

turn to his obedience. On the contrary, it is a commendable act in such a magistrate to shield the seceder from all persecution.

2. The profession of a foreign form of Christianity is no aggravation of the case, and does not change the unexceptionable character of the act of dissent. The necessity of belonging to a sect having an acknowledged head, does not seem to have been felt by the writer of the document. No allusion is made to it, either in the question or the answer.

3. The grounds of this liberty of dissent, are no acknowledgment of the rights of conscience. They consist of two principles characteristically Mohammedan. First, all forms of unbelief are equally wrong, and therefore constituting, in the eye of Mohammedanism, but one sect. To punish unbelievers, therefore, for going from sect to sect, would be a manifest inconsistency. Second, to force a dissenter back into a sect he had left, would imply an approval of the doctrines of that sect; and this approval would be an act of infidelity, the very greatest of all sins. I may add, that if this latter reason be valid against forcing persons back from the Romish Church to the Greek—churches equally idolatrous—how much more weight must it have, in the judgment of a Mohammedan, against forcing a convert back from Protestantism, in which no idolatry exists, into a sect which worships pictures and images?

These grounds for the toleration of dissent, are certainly not to our taste; but the conclusions to which they lead, when acted upon, practically give to non-Mohammedans in Turkey, more freedom of conscience than is enjoyed under almost any government in Continental Europe. Accordingly in Syria, where they have had the freest scope, Christians have always had the liberty of going from one existing sect to another; often, indeed, not without temporary persecutions, but persecutions originating, not in the law, but in bribery and other sinister influences. New sects, too, have risen up. The Greek Catholic sect obtained a settled existence through the influence of this *setna*. There are also Syrian Catholics, and Armenian Catholics; and each of the three sects has its patriarch. It is to be noticed, also, that the Armenian Catholic sect was in existence and had its patriarch in Syria, long before the same sect was acknowledged at Constantinople. None of these sects, moreover, has ever had a representative-head, or been officially acknowledged, at Constantinople; and the same is true of the Maronites, a sect that was in existence when the Osmanly Turks first took the country. The Maronite patriarch did indeed, in 1841, through British influence, receive the authority to have his *kapu-kakhiya*, or official agent, at the seat of government; but he immediately involved himself in political and belligerent intrigues, which threw him into disgrace, and this agent is probably no longer known. The Greek Catholic patriarch, also, has been for some two or three years, at Constantinople; but only temporarily, to carry on a lawsuit with the patriarch of the Greeks. Protestantism has, in the eye of the law, as good a chance as papacy. And lately, in the trial, the Hasbeyians had only to declare that they were no longer Greeks but Protestants, and the Greek patriarch could not touch them; nor did the authorities, on the other hand, charge them with taking an illegal step.

Such is the toleration extended to us in Syria, by Mohammedan law.



It is liable, indeed, to very great infringements from arbitrary and covert proceedings of corrupt magistrates, and from the violence of a fanatical populace. And there is danger of an extension over the country of the ecclesiastical municipal system prevalent at the capital; especially under the influences that are coming in upon Turkish institutions from the neighboring governments of Continental Europe. Were it secure from these contingencies, we in Syria are prepared to say, that we are content with the toleration Mohammedan law affords us, in our labors for the salvation of the nominally Christian population of the country. The extent of this toleration ought to be known to the credit of the law which grants it; and every influence from abroad, tending to curtail it, is highly to be deprecated.

It is sure, that we should have less liberty under any European government that might be extended over the country, unless it were that of one or two of the most tolerant of the Protestant powers. Were any of the native sects, Christian or Jewish, to be put in possession of the government, they would be sure to exclude us from laboring among them. And from the acknowledged toleration of Protestantism as a sect, with an official head and municipal organization, about which there has been some talk, and perhaps negotiation of late, we have, if I mistake not, more to apprehend than to hope. It could hardly fail to be accompanied with the corruption and intolerance of an establishment—a corruption the greater for its being the creature and necessarily the tool of a Mohammedan government; and an intolerance the more overbearing for the want of enlightened views of the rights of conscience in the country where it would exist. The power with which such an establishment would be invested, we do not need. To worldly churches, admitting within their bosom the ignorant, the vicious and the refractory, in a word, the whole community, it would be of use, and in fact necessary, for purposes of government and discipline, if government and discipline be exercised. Our system is wholly different. Purely spiritual in its character, admitting only such as are spiritual to the rights of membership, it needs no aid from the civil power in the management of its internal concerns. Aiming, moreover, at no widely extended organization, it has not to encounter, and make terms with, the jealousy which would be felt by Government toward such an organization, even if it were of a spiritual character. Wherever it finds, or succeeds in raising up, a company of true believers, it regards them as a church of Christ, competent to manage among themselves all their ecclesiastical affairs. It changes in no respect their relation to Government; but leaves them to pay their taxes in the way they have ever done, or in any other way that may be prescribed to them; and in a word, places them before the authorities as simple dutiful subjects, and nothing else. This simple, spiritual form of religion originally worked its way in that same country, amid sore embarrassments and persecutions. It is also specially adapted for introduction there again. And if it be animated with its pristine vitality, it will find openings left by the laws of the land wide enough for it to enter, and spread its spiritual leaven, until the whole mass of society shall be wrought upon by its unpretending, and yet transforming influences.

## ARTICLE IX.

## GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Rev. Samuel Wolcott, Longmeadow, Mass.

*The Coast of the Dead Sea.*

IN a short notice of some recent Maps of Palestine, in a former Number of this Journal,<sup>1</sup> we referred incidentally to a locality on the western coast of the Dead Sea, towards its southern extremity, the ancient Masada, which the writer had visited, in company with an English artist, during his residence in Palestine. The excursion led us to traverse a portion of the coast of that sea, which no modern traveller had passed over.

The position just named was found to command a complete view of the sea; the map of which, in Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, was subjected to the severe test of being compared with the object itself, as it lay directly under our eye, more than a thousand feet below us. The testimony which has been given to the public, respecting the credit with which the work sustained that test, need not be repeated here. It is certainly surprising that it should have been left for American research, at so late a period, to define with any degree of correctness the shape of this singular sheet of water; as it is gratifying that it has finally been done so accurately. The annexed sketch gives more minutely and correctly the portion of the coast already referred to, which had not before come under personal examination. It is merely a general outline, drawn from the individual recollections of the writer, and without any reference to bearings and distances noted at the time and subsequently published by Professor Robinson, and which, with a more particular description of the localities, can be consulted by the reader.<sup>2</sup> We subjoin a few explanations, and cannot forbear expressing a hope that the time may be near, when some enterprising traveller will execute an undertaking which combines so much, both of scientific and sacred interest, and explore the shores and sound the depths of this remarkable sea. The Wadys here given are all dry in the summer season. During the rains, the sands are washed down and form projecting points in the sea. We observed drift wood in various places along the coast, indicating the different stages at which the water had stood. The Birket el-Khûlîl, ('Pool of the Friend,'—a name given to Abraham, and hence to Hebron, to which this probably refers,) is a mere depression in the sand, into which the waters flow when they are raised by the winter torrents, and evaporating, leave a saline deposit, which the natives gather for domestic use. The coast north

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II. p. 585 sq.<sup>2</sup> Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. I. pp. 62—68.



the site had anciently been, and proceeded north without visiting it. It afterwards occurred to them that it might be Masada; and the reasons for this opinion, as given in the *Researches*, are quite convincing. Nothing was needed but the evidence of actual inspection, without which, of course, there could not be absolute certainty.

The spot thus discovered and waiting to be identified, though not mentioned in the Scriptures, was from its natural position, and from the place it had occupied in the earlier annals of the country, fitted to engage the attention of any one interested in such investigations, and who had an opportunity of pursuing them. Nothing was known of it, except the representations of Josephus.

He had described it, (in oriental style, of course,) as an isolated rock, of large circumference and vast height, encompassed on every side with valleys so profound that the eye could not reach their bottom. It was so abrupt as to be inaccessible except at two points, one towards the Dead Sea and the other on the opposite side. The ascent in these places was extremely difficult; it being necessary to proceed cautiously with one foot before the other, and cling to the face of the rock, with the certainty, in case the foot should slip, of being precipitated into a yawning chasm, of such depth as to quell the courage and infuse terror into the mind of every beholder. After proceeding in this way about thirty furlongs, the summit was reached, which was not a peak, but a plain of considerable extent. This is the substance of Josephus' description of the natural features of the place.

His history of it as a fort is briefly as follows. One of the Jewish high priests first built a fortress on it, and called it Masada. Afterwards king Herod, perceiving the advantages of the position, erected here extensive fortifications. He built a wall around the entire summit, with thirty-eight towers. He also built a citadel and a palace, which he fitted up and furnished expensively; and cut capacious reservoirs for water in the rock. The object of Herod was to secure a safe retreat for himself, in case of imminent danger; and it served his purpose, for when Jerusalem was besieged by Antigonus, he escaped with his family, with great difficulty, and placed them here for a season, having made provision for a long residence, if necessary. It came at length by treachery, during the war of Vespasian, into the possession of the Licarii, a set of Jewish banditti, under the command of one Eleazer, a powerful man, who had resolved to submit on no terms to the Romans, and who treated as enemies those of his countrymen that did, and plundered their property. They found in it the provisions which Herod had laid up; arms for ten thousand men, and immense stores of grain, wine, oil and fruit. Josephus would have us believe that the fruits were fair, ripe and fresh, as when they were deposited there nearly one hundred years before, and argues 'that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long, this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter.' Every other hold in Palestine had yielded to the Roman legions, and the capture of this, the strongest of all, was reserved for their crowning achievement. The Procurator, Flavius Silva, collected his troops from all parts of the country for the

expedition against it. Arrived at the spot, he first built a stone wall entirely round the rock, that none of the besieged might escape. He then with incredible labor, at a point where the rock formed a sloping ridge, raised an embankment two hundred cubits high, and upon this another of fifty cubits, and a tower still higher, fluted with iron, from which he was able, with his machines and weapons, to reach the garrison. The resistance was desperate and protracted, but becoming ineffectual; and at the close of a day's assaults, which had made it apparent that the place would be carried by storm on the next, Eleazer made an impassioned appeal to his men, urging them to save themselves from the power of the Romans in the only way that was now possible to them, by self-sacrifice. The suggestion was adopted with a frenzied ardor, and every man proceeded to slay his own wife and children, having first tenderly embraced them. They then selected by lot ten of their number to be the executioners of the rest, and lying down by the side of their respective families, they offered their necks for the appointed stroke. The ten, having despatched their comrades, cast lots for one of their number to do the same office for the remainder. Having done his work, the survivor examined all the bodies to see that none were alive, and set fire to the palace, and then run his sword through himself and fell down dead by his relatives. Nine hundred and sixty individuals were thus slaughtered. It was their intention not to leave a single soul of their number to come under the Roman dominion; but two women and five children having secreted themselves, were overlooked, and escaped to tell the tale. The massacre was made in the night; and when the Roman soldiers, who renewed the siege in the morning and were amazed at the unexpected solitude and silence, entered the fortifications and beheld the tragic spectacle, they are said to have been much affected, and 'could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies.'

We are not aware of any subsequent mention of the place as one of which the position was known, by historians or travellers. It appears to have remained in entire obscurity for eighteen centuries, until it was observed at a distance by our countrymen. It was, therefore, no slight gratification to us, while spending a winter in Jerusalem, to be able to accept the invitation of our English friend to accompany him to the spot. We found the rock accessible at a single point; and to the account of our examination of the place, and of the general correspondence of its ruins with the preceding descriptions of Josephus, reference has already been made. In the sketch before given, we have marked the Roman wall of circumvallation referred to in the narrative, and indicated in it the two principal encampments, the walls of which are also standing. It was built at a safe distance from the rock. On the side towards the Dead Sea, we launched some of the large stones which Herod had laid in the wall on the brow of the cliff some twelve hundred feet above it, none of which quite reached it, though making the most stupendous bounds. We regarded it as a striking illustration of the Roman perseverance that subdued the world, which could sit down deliberately in such a desert, and commence a siege with such a work, and with such military engines as were then known could scale such a

fortress. It brought the siege before us with an air of reality, and vividly recalled to our minds, as we looked down upon it, the awful immolation which had taken place on the very spot where we stood. This was the conclusion of the war in which Jerusalem was seen encompassed with armies, the winding up in blood of the drama in which were enacted the scenes of great tribulation foretold by the Saviour; and terribly, to the last, was realized by the devoted people the fearful imprecation of their fathers, 'His blood be on us and on our children!'

*Route from Mount Lebanon to Bâalbek.*

In connection with notices referred to in the preceding pages, Prof. Robinson communicated to the public a few observations which were made on Bâalbek and the Cedars.<sup>1</sup> The notes taken on the journey to these sites were not sent to him, because we had no instrument for taking bearings; without which they could be of little value. On consulting the maps, it appears that a few of our specifications, particularly of distances, might serve to correct or define a few positions. We therefore copy the following notes on a part of the route from the memorandum book in which they were entered at the time; not as possessing any interest for the general reader, but because they may be of some slight service to the cartographer. The excursion was made in company with others.

Sept. 13, 1842. Left el-Abadiyeh (a village in Mount Lebanon about three hours from Beirût) at 8h. in the morning, on horseback. At 10h. 30' reached Khân 'Ain Saufeh, on the Damascus road, and at 11h. Khân Medairej, near the head of the large valley of the Metn, and commanding a fine view of it. Left at 2h. and had a noble view of the Metn from its head, one of the finest inland mountain prospects. At 3h. came in sight of the Bukâa, on Cælo-Syria Plain. At 4h. left the Damascus road on our right, and below us, further to the right, the ruined Kûlah Kubb Elîas, on the border of the Plain, surrounded by a grove of poplars. Continued north along the edge of the Plain, crossing some small streams which flowed into it, and which were feeding mills and irrigating fields of green Indian corn. The brooks, the grain and vegetation, and the meadow-like plain reminded us, more than any part of the country that we had seen, of New England. The Anti-Lebanon range of mountains is less bold, but more graceful than the Lebanon. Having passed a small village on our left and another on our right, we reached Zahleh at 6h., and pitched our tent in a quiet nook in the hill-side, a few rods south-east of the town. The latter is imbedded in a valley, about a mile west of the Plain. A copious stream runs through the bed of the valley, which is full of green poplars, and has a picturesque appearance. The town is compactly built, and the houses have mostly an external coat of whitewash, but like other Syrian villages, its interior is crowded, filthy and wretched. Our path, a little before reaching the town, had been lined with vineyards, protected by hedges of the hawthorn rose.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Sacra* (First Series) No. 1. pp. 84—87.

Sept. 14. Left our encampment at 7h., and descended the valley through the poplar grove, and by the side of the babbling brook. Passing at its opening the village Malaka, with its orchards and gardens, and proceeding north, we reached in half an hour the small village of Kerak, where we halted to take a look at the reputed tomb of Noah. It was shown to us by the man who has charge of it; in a covered building, constructed like other Muslim tombs, and covered with a green pall. It is more than one hundred feet in length, and is claimed to represent the exact height of the Antediluvian Patriarch!<sup>1</sup> Our route hence lay along the western border of the Bukaa, which became narrower and more undulating. We passed three or four indifferent hamlets, and along fields of melons, beans, and maize. Half an hour before reaching Bálbek, we came to the remains of an octagonal structure, supported by eight columns of polished red granite, which had probably been brought away from the temple, and placed here to form a shrine for some Muslim saint. We reached Bálbek at 2h., and passed directly through the village to the Rás el-'Ain. This is perhaps the most copious fountain in the country, and its waters were cool and limpid. We threw ourselves on the green sward by its side, under the shade of a willow, after a hot and fatiguing ride, and refreshed ourselves with draughts of the sweet water, and some clusters of fresh delicious grapes which were brought us from the neighboring vineyard. This would have been a pleasant spot for our encampment, but on account of its distance from the ruins, which lie at the other extremity of the town, we returned and pitched our tent near some walnut trees west of the grand temple, and proceeded to make our observations.

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## ARTICLE X.

### SELECT NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

The *Allgemeines Repertorium für theologische Literatur und Kirchliche Statistik*, formerly edited by Rheinwald, has passed into the hands of H. Reuter. The present editor has furnished in the September number of the last year a critical notice of the third part or volume of Ritter's History of Christian philosophy. The first four volumes of Ritter's great work embrace the complete history of ancient pagan philosophy. With the fifth commences the history of Christian philosophy, which is con-

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<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Eve is also shown by the Muslims in Arabia. It was visited by Burckhardt, who represents it as "about four feet long" and as "resembling the tomb of Noah;" (*Travels in Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 25). There would seem to be no ground for the comparison; and it would be strange, in connection with the above, that the Orientals should assign so small a stature to "the Mother of all living." We venture the suggestion that the number entered by Burckhardt in his notes was 40, and that it was abbreviated by his editors, supposing it to be a mistake.

tinued in this volume through the first period of the Greek and Latin fathers, till after the time of Origen. The sixth volume, or the second of the Christian philosophy furnishes the period of the fathers, extending to the time of John of Damascus. The next is the volume here noticed. It extends from the ninth to the twelfth century. As this is the point of transition from the philosophy of the Christian fathers to that of the scholastic writers, Ritter has only complied with the necessary conditions of a complete history of philosophy, in deciding to give an extended view of the characteristic features of the intellect of the Middle Ages. The history of the scholastic philosophy, has cost the author more severe study than any other part of his work. Indeed the attempt of Ritter is too gigantic for any one mortal. The reviewer pronounces this the most complete history of the philosophy of that period. From the nature of the case in this volume, as well as the two preceding, the author treads closely upon the domains of *Dogmengeschichte*, and is therefore the more interesting to the theologian. Reuter complains of a want of sufficient restriction to what is purely philosophical; and, moreover, controverts what Ritter regards as new and important results, namely, that the controversy of the nominalists and realists was insignificant; that the influence of the Aristotelian philosophy at that time was very limited; and that the alleged nominalism of Abelard is a fiction. Another volume of Ritter has since been published, but we have as yet no knowledge of its particular character.

The Berlin *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, speaks in terms of high commendation of the continuation of Brandis's *Handbuch der Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Philosophie*. The first volume, which appeared in 1835, brought down the history to the time of Socrates. The volume under review, which is called the second part, and first division, treats of the philosophy of Socrates, and of his immediate followers, particularly Plato. Brandis is represented as being more successful and happy in the execution of this, than of the first volume. The next division of part second, or the third volume will exhibit the system of Aristotle. Thus far this truly Christian, as well as learned author has succeeded in maintaining the first rank among the writers on the history of ancient philosophy.

In Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, is a review, probably by the editor himself, of the second edition of H. A. W. Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über das Evangelium Matthæus*, 1844. Since the publication of the first edition, which was commenced in 1832 and which extended to nearly all the books of the New Testament, the author's views have undergone an important change. Then he was a rank rationalist; now he is a decided, though not perfectly consistent supernaturalist. The reviewer gives to Meyer's manual a preference over that of De Wette, as excelling the latter in sound historical criticism, in definite and decided views, and in simplicity, order and completeness. We think, however, this comparison must be limited to the Gospel of Matthew, or at least, as it respects De Wette, to the historical books of the New Testament. On the Epistles, De Wette's brief comments are as yet without a rival; and it is not without regret that we learn his purpose to break



off, for the present with the Epistle to the Hebrews, and seek recreation by a change of studies. It is reported that he intends visiting America next year.

We find in Gersdorf's *Repertorium* an interesting account of the new edition of K. O. Müller's *Geschichten der hellenischen Stämmen und Städte* by Schneidewin. More than twenty-five years have passed away since the commencement of the first edition, during which period Müller had collected materials for numerous corrections and additions, but died before preparing a new edition. The editor has modestly, and we think properly judged, that no foreign hand should be allowed to alter the work of such a man as Müller. He has therefore limited himself to arranging and inserting in their proper places, the materials which Müller himself left in his numerous papers.

The *Repertorium* also notices and highly commends, *Die Gründung der Universität zu Königsberg und das Leben ihres ersten Rectors Georg. Sabinus, von Dr. Max Töppen*. The first seventy pages are devoted to the early life of Sabinus, including his studies, his travels in Italy, his marriage with the daughter of Melanchthon, his residence as professor at Frankfort on the Oder, his settlement at Königsberg. The greater part of the work is occupied with the history of the University of Königsberg, during the period of Sabinus' connection with it. This biographical history is the more valuable as it is, to a great extent, founded on manuscript authorities.

The Berlin *Jahrbücher* contains a review of Bähr's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, the third edition, greatly enlarged and corrected. The work has been so enlarged as to require its division into two volumes. The history of the Christian literature, which formed a supplementary volume in the second edition, is not included in the third. Nearly all the additional light which has been cast upon the history of Roman literature within the last twelve years, has been brought together by the industrious author to increase the value of the new edition, and to render it still more worthy than the second of being held as the best and most complete manual on the subject of which it treats.

The sixth volume of the new series of von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, for the year 1845, fully sustains the former character of this valuable historical annual. The old series contains ten volumes. The collection of historical essays in both is excellent. The contents of the last volume may serve as a specimen of the character of the work. It contains the following articles; Early settlements in the United States, by Talvy; Tuck, by Carus; Treason of Wallenstein, by Röpell; Residence in Paris during the year 1810, by Varnhagen von Ense; Accusation and trial of the Knights Templars, by Soldan; Joan of Arc by von Raumer; Constitution and history of the cities of Belgium from the beginning of the seventeenth century till their annexation to the French Republic, by Arendt.

In 1844, was commenced at Berlin a *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, edited by Dr. A. Schmidt, with the coöperation of Böckh, Grimm, Perz and Ranke. With such men at its head, it cannot fail to be the best historical journal of the age. It is published monthly, at 6½ Thaler a year.

In the first Number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, Prof. Hagenbach has given an elaborate review of J. J. Herzog's *Leben Oecolampad's und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel*, and of J. W. Baum's *Theodor Beza, nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*. Between Oecolampad and Beza, says the learned reviewer a parallel may in many respects naturally be drawn. They were both reformers of the second rank, but the first of the rank to which they belong. Oecolampad was to Zuingle and Beza to Calvin, what Melancthon was to Luther. Locally, Leo Judae stood nearer than the first to Zuingle, but not in personal relations, and still less in respect to being an independent reformer. Oecolampad, as the reformer of Basle, belonged to the German reformation; Beza, who was stationed at Lausanne and Geneva, to the French. The former lived through the stormy period of the reformation in Germany; but yet he was comparatively calm, and was more governed by what passed within his own mind than by what was going on without. The latter, less quiet in his nature, especially in the early part of his life, was deeply agitated by being in close contact with the violent persecutions against the Protestants in France; but in a quiet old age was permitted to hail with joy the Edict of Nantes.

Both of these men have found worthy biographers; though the latter have reached their goal by different paths. Both have taken enlarged views of their subject as connected with contemporary history, and both have laid themselves out in corresponding efforts to drain the sources of their information. Baum, in particular, by a protracted visit at the libraries of Zurich, Berne and Geneva collected a plentiful store of biographical materials. He copied about seven hundred manuscript letters of Beza's, and took extracts from many other unprinted letters and documents. Herzog also obtained for his purpose whatever was to be found in the libraries of Basle, Zurich, St. Gallen, Neufchatel and Strassburg, and comparatively few important documents escaped his notice. The work of Baum, of which but one volume has appeared, is more extensive, and richer in notes and original documents, in the form of appendices, than Herzog's; but both are prepared with the earnestness and historical dignity which the subjects require. There is, however, this farther difference, that Herzog appears to have been attracted more to matters pertaining to theology; Baum more to those pertaining to literary history. The former has written in the spirit and manner of a German historian; in the latter, there is, perhaps, a slight inclination to the method of the French historians, without however sacrificing the seriousness and solidity of the work. The foregoing is the substance of the introductory observations of the reviewer.

The next succeeding Number of the same journal contains an equally valuable and interesting review of K. Hagen's *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter*, in three volumes. While Ranke has given a masterly outline of the great events and of the public men of the age of the reformation, Hagen has gone into the minute details of common life, and exhibited the sentiments and feelings of men of less note. In this consists the chief merit of his work. The materials are mostly new, being drawn from the rarest manuscript authorities and from the pamphlet literature of that age. The author origi-

nally designed to write a biography of Pirkheimer, and enlarged his plan only because he had collected more than could be brought into a single biography. Having at his command all the letters and papers of Pirkheimer, he has been able to give a far more complete biography of him than existed before; and, at the same time, to throw much new light on the obscure parts of the history of those times. He has sought out with great industry whatever relates to the dissidents and heretics of the period of the Reformation, and we are half inclined to forgive his injustice to the reformers themselves and to the religious character of the reformation, to which others have done ample justice, for the sake of the justice which he has done, and others, in general, have not done to those uneasy and restive spirits, who received from the reformers themselves their full measure of censure and reproach, if not of abuse. In these views, which were produced by the perusal of Hagen's work itself soon after its appearance (1841—44), we are happy to be confirmed by the authority of the reviewer. The ulterior design of the author seems to have been to explain the reformation on other than religious grounds; to represent it as growing out of a literary, philosophical and political movement, and in fact to identify it with the rationalism of the present day. That there were rationalistic tendencies at that time he has clearly proved; that the revival of learning, and a desire of freedom from political opposition, were powerful aids of the reformation no one will deny. But, while the malcontents of the reformation, and the peasants, especially those of the south-west of Germany, are receiving more and more sympathy from historians, still no unprejudiced mind can allow that the religious character of the reformers or of the reformation ought therefore to be called in question. Errors and even prejudices can exist in the minds of the greatest and best of men; and a leaven of intolerance is often found in the purest and noblest of religious enterprises. The erroneous conclusions of Hagen, which are pointed out with some leniency in this review, are very warmly controverted in Tholuck's *Anzeiger*.

F. Böhringer's work *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen, oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien* in three parts, 1842—1845, after the manner of Böttiger's *Weltgeschichte in Biographien*, is highly commended by Guericke, in his church history, but is rather severely criticised in Tholuck's Literary Index. Ample learning and diligence are here accorded to the author, but he is represented as being deficient in biographical skill, especially in respect to giving individualities of character. Thus far, the lives of the leading men of the church from Ignatius to Augustine have been given. From the fact of its being the only work of the kind, and also one of laborious research, it must be a welcome aid to the numerous individuals who are now taking a lively interest in the study of church history.

Not less acceptable to the ecclesiastical historian is J. E. T. Witsch's *Atlas Sacer*, or ecclesiastical atlas from the beginning of the Christian era to the time of the Reformation, Gotha, 1843, price 2 Thaler. Rudelbach's *Zeitschrift* says: "The author, after many years of laborious preparation, has produced a work, which fills a chasm in theological literature, and which, as well for its thorough scholarship as for its elegant mechan-

ical execution will be an ornament to a theological library. A geographical account precedes the maps."

*Die protestantische Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin dargestellt von F. Trechsel*, of which the first volume appeared in 1839, and the second in 1844, (the third and last is yet to come,) is represented in the reviews as a rich contribution to a neglected portion of church history.

*Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde dargestellt von Julius Müller*, second edition, in two volumes, 1844, has attracted the general attention of the theologians of Germany, and is pronounced even by his opponents to be a work of great learning and ability. It is elaborately reviewed by Dörner and by Weisse, and commended by both.

Of the new and critical edition of Luther's complete works in 8vo. by Irmischer, the thirty-sixth volume has appeared.

Neander has commenced a new edition of his *Denkwürdigkeiten*.

Dr. C. T. Corvé has published at Berlin, a Rabbinic Chrestomathy (*Chrestomathia Rabbinica*), which consists of four books, containing selections from the Rabbinic writers. Some of these are taken from Codices hitherto unedited. It is designed, at the same time that it serves as an introduction to the study of this dialect, to furnish specimens of the Rabbinic mode of treating various subjects, as history, grammar, exegesis, philosophy, etc. It is accompanied with a Latin translation, and with notices of the writers represented in the work.

One of the most important recent works in the department of classical studies, in the second volume of Bernhardt's Outline of Greek Literature. The first volume was published in 1836; and the portion of the subject then left incomplete, has now been concluded in the present volume, 1845. The following is a summary of the general topics discussed in this second part of the work. 1. History of Epic Poetry. 2. Elegiac and Iambic Poetry. 3. Melian or Lyric Poetry. 4. Dramatic Poetry. 5. Poetry of the Alexandrian period. 6. Poetry of the Byzantians. The subordinate topics embraced in one of these general divisions—that of Epic Poetry, are: peculiarity of epochs of Epic Poetry; history of Epic literature; Homer and the Homeric literature; his life and national importance; spirit and art of the Homeric writings; history and critique of the Homeric songs; revisions of the same; miscellaneous poems under the name of Homer; the cyclic poets and poems; Hesiod and Hesiodian literature; his life and importance; lost poems of Hesiod; learned Epic, Asius, Pisander, etc.; mythographic Epic, Quintus, Nonnus, etc.; apocryphal Epic; Orphic writings; Sibylline oracles; Chaldean oracles, and centones Homericæ.

The third edition of a valuable outline of the History of German Literature has been recently published by Dr. J. W. Schäfer of Bremen. In a small octavo of 160 pages, one can obtain a very clear conception of the activity of the German mind and of the changes which German literature has undergone. It furnishes, also, an excellent directory to those who would purchase a library or procure the standard works in all the departments of literature so far as they have been treated by Germans. The history of this literature is naturally divided into two sections, the dividing line being at the period of the Reformation when the Mediæval spirit gradually gave place to modern modes of thought and inquiry. The

most important general helps are Jörden's Lexicon of German poets and prose-writers; Wachler's Lectures on the History of the National Literature of Germany, 2d ed. 1834; Bouterwek's History of Poetry and Eloquence, vols. 9—11; Gervinus's History of the Poetic National Literature of the Germans, 3 vols. 2d. ed. 1840—1842, his History of the more recent National Poetic Literature, 2 vols., 1840—1842, also his Manual on the same subject, 1842, works of standard authority; and Rinne's Internal History of the Development of German National Literature, 2 vols. 1842—3. Wackernagel's German Reading books and Pischon's Memorials of the German Language from the earliest period to the present times, are also well worthy of consultation.

Since the preceding pages were in type a fresh supply of the German Periodicals has been received, and we enlarge our present No. beyond its appropriate limits for the purpose of spreading before our readers the most recent intelligence with regard to German literature. We find that the eighth volume of Ritter's *History of Christian Philosophy*, referred to on p. 404, relates in its most important parts to the Scholastic triad, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus and Albertus Magnus. In these schoolmen the dialectical philosophy reaches its acme.—A new volume, the seventh, of von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* (see p. 405,) for the year 1846, is favorably noticed by the Reviewers. It contains five articles of historical interest, relating chiefly to modern times.—The work of Böhringer, presenting the history of the church in biographies of her eminent men, (see p. 407) is very favorably noticed in Reuter's Repertorium and is pronounced a work of signal merit.

The fifth edition of Sartorius's *Die Lehre von Christi Person und Werk* has been recently published at Hamburg. A previous edition of this work has been translated into English by Mr. J. E. Ryland of Northampton.—The *Evang. Homiletik* of C. Palmer has passed into a second and improved edition. It still sustains a high reputation in Germany, and being more compressed than the treatise of Schott, is more generally adopted as a homiletical text-book.—Dr. K. Lanz has just published the second volume of the Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V. The first volume of this very interesting work was issued in 1844; the third and last volume is now in press. Its materials were obtained from the Royal archives and the Bibliotheque de Bourgogne at Brussels.—A second and improved edition of Hagenbach's *Encyclopädie und Methodologie in den theologischen Wissenschaften* has been issued at Leipsic.—A new work of Fr. Theremin, Court Preacher at Berlin, has appeared, with the title *Demosthenes und Massillon; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beredsamkeit*, Berlin, 1845, p. 351, price 2½ Thaler. Theremin is already well known as an eloquent preacher, and especially as author of the work *Die Beredsamkeit eine Tugend*.

Among other new works of value we notice the following:

A new edition of the work of J. A. Dorner, entitled, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi, geschichtlich und biblisch-dogmatisch dargestellt*. 1 Theil. 1 Abtheilung: Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten 1 Hälfte. Stuttgart, 1845, p. 400.

price 2 Thaler. In subsequent numbers of the *Bib. Sac.*, we hope to give an extended synopsis of this standard treatise.

Julius Wiggers's *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission*. 1 Band Hamburg, 1845, pp. 212, price 1 Thaler. This is the younger Wiggers, the author of the best *Kirchliche Statistik*, and of the *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenbergs*, a writer of high character.

R. von Wedell's *Historisch-geographischer Hand Atlas in 36 Karten nebst erläuternden Text*. In 6 Lieferungen, Berlin. Two thirds of this important work has already appeared. It will cost in all about ten Thaler. No other work, furnishing accurate maps for the geographical divisions of the earth, through successive ages from the earliest dawn of history to the present, has been furnished, but the more extensive and costly Atlas of Spruner, which is also unfinished. Kruse's work relates only to Europe, and is injudiciously arranged by centuries instead of historical periods. Wedell's Atlas is the best for those who cannot purchase so costly a work as Spruner's.

E. W. Hengstenberg's *Commentar über die Psalmen*. 4 Band. 1 Abtheilung. This volume when finished will complete the work. The first volume of this Commentary has been translated and published in Scotland. It is intended to translate the remaining volumes as soon as possible.

S. H. Dessauer's *Geschichte der Israeliten mit besondere Bruchsichtigung der Kulturgeschichte derselben*. Von Alexander d. Gr. bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit. Nach den besten vorhandenen Quellen. Erlangen, 1845, pp. 593.

H. Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israels bis Christus*. 2ten. Band. Göttingen, 1845, pp. 676.

*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* in alphabetischer Ordnung. Herausgegeben von Pauly, fortgesetzt von Walz und W. S. Teuffel, 61—62 Lieferungen. The friends of classical learning will be happy to learn that the place of the lamented Pauly as editor of this standard work, is supplied by such men as Walz and Teuffel.

Prof. Winckelmann has left the Gymnasium at Cassel, and returned to Dresden, his native city, in order to complete his edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, which will be a valuable work for theologians.

The *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, No. 48, contains the *programm* of the lectures delivered during the past winter at several of the German Universities. At Berlin, throughout the *semester* recently closed, from the 15th of October to the 26th of March, Prof. Twisten has delivered four courses of lectures, on Theological Encyclopaedia and Methodology; a second on the Gospel of John; a third on the system of Theological Ethics; and a fourth on the Religious Instruction to be given in the Gymnasia, and the theological knowledge necessary for a teacher in a Gymnasium. He has lectured fourteen times each week. Neander, besides holding a weekly Conversatorium on theological subjects, has lectured fifteen times each week. One of his courses has been on the Epistle to the Corinthians, and other short Epistles of Paul; another on the System of Christian Doctrine; and a third on the History of the Church from the time of Gregory the Great to that of the Reformation. Hengstenberg has lectured on the Psalms; on the Gospel of Matthew

compared with that of Mark and Luke; on the History of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile to the Destruction of Jerusalem; three courses occupying eleven hours weekly. Forty different series of theological exercises are pursued in the Theological Department of this University, from which the student may select those most congenial with his tastes or essential to his wants. More than three hundred courses of lectures have been delivered during the last *semester*, by all the Faculties of the University; and the names of Michelet, Gabler, Beneke, Trendelenburg, Schelling, Bopp, Böckh, Bekker, Benary, Zumpt, J. and W. Grimm, Ritter and Encke are still conspicuous in the catalogue of its lecturers.

Among the works recently issued from the English press we notice the following: "A Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, A. D. 1504, about the Booke of Common Prayer and Ceremonies," etc., with an Introduction by Mr. Petheram; a translation of Geiger's History of the Swedes, from the earliest period to the accession of Charles X; the Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney with Hubert Languet, now first translated from the Latin; Dr. Arnold's History of the Later Roman Commonwealth from the end of the Second Punic War to the death of Julius Caesar, reprinted in two vols., from the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana; Fichte on the Character of the Scholar and its Manifestations, with a life of the author, translated from the German by Wm. Smith; Forbes's Hindustani Manual, containing a Grammar and Vocabulary; Justin Martyr's First Apology, with an English introduction and notes by the Rev. W. Trollope, editor of Demosthenes; Bishop Tomline's Introduction to the Study of the Bible, being Vol. I. of the Elements of Christian Theology; and Whewell on a Liberal Education in general, and with particular reference to the leading studies of the University of Cambridge.

We are happy to perceive that Mr. Thomas Clark, publisher of the Biblical Cabinet proposes to commence the publication of a new Foreign Theological Library; to issue four volumes yearly, of about 500 pages each, demi octavo. Among the works to be incorporated into this Library from the German, are the following: Lücke on the Gospel of St. John, Dr. Julius Müller on the Doctrine of Sin, Hagenbach's History of Opinions, Hävernicks Introduction to the Old Testament, Hengstenberg on the Authenticity of Daniel, Hoffman on Prophecy, Pelt's Theological Encyclopaedia, Usteri Pauli Lehrbegriff, Neander's General Church History, Gieseler's Elements of Church History, Baum's life of Beza, Herzog's Life of Oecolampadius, Neander's Life of Christ, Hengstenberg's Christology, new edition.

Prof. Haddock of Dartmouth College has recently published, in compliance with urgent and repeated solicitations, a volume of Addresses and Miscellaneous Writings. Of the thirty-three articles contained in the volume, a majority have a direct bearing upon the clerical profession. Among them, we notice the following: The Standard of Education for the Pulpit; The Clergy the Natural Advisers of Young Men; The Influence of Educated Mind; Personal Qualifications for the Pulpit; Unity o-

Pursuit in the Christian Ministry; Wisdom in Clergymen; The Eloquence of the Pulpit as affected by Ministerial Character. The whole work is characterized by the purity and elegance of style, the quiet beauty, the equanimity and justness of thought, which give a tone to all Prof. Haddock's writings.

An Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language, containing a series of Greek and English Exercises for translation, with the requisite Vocabularies, and an Appendix on the Homeric Verse and Dialect, by Dr. Raphael Kühner, Conrector of the Lyceum, Hanover, has been recently translated by Samuel H. Taylor, Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, and published by Allen, Morrill and Wardwell. This work is the first of the Series of Kühner's Greek Grammars, the second having been translated by Mr. Taylor and Prof. Edwards in 1844. It is designed particularly for Academies and Colleges, and constitutes an admirable introduction to the Greek language. The most persevering effort has been expended upon its translation, and it has been very skilfully accommodated to the wants of the American student.—The same publishers have in press a volume of Select Treatises of Martin Luther, in the original German, with copious philological Notes in English. These treatises are among the most eloquent of Luther's writings, and the notes are valuable, not merely as explaining the secret of Luther's astonishing power over his fellow men, but also as illustrating the genius and spirit of the German language, and imparting much unexpected information in regard to our own mother tongue. Every philologist will be interested in the volume, for the light which it reflects on the structure of language. It is prepared by Dr. Sears of Newton Theological Seminary.—Allen, Morrill and Wardwell propose to republish immediately the work which is reviewed in our present No. pp. 217—241, viz., Metcalfe's Translation of Becker's Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus, with Notes and Excursus illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Romans; also Metcalfe's Translation of Becker's Charicles, or Illustrations of the Private Life of the ancient Greeks. Mr. R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian of Andover Theol. Sem. is preparing an edition of Xenophon's Memorabilia, with critical Notes, which will be issued from the Andover Press during the ensuing summer or autumn.—From the same press will also be sent forth, within a few weeks, a volume of the Miscellaneous Writings of Prof. Stuart; including his two sermons on the Atonement, his Letters to Channing on Religious Liberty and his Letters to Channing on the Divinity of Christ, etc. The merits of these writings are too well known to require any comment from us. The Letters last named have passed through several editions in America and Great Britain, but are now out of print.

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ERRATA.—Page 222, for *toreatae* r. *toreutae*; p. 227, for *feverous* r. *feverish*; p. 2, for *revision* r. *version*, for *Asiccia* r. *Aricia*; p. 238, for *measure* r. *mission*; p. 240, for *mastick* r. *mastich*, for *pod* r. *god*.



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ARTICLE I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM.

By E. Robinson, Professor at New York.

In the Preface to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for the year 1843, I made allusion to intimations which had reached me from various quarters, that some of the positions taken in the *Biblical Researches* in respect to the topography of Jerusalem, were "likely to be assailed, in carrying on a *crusade* in favor of the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre."

These anticipations have since been realized. During the last year (1845), two works appeared,—one in London, a thick octavo; the other in Berlin, a brief memoir,<sup>1</sup>—giving the results of new speculations upon the topography of the Holy City; and devoted mainly to the support of a new theory as to the course of the ancient walls, by which the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre might be brought without the ancient city. These volumes, from the reputed scholarship of their authors and the advantages enjoyed by them during a long residence upon the spot in official stations, might seem justly to claim a higher degree of authority, than almost any former work upon these topics.

<sup>1</sup> THE HOLY CITY; or *Historical and Topographical Notices of Jerusalem*; by REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, M. A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; and late chaplain to Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem. Lond. 1845. 8vo. pp. 512. Published in April, 1846.

JERUSALEM; eine Vorlesung, von DR. ERNST GUSTAV SCHULTZ, königlich Preussischem Consul in Jerusalem. Mit einem Plane, gezeichnet von H. KIEPERT. Berlin, 1845. 8vo. pp. 120. Dated in June, 1845.

Indeed, I know of no work which can compete with them in all these (and perhaps some other) respects, except the folios of Quaresmius, who was for many years Superior of the Latin convent in Jerusalem.

Of the first of these works, that of the English chaplain, it is the express and avowed object, to controvert and (if possible) to overthrow the positions of the *Biblical Researches*, in respect to the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre and the authority of the tradition on which it professedly rests.<sup>1</sup> The infallibility of the church, or rather of the hierarchy, in this particular, is to be maintained at all hazards; and to this end the "believing spirit" of both writer and reader is put in full requisition,—even a faith which shall be able to 'remove mountains,' and thus impart a new aspect to the whole topography of the Holy City. So earnestly is this author devoted to his one main object, that the topographical portion of his volume approaches nearly to the nature of a controversial commentary upon the *Biblical Researches*; so much so, indeed, that it can hardly itself be intelligible to the reader, without constant reference to the latter work. Of this I cannot well complain. The spirit of the book is truly that of a *crusade* in behalf of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>2</sup> It may also be a circumstance worth notice, that this author, during a residence of fourteen months in Jerusalem, does not appear to have made a single new measurement, nor to have brought to light a single new topographical fact or remnant of antiquity; unless it be the few doubtful remains along the street of the Bazars, by the aid of

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<sup>1</sup> Holy City, Pref. p. vi: "I do not hesitate to declare that one object of the present volume is to expose the fallacy of many conclusions, argued out very often on insufficient premises, or in contravention of historical or topographical phenomena, by the author of the *Biblical Researches* in Palestine; in the hope that the consideration of facts, which he has either overlooked or neglected, may prove, what some might imagine required no demonstration, that the evidence of a partial witness of the nineteenth century is insufficient against the voice of catholic antiquity. My motive I need not be ashamed to avow."—*Ibid.* p. 252: "If any apology be required for attempting a defence of the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it is offered in the consideration that the credit of the whole church for fifteen hundred years, is in some measure involved in the question."

<sup>2</sup> This author in two instances, charges me with perverting or misrepresenting the statements of Eusebius and of Lightfoot; *H. City*, p. 129. n. p. 371. n. If the reader takes interest enough to examine the original language of these two writers, (not Mr. W's paraphrase of Eusebius, nor another man's Index to Lightfoot,) he will find that the charge of misrepresentation falls only on the head of him who made it.

which he endeavours to sustain his theory respecting the course of the ancient second wall.<sup>1</sup>

The work of the Prussian consul has in general the same main object, though less openly and definitely presented. According to this writer, the topography of Jerusalem includes two distinct and independent investigations,—the history of the Jewish temple, and the history of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. He confines himself entirely to the latter topic; and admits that this alone gives occasion for his going back in the history of Jerusalem beyond the time of its destruction by Titus and its restoration by Adrian.<sup>2</sup> Following the English writer, to whom he ascribes the idea, he adopts the like course for the ancient second wall; and agrees further with him in transferring the position of the hill Akra to the north of the temple. In all other important points the German writer differs from the other; and accords mainly with the Biblical Researches. The memoir is written in a kind and friendly spirit; in this respect contrasting strongly with the work of the Cambridge Fellow.—The accompanying Plan by Kiepert is beautifully got up. On comparison, however, I am unable to discover, that either the topographical outlines or details differ in any obvious particular from those of the Plan in the Biblical Researches. The author has, indeed, liberally inserted the current legendary sites; and has marked hypothetically the places of various ancient edifices and of some historic events and monuments. The style of engraving, too, and of colouring, contributes to give the whole a new and pleasing aspect.

In respect to these works, then, it would appear, that the points of agreement which they exhibit, relating mainly to the defence of the reputed Sepulchre, are the result, not of the independent investigations of different observers, made at different times and without the knowledge of each other; but, rather, of continued personal intercourse and influence in behalf of a definite and favourite object. Yet the claims to authority which these volumes seem to present; the credit with which they are received by some in England and Germany; and the circumstance that travellers, in their brief visits to the Holy City, have, in some instances, already yielded, and probably will hereafter yield, their assent to the same views;<sup>3</sup> have led me to investigate anew the

<sup>1</sup> Holy City, p. 286 sq. These remains are more fully considered at the close of the present Article.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> LORD NUGENT, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, Vol. II. Lond. 1845.—C. Tisch-

evidence on which my former conclusions were founded. My sole purpose is and ever has been, I trust, to ascertain the truth. I have no prepossessions for tradition as such, nor against it. I have none for the Holy Sepulchre, so called, nor against it. If I could find satisfactory evidence in its favour, (and all my original impressions were on that side,) I certainly should be among the foremost to acknowledge it, and to feel the influences connected with such a spot. But I cannot give up a conviction of truth, resting on the plain and simple evidence of the senses and of common sense, and corroborated fully by the facts of history, either because I may wish to believe differently, or because mere tradition teaches otherwise.

It will be the object of the following pages, to bring out the results of these renewed investigations. My plan will be, not so much to examine in detail the positions taken by the writers above named, but rather simply to adduce the evidence from Josephus and other sources, upon which the various points in the topography of the Holy City must be severally determined. This evidence, as it seems to me, goes very far to establish conclusively the opposite of nearly every one of the positions assumed by the English writer.

Before proceeding further, it is proper to call attention to the fact, that however many the exceptions which the writers above named take against the positions of the Biblical Researches, they nevertheless do both of them accord fully with that work in respect to the following important particulars :

1. That Zion was the south-western hill of the city ; and still terminates towards the north, as of old, in a steep declivity adjacent to the street leading down from the Yâfa gate.<sup>1</sup>

2. That Moriah, the site of the Jewish temple, was the place

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ENDORF, *Reise in den Orient*, Vol. II. Leipz. 1846. This last work I know as yet only from notices in the German papers. The journey was undertaken in order to examine manuscripts for a critical edition of the Greek Testament. He refers to both the works above named. Lord Nugent refers to Schultz personally.

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 268 : "There is a street which runs down from the Jaffa gate. —Its course is at first immediately under the steep brow of Mount Zion, which rises on the right side, once precipitous, now slanted off by ruins ; but on the other side, i. e. on the left hand, there is not the slightest appearance of a rise ; —the whole ground north of Zion declining equally towards the east." See also p. 261, 285, 286. Schultz, speaking of the Anglican church, describes it as "situated on the north side of the Armenian quarter, over against the citadel, on the northernmost border of Mount Zion ;" p. 29. See too p. 28.

now occupied by the grand Mosk or Haram, on the east and north-east of Zion.<sup>1</sup>

3. That the ancient tower just south of the Yâfa gate, is the Hippicus of Josephus; from which the first ancient wall ran eastward along the northern brow of Zion to the temple-enclosure.<sup>2</sup>

4. That the ancient remains connected with the present Damascus gate, are those of an ancient gate upon that spot, belonging to the second wall of Josephus.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of these admitted points will be seen as we advance. I proceed now to state, in the form of propositions, what I hold to be the truth respecting various other points, adducing the proper evidence under each. It will be my endeavour to do this dispassionately and with fairness.—The reader will do well to have some one of the recent Plans of Jerusalem constantly at hand.

## I

*The TYROPOEON was a depression or ravine (φάραγξ) running down eastward from near the Yâfa gate. The hill AKRA, on which was the LOWER CITY, was the ridge immediately north of Zion and west of Moriah.*

As the points involved in this proposition are fundamental in this whole discussion, I shall be pardoned for bringing forward the evidence in detail. This is found mainly in the description given by Josephus of the site and extent of the city; which is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

"The city was fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable vallies; for in that quarter there was but one wall. It was built, one part facing another (ἀντιπρόσωπος), upon two hills (λόφοι) separated by an intervening valley (μέση φάραγξ); at which, crowded one upon another (ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις), the houses terminated. Of these hills, the one having the Upper City, was much the higher, and was straighter in its extent. . . . The other hill, called Akra, and sustaining the Lower City, was gibbous (ἀμφίκυρτος).<sup>5</sup> Over against this was a third hill, naturally

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 315 sq. 348.—Schultz, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 261, 288, comp. 285.—Schultz, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 285, 391.—Schultz, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. 4. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The adjective ἀμφίκυρτος, lit. *curved on both sides*, is an epithet of the gibbous moon, as she appears in her second and third quarters, between the half and full moon. Thus Martianus Capella, lib. VI: *Primo [Luna] est cornicu-*

lower than Akra, and formerly separated by another broad valley (καὶ πλατεία φάραγγι διειρηγόμενος ἄλλη πρότερον). But later, in the times when the Maccabees ruled, they threw earth into this valley (τὴν τε φάραγγα ἔκωσαν),<sup>1</sup> desiring to connect (συνάψαι) the city with the temple; and working down the height of Akra, they made it lower, so that the temple rose conspicuously above it. The valley called the Tyropoeon, which we have said divided the upper city and the lower hill, extends down (καθίηται) quite to Siloam. . . . But without, the two hills of the city were enclosed by deep vallies; and because of the steep declivities on both sides, there was nowhere any approach."

This passage of the Jewish historian furnishes several definite and important topographical inferences.

I. Akra lay between two vallies. One of these separated it from the Upper City, the Zion of Scripture; while the other, which was broader, divided it from Moriah. Now, immediately on the north of Zion and west of Moriah, there is a hill, which I have described as "the continuation, or rather the termination, of the broad ridge or swell of land," which exists on the northwest of the city and extends down into it, forming its northwestern part.<sup>2</sup> This language the English writer adopts; and goes on to say truly, that "the principal part of this high rocky ridge is without the city" on the northwest; and that the part within the city is "the termination or declivity of a swell of land."<sup>3</sup> This portion of a "high rocky ridge," which terminates steeply and abruptly over against the place of the temple, where it is separated from Moriah by a broad and now shallow valley running

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*lata, quam μηνοειδῆ Græci vocant. Medilunia, quam dicunt διάτομον. Dehinc dimidiato major, quæ dicitur ὑμφίκυρτος. Moz plena, quæ dicitur πανσέληνος.* So Suidas s. voc. τετρακτύς. Reland Palaest. p. 852. The word does not signify the moon itself, but only marks a particular form; and when applied to a hill, it denotes simply the same shape, viz. *curved on both sides, gibbous*. No little confusion has arisen in respect to this passage, from not observing this distinction. Josephus is often represented as comparing Akra with the moon; of which, however, there is no trace in his language. Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. II. ii. p. 210.

<sup>1</sup> This expression does not imply, that they so filled up the valley, as to obliterate all traces of it; such is not the meaning of the word *χώννυμι*. It may here signify one of two things, viz. either that the Maccabees by filling in earth raised the general level of the valley; or, that they built a mound or causeway across it. We shall see further on, that the former is here the probable meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 264, 265.

south from the Damascus gate, I held, and still hold, to be the Akra of Josephus. The other valley, the Tyropoeon, separating it from Zion, I found, and still find, in the depression commencing near the Yâfa gate, and running down eastward between this said portion of "a high rocky ridge" or "termination of a swell of land" on the north, and "the steep brow of Mount Zion"<sup>1</sup> on the south.

This latter valley, the Tyropoeon, judging from the nature and appearance of the ground, was probably at first a narrow ravine (*φάραγξ*) immediately under the northern brow of Zion; serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent part of Zion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge above described as Akra. In process of time, this ravine itself has become gradually and wholly filled up with the ruins and rubbish of eighteen centuries.<sup>2</sup> Yet its place and its former existence are still distinctly to be recognized along the street leading down from the Yâfa gate; which street now occupies the lowest line of depression between the the church of the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Zion. To the same effect is the testimony of Brocardus in the thirteenth century. He describes the same depression as commencing near the tower of David so called, and running down along the northern side of Zion; and he adds: "The ravine itself is now wholly filled up; yet there remain vestiges of its former concavity."<sup>3</sup>

In like manner, the valley running southward from the Damascus gate, as it was broader than the former, so it was doubtless originally a much deeper ravine than at present. This is shown

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> "The Tyropoeon has of course been much filled up. In laying the foundations of the Anglican church on the northern part of Mount Zion, while I was there, the workmen dug through nearly *forty feet* of rubbish; and the accumulation in the valley would naturally be greater." Letter of Rev. J. Wollcott.—The author of the Holy City has an occasional fling at the idea of so much rubbish in Jerusalem; p. 284. n. 3. Yet he sometimes finds it convenient to appeal to it himself. Thus "the steep [northern] brow of Zion, once precipitous, [is] now slanted off by ruins," p. 268; and an old gateway near the top of the same brow is "so much choked up with rubbish, that the key-stone is nearly on a level with the street," p. 286. Now all this being so, and that too adjacent to the very spot in question,—to say nothing of other more striking instances,—it surely can require no great effort to admit, that the ravine in question, peculiarly exposed (as it was) to receive ruins and rubbish from above, may thus have been filled up, as represented in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Brocardus, cap. VIII: *Verum nunc vorago ipsa tota repleta est, relictis tamen vestigiis prioris concavitatis.*

by the nature of the ground on each side; the valley being still skirted, on one side or the other, by ledges of precipitous rock quite down to Siloam. This ravine, originally so deep, separated at first the temple from Zion and also from Akra; and thus isolated it from the rest of the city. It was in order to connect the temple with the lower city, that the Maccabees heaped up earth in the valley; thus either raising its bed or forming a mound across it; while at the same time they lowered the point of Akra, which before had commanded the temple.<sup>1</sup>

We thus find an Akra north of Zion and west of Moriah, separated from these hills by two vallies, one on each side of it; and corresponding thus far very definitely to the description of Josephus.

If now, on the other hand, we follow the theory of the writers in question, then the valley running south from the Damascus gate becomes the Tyropoeon; and the hill on the east of this valley and north of the Haram, was Akra. But where the other valley is or was, which in that case separated this hill from Moriah, they have nowhere definitely told us. The English author does not anywhere even allude to a valley, either as existing or as having existed, between his Akra and Moriah; except once very slightly, where he speaks of a "sloping ridge" on the north of the present Haram-area, and "presumes" that here the broad valley was filled up by the Maccabees.<sup>2</sup> The German writer is somewhat more definite. According to him, "the valley which formerly divided Akra from Moriah must have passed through the middle of the parallelogram which constitutes the present enclosure of the Haram."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, he finds on the east of the Haram, directly opposite the grand Mosk, the ground outside to be of such a nature, "that traces of an artificial filling up may *perhaps* still be recognized."<sup>4</sup> Not to press here the obvious remark, that such a 'perhaps' is quite too uncertain a basis on which to found so important a conclusion; it is nevertheless very apparent, that a disagreement like this between two such writers, is fitted in itself to awaken strong doubts as to the soundness of the whole hypothesis.

But we may go further, and may perhaps find it not difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XIII. 6. 6. See p. 418, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. "dass sich vielleicht noch jetzt die Spuren der künstlichen Ausfüllung erkennen lassen."



show, both by the authority of these writers themselves and from the nature of the ground, that there never was a valley or depression on the north side of the present Haram-area; nor any valley, properly so called, on the north of Moriah, between it and the adjacent hill.

Both writers assume, that the fortress Baris or Antonia of Josephus was equivalent to the *Akra* or earlier fortress erected by Antiochus Epiphanes, overhanging and commanding the temple.<sup>1</sup> This latter doubtless gave its name to the hill on which it stood; and this name remained to the hill and also to the quarter of the city long after the fortress itself was demolished, and the point of the hill lowered. The assumption is, that the earlier *Akra* of Antiochus stood upon the site of the later Baris or Antonia, on the north of the temple. The English writer also insists, that the northern limit of the ancient temple-area was identical with that of the present Haram-area.<sup>2</sup> Now, if the fortress *Akra* stood on the north of the temple, the broad valley by which it was divided from the latter, must, according to this view, have lain between this northern limit of the Haram, and the now precipitous rock of the adjacent hill; which rock once obviously extended further south, and has been cut away. The interval is here less than one hundred feet;<sup>3</sup> and is occupied by the *Via dolorosa* and the Governor's house so called. But this writer himself affirms, and brings good evidence to show, that "this building, probably occupying in part the site of the ancient fortress Antonia, rests upon a precipice of rock which formerly swept down abruptly, and has obviously been cut away to form the level below [within the wall of the Haram], which also bears marks of having been scarped. This rocky precipice rises to a height of upwards of twenty feet."<sup>4</sup> Here then we have the site of Antonia, and of course of the earlier *Akra*, identified with that of the Governor's house, in immediate contact with the temple-area as assumed; and we have further the rock of the northern hill described as originally extending south through the Governor's house, and also for some distance within the same area. Now,

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 351. Schultz, p. 54, 55.—Jos. Antt. XII. 5. 4. XIII. 6. 6. 1 Macc. 1, 33. We shall have occasion to see hereafter, that this hypothesis is without solid foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Holy City, p. 328, 329, 341.

<sup>3</sup> Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks about Jerusalem, p. 162. Ed. 2.

<sup>4</sup> H. City, p. 322; see also p. 319, 353. The author here quotes in part from Bartlett's Walks, etc. p. 143. Ed. 2.

each of these representations is conclusive against the possibility of any valley between that area and the adjacent northern hill.

The German author differs from the other, in supposing (with the Biblical Researches) that the fortress Antonia occupied the northern portion of the present Haram-area.<sup>1</sup> According to him, therefore, the earlier Akra must have been within the same enclosure; and as it was upon a hill, and separated from the temple by a valley, its site is thus necessarily determined to the north-western part of the present enclosure. Josephus testifies, that the hill was dug away, and thrown into the valley.<sup>2</sup> But he also testifies, that in later times the acropolis of Antonia was upon the same north-western part of the enclosure, and was situated on a rock fifty cubits high,<sup>3</sup>—on the very spot where, according to the theory, the hill sustaining the fortress Akra had been levelled. It follows, therefore, that the Akra must have occupied some other position, not within the present enclosure; and then the hypothesis of a valley running from west to east through the middle of the enclosure, falls away of itself.—But aside from these considerations, the idea, that from the valley running south from the Damascus gate and joining the valley of Jehoshaphat below Siloam, a lateral valley should branch off opposite the middle of the Haram, and there break through the ridge into the valley of Jehoshaphat, is, to say the least, contrary to geological analogy, and amounts to a physical improbability. If, further, the testimony of Mr. Bartlett is correct, that “the natural foundation of rock,” which is seen in the north-western part of the Haram-area, “extends beyond the great mosk in the centre,”<sup>4</sup> then the idea of such a valley involves also a physical impossibility.

These results, as we have seen, are thus far clear inferences from the positions and statements of the two works in question. According to my own view, the long narrow tract lying between the valley running down from the Damascus gate on the one side, and the valley of Jehoshaphat on the other, is to be regarded as one ridge, having on it, as separate summits, the northern hill and Moriah; and corresponding further down with the ancient quarter Ophel.<sup>5</sup> This ridge descends very steeply towards the south; so that Moriah was naturally much lower than the northern hill. The space between them, therefore, originally presented perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Antt. XIII. 6. 6. B. J. V. 4. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 4. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Walks, etc. p. 143. Ed. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 393, 393.

no depression at all; or, at most, it was in the nature of an indentation or saddle between two summits on the same ridge, one much lower than the other. Such an indentation has no feature of a valley, and is never so called.<sup>1</sup> Much less could it have been the broad valley (*φάραξ*) by which, according to Josephus, Akra was separated from Moriah.

It follows then, thus far, that the language of Josephus respecting Akra and the vallies which skirted it, is exactly applicable to the hill or ridge on the north of Zion and west of Moriah; but is wholly inapplicable to the hill on the north of Moriah.

II. A second inference from the passage of Josephus above quoted, is, that the two parts of Jerusalem, called the upper and lower city, Zion and Akra, were so situated as to face each other (*ἀντιπρόσωπος*); and being separated by the valley (*μέσηφάραξ*) of the Tyropoeon, and by that alone, they lay side by side or adjacent to each other. This description again is directly applicable to Akra, regarded as the hill or ridge on the north of Zion and west of Moriah.—If, on the other hand, the hill on the north of Moriah be assumed as Akra, and the valley from the Damascus gate as the Tyropoeon, then Akra was *not* adjacent to Zion, nor did it face it, nor was it separated from it only by a single valley; but between these two hills there lay *two* vallies with an intervening ridge; and the distance between the nearest points of Zion and Akra was more than a quarter of a mile. It follows, that if the northern brow of Zion remains undisturbed, then Akra is the ridge adjacent to it on the north; or, if the hill on the north of Moriah be Akra, and the adjacent valley the Tyropoeon, then Zion must be extended so as to include the ridge on the north of it quite to the verge of that valley. This cannot be done; and no one probably will ever attempt it. If therefore Zion is right, then the Akra of these writers is wrong; if their Akra be right, then Zion is wrong. Both cannot be right; and they are thus left upon the sharp horns of a dilemma.<sup>2</sup>

III. The same passage of Josephus informs us further, that "Zion was straighter in its extent" or length; while Akra was gibbous (*ἀμφίκυρος*).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, we find Zion to be straight upon its whole western side; as also upon its southern and northern sides. Akra too, if it be the hill on the north of Zion, the

<sup>1</sup> The Mount of Olives, with its two indentations between the three summits, is an example in point on a larger scale.

<sup>2</sup> See also Bartlett's Walks, etc. Ed. 2. App. p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> See the note on this word, above, p. 417. n. 5.

termination of a ridge or swell running down into the city, is *gibbous*; that is to say, it has the general form of one end of the gibbous moon; and thus answers to the description of Josephus. But if the hill north of Moriah be Akra, then this description does not apply to it at all; for in no possible shape or sense can that hill be said to be gibbous or *ἀμφίκυρτος*. Upon that hypothesis, therefore, the language of Josephus is without any significance.

IV. In another parallel description of the temple, Josephus informs us,<sup>1</sup> that on the western side of the area there were four gates; one issuing by the bridge to Zion and the royal palace; "two leading into the suburb (*εἰς τὸ προάστειον*); and the remaining one conducting to the other city by many steps down into the valley (*βαθυμίσι πολλαῖς διελημμένη*), and thence up again upon the ascent (*ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν*); for the city lay over against the temple (*ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*), in the manner of a theatre, being encircled by a deep valley on all its southern quarter."

Of these gates, the two leading to the suburb are not described as having steps connected with them; and from the nature of the case, therefore, these must have been the two northernmost, issuing from the temple-area where the ground outside was less depressed than further south. They led probably by a street along or near the valley to the ancient gate now known as that of Damascus; and so conducted to the suburb beyond, or also to Bezetha on the right. The remaining or fourth gate, then, was south of these; and led by steps (as at the present day in this part) down into the same valley where it was already deeper, and so up the ascent to "the other city." This latter, as mentioned after the royal palace on Zion, can only mean the lower city or Akra. Here then is direct testimony by the Jewish historian, that Akra formed part of the general acclivity on the west of Moriah; and the whole city, lower and upper, Akra and Zion, rose like an amphitheatre over against the temple; and was terminated on the south by the deep valley of the sons of Hinnom. It is easy to see, that this description is in no way applicable to the hill on the north of the temple.

The English author, it is true, seeks to change the relative position of these western gates. He places that leading to the "other" or lower city, with its many steps into the valley, on the north of those conducting to the suburb; contrary to the nature of the ground, which here even now descends rapidly towards

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 5.

the south, where it is much lower. He then insists quite strenuously, that this suburb must therefore have been on the west of the temple, situated between Zion and his Akra, and of course within the second wall of Josephus.<sup>1</sup> From these premises it follows, that a suburb, which is usually regarded as being outside of the wall of a city, and which Josephus here expressly mentions as *before* the city (*τὸ προύσκειον*), was situated in this case in the very heart of Jerusalem, intervening between Zion and Akra; which, however, according to Josephus, were separated only by a ravine. Again, in behalf of the fourth gate, which he regards as the northernmost, this author abandons his Akra on the north of the temple only, and makes a lower city across the valley on the west of the temple;<sup>2</sup> whereas Josephus says that the *hill* Akra sustained the lower city.<sup>3</sup> And further, although the same writer insists, that the intermediate space between Zion and his Akra is "called by Josephus 'the suburb,' as belonging strictly to neither part of the city;"<sup>4</sup> yet in this place and elsewhere he makes the lower city include the said suburb; notwithstanding the obvious fact, that Josephus in the passage here under consideration expressly distinguishes them.

OBJECTIONS. The preceding four heads of direct evidence drawn from the testimony of Josephus, would seem to furnish conclusive proof in favour of that position of Akra maintained in the Biblical Researches. It is proper here to examine the validity of the objections brought forward against that view. They are mainly founded on the same passage of Josephus, first above quoted; and, with one exception, are urged by the English writer alone.

1. It is said, that the language of Josephus "throughout plainly implies, that the city comprehended *the whole* of the two hills, Akra as well as Zion; that Akra was in fact a distinct hill," and not the mere "continuation, or rather the termination of a broad ridge or swell of land."<sup>5</sup> But the language of Josephus neither expresses nor implies any such thing. The word *λόφος*, *hill*, is a term of general import, signifying any *elevation or rise of land*.<sup>6</sup>

2. "Josephus," it is further said, "asserts, that the *two hills* on

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 276—278.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 277, 278. See also his Plan, opp. p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 1; see above, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> H. City, p. 273. See the Plan.

<sup>5</sup> H. City, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Hesychius: *λόφος*· *ὕψηλός τόπος, γῆς ἐπανάστημα*, i. e. a high place, an elevation of ground. So Passow: *λόφος*, *Erderhöhung, Anhöhe, Hagel*.

which the city stood, 'were everywhere enclosed from without by deep valleys;' which is not true of the ridge north of Zion."<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere referred to this expression of Josephus, in the following manner:<sup>2</sup> "If he (Josephus) here means the two particular hills of Zion and Akra, as the insertion of the Greek article (οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι) would seem to imply, the language is not literally exact; but if, as is more probable, this is a mere form of expression intended to embrace the whole site of the city, then it presents no difficulty." That this is the true view, and that 'the two hills' are here put by synecdoche for the whole city, I am the more persuaded; inasmuch as Josephus immediately adds, that "because of the steep declivities on both sides (ἐκτείναντες) there was nowhere any approach." Now this last clause applies only to the city as a whole; and the preceding clause is therefore to be taken in a like acceptation. To the same effect, also, is another passage, where Josephus relates that "a broad and deep valley encompasses (περιέχεται) the city, comprehending within it the temple, which was strongly fortified with a wall of stone."<sup>3</sup> Here again it is expressly the city as a whole, which is said to be thus encompassed; although in fact there is no valley on the whole northern and north-western quarter.—But whatever difficulty may be felt in respect to the passage in question as connected with the hill west of Moriah, the same exists in full force in relation to the proposed Akra on the north of the temple, as defined in the English work. The author himself testifies, "that the hill of [his] Akra does not slope down to the valley of the Kidron; the skirt of Bezetha, on which stands the church of St. Ann, being interposed."<sup>4</sup> I do not vouch for the accuracy of this testimony; but it is good as against the witness himself. Of course, his Akra is no more "enclosed by a deep valley" than is that of the Biblical Researches; and the difficulty as to the "two hills," is in no degree lessened. Or, even if this Akra be regarded as extending quite to the valley of the Kidron; even then it is difficult to see, why the *two* hills, Zion and Akra, should be spoken of as enclosed by a valley, any more than the *three*, including Moriah. To account for this circumstance, we must still have recourse to a synecdoche.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Ant. XIV. 4. 1.

<sup>4</sup> H. City, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> The German writer endeavours to evade this last difficulty, by assuming that Akra and Moriah were reckoned as *one* hill! Schultz, p. 56, 57. The English author makes the same supposition more than once; H. City, p. 105, 265.

3. Again, it is said: "Josephus invariably speaks of Zion as higher than Akra;" while the Akra of the Biblical Researches is "considerably higher than Zion."<sup>1</sup> Josephus does indeed *invariably* so speak of Zion; because he mentions the fact once, and only once; and this in the passage first above quoted.<sup>2</sup> But the historian there expressly refers to Akra as sustaining the *lower* city; that is, to the portion of the ridge which was within the second wall, and which alone was covered by the lower city. Let it be, that the same ridge further in the north-west beyond the second wall, even where included within the third wall, was and is higher than Zion. With all this the language of Josephus has nothing to do. He was not speaking of the interval between those walls; for this was not the *lower* city, but belonged to the suburb (*προάστειον*), or, as it was also called, the *new* city.

4. Once more it is said: "The broad valley which had once parted Akra from Moriah was filled up by the Asmoneans, so that these two hills became one;"<sup>3</sup> and the conclusion is thence drawn, that this valley could not have been the present one on the west of the temple. Now, in this very statement there lies a *petitio principii*, which runs through the whole English volume. It consists in quietly taking for granted, that the valley in question was so completely filled up as to obliterate all traces of it; so that Akra and Moriah, which before were two hills, were now so united as to be but one hill. But the language of Josephus, as we have seen,<sup>4</sup> neither expresses nor implies anything of the kind. He merely narrates, that the Maccabees desiring to connect (*συνάψαι*) the city with the temple, threw earth into the valley, and also lowered the height of Akra so that the temple rose above it. There is not a word about a valley obliterated, or of two hills made one.—Nor, even if the objection were well founded, does it help the matter in behalf of an Akra on the north of the temple. On the English writer's own authority, we have seen, that the whole northern part of the Haram-area, as well as the foundation of the Governor's house, is one mass of solid rock connected with the northern hill; utterly precluding the hypothesis that a valley could ever have existed there, and much less have been filled up.<sup>5</sup>

5. Another objection, one least anticipated and certainly enti-

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. [417.]

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 418. n. 1. Jos. B. J. V. 4. 1, quoted and translated above, p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 421.

tled to the claim of originality, is urged by both writers. It consists in denying the existence of any valley or depression running down eastward from the Yâfa gate, where I have placed the Tyropoeon. In the margin the reader will find the statements of both writers in full; and has thus before him the whole strength of the objection and the testimony on which it rests.<sup>1</sup>

It is averred, that from the northern declivity of Zion, "once precipitous, now slanted off by ruins," there is towards the north only level ground, and "not the slightest appearance of a rise, as a valley would require." Yet the same writer elsewhere speaks of the ground on the north, which I hold to be Akra, as being part "of a high rocky ridge;" not indeed "a distinct hill, but the termination or declivity of a swell of land."<sup>2</sup> The German author likewise speaks repeatedly of the church of the Sepulchre as originally situated upon "a rocky projection (Vorsprung) coming from the west, which overhung the adjacent parts of the city on the east;" and the elevation of which on the south side is now concealed by the ruins of the hospital of the knights of St. John.<sup>3</sup> Now, where there is on one side a declivity "once precipitous, now slanted off by ruins;" and on the other side any portion of a "high rocky ridge" or "the termination of a swell of land;" it would be natural that there should be lower ground be-

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 267, 268: "I never could find any traces of the valley which Dr. R. calls the Tyropoeon. . . . However 'easy to be traced' this valley may be, I must confess that I could never discover it, during fourteen months' residence in Jerusalem, although I must have crossed it almost every day. . . . Here [along the street leading down from the Yâfa gate], if anywhere, this valley must be looked for. Its course is at first immediately under the steep brow of Mount Zion, which rises on the right hand, once precipitous, now slanted off by ruins; but on the other side, i. e. the left hand, there is not the slightest appearance of a rise as a valley would require; the whole ground north of Zion declining equally towards the east; so that every street running from south to north is completely level. . . . There is positively *not the slightest appearance of a valley here.*"—Schultz, p. 28: "This street [from the Yâfa gate] does not pass down in a valley, as you would be led to suppose from former Plans; but along the northern declivity of Zion, which naturally seems to become higher the more the street descends." Ib. p. 54: "I refer to my former remark, that there is no valley at all beginning at the Yâfa gate. At the utmost one might say, that the valley that comes from the north, from the Damascus gate, forms a bay between the church of the Sepulchre and the north side of Zion; which is occupied by the remains of the former edifices of the knights of St. John. Or better still, it might be called a great terrace midway on the slope (*à mi-côte*) of the western hill."

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, p. 96; see also p. 30, 53.



tween the two, and that in passing from this lower ground towards either side, there should be some rise. This however, it would seem, is not according to the experience of the Cambridge Fellow.

It is further alleged, "that every street running from south to north is completely level." Now, this strong averment must be taken with some grains of qualification. The street running from south to north along the depression next to the Haram, can hardly be 'completely' level; for the ground here descends very rapidly towards the south, as is shown by the parallel wall of the Haram. Again, the street that runs northward from the Yâfa gate to the Latin convent, with a branch leading off to the upper part of the Greek convent, has "a considerable ascent," as the same writer affirms, using my words with emphasis; and even asserting further, that the street "becomes steeper as you approach the Latin convent."<sup>1</sup> These two streets, therefore, the uppermost and lowermost of the city, I presume, are not to be taken into the account. We have then remaining three streets, viz. one on the west of the church of the Sepulchre; another next below leading from the bazars along on the east of the same church; and a third still lower down, which is shorter. The last two of these streets extend northwards quite to the Damascus gate; and in so doing both of them descend a steep declivity to or across the *Via dolorosa* and the low ground north of it. Indeed, so steep is here the descent, that the lane leading northwards from the hospital of Helena so called, is carried down to the *Via dolorosa* by steps cut in the rock. This northern portion of these streets, therefore, this writer probably did not intend to include in his broad averment; but only the part between Zion and the brow of this "ridge" or "swell of land." This brow or crown of the ridge, would be very nearly indicated by a line drawn from the north-west angle of the city-wall, so as to pass just on the north side of the church of the Sepulchre to the front of the said hospital of Helena.

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 266. n. 1. Yet two pages further on, the same writer uses the following language, p. 268. n. 2: "Dr. R. attempts to alter the ground here, and to make a declivity from the Latin convent towards the south-east, in order to form the bed of his Tyropoeon." This passage is in direct contradiction to that quoted in the text. It comes then to this; that where it is desirable to this author to show that the Akra of the Biblical Researches is higher than Zion, then my language does not make the street running up to the Latin convent steep enough; but when the object is to represent the same Akra as not a hill, and the streets leading across it as 'completely level,' then I am charged with attempting "to alter the ground here and make a declivity!"

This ridge, thus steep on its northern or northeastern side, slopes off much more gradually on the south towards Zion. There, at the base of Zion, it was originally bordered (as I hold) by the narrow ravine of the Tyropoeon, as above described;<sup>1</sup> into which the water from it flowed, and the place of which is now apparently occupied by the street leading down from the Yâfa gate. Of the three last mentioned streets, which run from south to north and cross the said ridge, I can speak from personal observation only of the two westernmost. The third or easternmost I do not remember ever to have visited in its southern part; nor do I know of any traveller or writer who mentions it.<sup>2</sup> In respect to the other two, running one above and the other below the church of the Sepulchre, and forming principal streets of the city, I have elsewhere remarked, that the ascent towards the north, which is so "considerable" in the street nearest the Yâfa gate, is in them "less perceptible".<sup>3</sup> Now this may arise from various causes. The crown of the ridge itself descends very rapidly towards the south-east; and of course the slope of the southern declivity diminishes at every step. It may be, too, that the relative direction of these streets is such as to carry them horizontally along the face of the hill; so that if the direction were a little changed towards the west, they would ascend more; or if towards the east, they would even descend. Or still further, it must be borne in mind, that for nearly eighteen centuries this quarter has been the centre of the city; and subject in every age to overthrow and desolation. Between these very streets once stood the famed edifices of the knights of St. John; of which only fragments now remain to mark the outline. If then the northern brow of Zion "once precipitous" is "now slanted off by ruins;" if adjacent to the citadel many remains of walls and buildings were discovered in digging deeply for the foundations of new barracks;<sup>4</sup> if in the Jewish quarter on Zion, in preparing for the building of a synagogue, whole rooms and dwellings were uncovered from the rubbish in which they had been buried;<sup>5</sup> if in the excavations for the Anglican church in the same quarter bevelled stones and capitals of columns were thrown out from the depth of thirty or forty feet, and an ancient aqueduct was uncov-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> No distinct reference is made to this street in the English volume.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Res. i. p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. Res. i. p. 459.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 361.

ered more than twenty feet below the surface;<sup>1</sup> if all this be so, it surely is not too much to presume, that in this still lower tract the accumulation of the rubbish of so many centuries may have greatly changed the character of the surface; filled up the narrow ravine of the Tyropoeon; and rendered the gradual southern declivity of Akra less distinct and perceptible.

In regard however to these two streets next above and below the church of the Sepulchre, there may be some question, whether even in this their southern portion they are so strictly and "completely" level. They are both quite narrow, and paved in the manner usual in Palestine, having a deep trench or channel in the middle, which serves as a drain, and in which animals pass along in single file. Now, although these two streets, for some distance north of Zion, may be apparently nearly level; yet, after rain, the water (I think) would be found flowing off through these channels quite rapidly towards the south; certainly never towards the north. Indeed, the German author informs us, that along the street of the bazar, there is a large sewer, covered with broad flat stones, which runs from north to south.<sup>2</sup> All this of course has reference only to the portions of those streets lying south of the church of the Sepulchre. But in respect to the parts opposite or adjacent to that church, as well as in respect to the ground between them and further east in the same quarter, I am able to give more definite information; which may at least have the effect to lead to further examination.

The uppermost of these two streets, as I remember, on approaching from the south the rear of the said church, has very distinctly an ascent; and continues to rise gradually (if I mistake not) until it ends in the continuation of the *Via dolorosa*, which here comes up very steeply from the east. My own testimony to this fact does not stand unsupported; but is confirmed by that of a friend, whose accuracy is well known.<sup>3</sup> As to the church itself, we have the testimony of the German writer, that "it lies upon a rocky projection (*Vorsprung*) coming from the west, which quite probably had a steep declivity towards the north and east; and the elevation of which on the south side is now concealed by the ruins of the buildings once belonging to the knights of St. John; these being filled up to the first story with rubbish, and

<sup>1</sup> Rev. S. Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, No. I. p. 34. See also above, p. 419. n. 2. Bartlett's *Walks*, p. 82 sq. Ed. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Eli Smith, now in this country.

occupied by a garden, from which one looks down into the streets as into trenches."<sup>1</sup> The street along the bazar, below the church, does not indeed make an ascent on reaching the corresponding point; but it is carried through what seems to be the crown of the ridge *by a hollow way* covered over on a level with the surface of the ground on each side, and high enough for loaded and mounted camels to pass through. The details are given in the note below, by a friend who resided for several months adjacent to the spot.<sup>2</sup> It is supposed by some, that the ground here on both sides is artificial; and that at least the garden on the east side, connected with the house occupied by Mr. Lanneau, rests upon the arched substructions of former edifices. Such subterranean arches upon the west side would be less probable. The whole region needs further examination; and I therefore state the matter hypothetically. Should it turn out that even one side only (the western) is of solid earth or rock, that would explain why the street makes no ascent; and would be sufficient for my argument.—Leaving now this street and passing down that which leads east by the hospital of Helena, we come after a few rods to the former house of Mr. Lanneau on the left.<sup>3</sup> Entering through the front by a covered passage, we ascend several steps to an open court; under which is a large cistern, understood to be hewn in the rock. Thence several more steps lead up to the level of the garden and main dwellings. The impression which

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, p. 30, 31; comp. p. 53, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. S. Wolcott, who writes to me as follows: "The street that leads north from the bazars to the Damascus gate, is arched over for a few rods, between the street that runs east by the hospital of Helena and the parallel street called the *Via dolorosa*. The arch is so high that loaded and mounted camels pass through it easily. The street is lighted by openings in the top; though in one section of it a part of the arch is now broken away. What depth of soil rests on the arch, I do not know; but the surface of it is on a level with the ground on either side; so that, unless the ground is artificial, the present street is a trench cut through a ridge. It cannot, I think, be less than twelve or fifteen feet deep; and, being covered, appears like a tunnel. The house occupied by Mr. Lanneau when you were in Jerusalem, and where I took up my quarters, is on the north side of the street that runs east by Helena's hospital. You first enter from the street a covered passage; then ascend several steps to an open court or pavement; and thence a few more to the garden. Crossing the garden westwards, you pass through a gate and come upon the terrace over the street above described, and across it upon ground of equal elevation. This latter is accessible by a path that ascends gradually from the street itself, on the west, commencing some distance south of the arched covering."

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding note.

I received while sojourning in the house, was, that this ascent from the street was occasioned by the same rocky ridge, coming from the west and continuing towards the east; where it has further down a very steep descent along the street, and is in some places cut into steps.<sup>1</sup> This impression may be erroneous; but I have as yet seen no evidence to call it in question.

The bearing of all these facts and circumstances upon the question here at issue, is obvious. I may add, that during my visit to Jerusalem in 1838, the views maintained here and in the *Biblical Researches* respecting the Tyropoeon and Akra, were at the time topics of daily consideration and discussion between myself and the nine or ten American and English missionaries then congregated there, several of whom had for years resided in the city; and that it never occurred to any one of them to question the existence of a ridge or hill on the north of Zion, nor of a depression or valley (once deeper) running down from the Yâfa gate between the two. The same depression is indicated very distinctly in the beautiful and accurate views of Jerusalem in folio published by Mr. Bartlett; as also in the earlier and splendid *Sketches* of Mr. Roberts.<sup>2</sup> I subjoin also in the margin the later testimony of an accurate observer to the same effect; I mean the Rev. Dr. Durbin, who visited Jerusalem in 1843.<sup>3</sup>

I present further, in full, the well considered testimony of two other gentlemen, given since the publication of the English work, and with express reference to the assertions of that work. The first is that of Mr. Bartlett, who, after speaking of the "hollow" on the north of Zion, writes as follows:<sup>4</sup> "According to Mr. Williams, there is really no valley here at all. But while we admit

<sup>1</sup> The description which the German writer gives of this whole tract, as a *bay* setting up from the east, implies of itself a ridge or higher ground on the north, as well as on the south. See above, p. 428. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> BARTLETT'S *Comparative Views of ancient and modern Jerusalem*, fol. Also on a small scale in his "Walks about Jerusalem."—ROBERTS' *Sketches*, etc. No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Observations in the East*, l. p. 223: "We see that the ground on which it [the city] lies, is very unequal, but yet that it is clearly divided into four distinct parts by two valleys; the first commencing in the plain about the Damascus gate (in the northern wall); the second opening from the citadel, first eastwardly and then turning to the south, called the valley of the Tyropoeon or Cheesemakers. Four hills are thus distinguished, forming as many distinct quarters of the city."

<sup>4</sup> *Walks about Jerusalem*, Ed. 2, App. p. 247.

with him, that the streets running north and south *across Akra*, are nearly or quite level, still it is equally true, that taking the line from the church of the Sepulchre obliquely down to the Jews' Wailing Place, there is a palpable descent, though certainly not answering in abruptness to the opposite cliff of Zion." The other is from the Rev. Eli Smith, who was again in Jerusalem in the year 1844, and thus writes:<sup>1</sup> "Draw a line along the ridge of Akra from the northwest corner of the city-wall so as to pass just upon the north side of the church of the Sepulchre; and another along the northern brow of Mount Zion from the citadel; and there would be a decided depression between them, into which water would run from both. This is according to the best of my recollection."

The preceding facts and testimony will enable the reader to put a right estimate upon the assertions of the English writer.

6. A further and last objection to the position of the Tyropoeon and Akra as maintained in the *Biblical Researches*, is not indeed stated in so many words, but is nevertheless everywhere implied in the English volume, and amounts to this, viz. that such a view rests only on "the evidence of a partial witness of the nineteenth century." The impression everywhere and obviously intended to be left on the mind of the reader, is, that the view in question is a novel one, first broached by the author of the *Researches*, without authority, and unknown to the scholars of preceding centuries. Nor is there in the whole work anything to counteract this impression. Not an allusion is made throughout the whole to any former traveller or scholar, as having entertained the same opinions. The German writer is more just; and correctly regards the *Researches* as representing in these points, opinions long prevalent; and as only following out in respect to the Tyropoeon and Akra the conjectures of former writers.<sup>2</sup> This is the true state of the case; for so far is the view maintained by me in relation to these two points from being a novel one, that it is in fact the very earliest of which we have any record, and goes back at least to the centuries of the crusades. In these particular instances, all that the author of the *Biblical Researches* has ever supposed himself to have accomplished in the way of novelty, is, to have shown more carefully than before, the coincidence of the description of Josephus with the actual physical and historical features of the Holy City.

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscript Letter. Dec. 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 53, 54.

The first writer on Jerusalem, so far as I have been able to discover, who refers at all to Josephus and attempts to apply his details to the actual features of the place, is the monk Brocardus, about A. D. 1283; to whom we are indebted for the topography of the Holy Land and Holy City, according to the views current in the age of the crusades.<sup>1</sup> He states distinctly, that a valley descended from the tower of David [Hippicus] along the northern side of Zion quite to Moriah, and there turned south; it thus separated Moriah and also the whole lower city from Zion, and was extended quite down to the Kidron. The upper part of this valley was already filled up in his day, yet there remained vestiges of its former concavity.<sup>2</sup> He then goes on to speak of a supposed but fabulous valley, which, commencing at the same tower of David, was held to have run northwards and formed the western fosse of the city quite to the northern border. Adjacent to this valley, as was supposed, on the inner (eastern) side, rose the rock called by Josephus *Arra* (Akra); while outside of the same valley towards the west was the place where our Lord was crucified. It is not necessary to follow the description any further. My only object is to show that Brocardus, five and a half centuries ago, held the same views as to the general position of Akra and the Tyropoeon, which are maintained in the Biblical Researches.

It is easy to see, that this writer was already pressed with the difficulty of reconciling the definite description of Josephus with the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre. The latter was to be preserved at all events; and therefore the account of the historian, while professedly followed, was sadly wrested. Thus, it is

<sup>1</sup> BROCARDI *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*; appended to Sanson's *Geogr. Sacra*, ed. Le Clerc, Amst. 1711, fol.

<sup>2</sup> Brocardus, cap. VIII: "Proinde vallis quae a turri David descendebat contra latus Aquilonare montis Sion usque ad montem Moria, et reflectitur in Orientem [Austrum], separabat montem Moria—a monte Sion, et totam inferiorem civitatem, extendebaturque usque ad torrentem Cedron, per locum ubi nunc est porta aquarum inter montem Sion et palatium Salomonis, quod aedificatum fuit in parte Australi montis Moria," etc. Here the reading: "flectitur in Orientem," is obviously a *lapsus*, probably of a transcriber, instead of: "flectitur in Austrum." The course of the valley along the north side of Zion is nearly due east; and it is therefore an absurdity to say that the valley afterwards "turns to the east." Besides, from the point where it turns, it is said to pass "along the place where is now the Water-gate, between Zion and the palace of Solomon on the southern part of Mount Moriah,"—necessarily implying a southern course. See above, p. 419. and n. 3.

the third or outer wall, built by Agrippa long after the crucifixion, that Brocardus here makes to run below or on the east of the Sepulchre; as<sup>1</sup> is evident from his naming the tower *Neblosa* (Psephinos) at the north-west corner.<sup>1</sup> The same difficulty has been felt by all succeeding writers, who, holding the tradition of the Sepulchre, have yet attempted to follow Josephus. Hence, probably, it is, that this writer has been very generally overlooked or disregarded by monks and travellers down almost to the present day. And thus, too, for the most part, it has been only the distant scholar in his study, who has striven so to apply the language of the Jewish writer as not to trench upon the authority of the church; or else has ventured to set aside tradition when arrayed against the clear light of history.

The next writers who refer to Josephus, are Adrichomius and the Jesuit Villalpandus, at the close of the sixteenth century; both of whom fully adopt in respect to the Tyropoeon and Akra the view which I have supported.<sup>2</sup> From them, probably, the traveller Sandys, who was at Jerusalem in 1611, derived the same view.<sup>3</sup> About the middle of this seventeenth century, Lightfoot, by a wrong interpretation of a passage in the Psalms, and by his reliance on the Rabbins, was led into the error of placing Zion on the north of the Holy City, and Akra on the south; in which he was followed by Cellarius.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis was rejected by O. Dapper as early as 1677; though it was left for Reland in the next (eighteenth) century to furnish a terse and conclusive refutation.<sup>5</sup> Reland in the same connection gives his own views in full, on the authority of Josephus; assigning to Akra its place on the north of Zion and west of Moriah.<sup>6</sup> Next came the geographer D'Anville, who, commenting upon Josephus, adopts very

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 5. Brocardus, or the translator whom he followed, would seem to have read *Σεφνός, neblusus*, instead of *Σηφίνας, ex calculis factus*. The fabulous valley was perhaps introduced in order to make out the deep valleys around the two hills; see above, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> C. ADRICHOMIUS, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae*, Col. Agr. 1590, etc. fol. p. 151, 152; also the Plan of Jerus. p. 145. VILLALPANDUS, *Apparatus Urbis et Templi Hieros.* in PRADI ET VILLALP. in *Ezech. Explanationes*, etc. Tom. III. fol. Rom. 1604. This writer says: "Mns igitur hic [Acra] ad Aquilonem situs Sioni, ad Occidentem Moriae, describitur a Josepho his verbis," etc. p. 22. B.

<sup>3</sup> SANDYS' *Travailes*, etc. p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> LIGHTFOOT, *Cent. Chorogr. Matthaeo praem.* c. 22. 23. His error was founded on Ps. 48, 2.—CELLARIUS, *Notit. Orbis*, II. p. 457 sq.

<sup>5</sup> O. DAPPER, *Palestyna*, p. 331.—RELAND, *Palaestina*, p. 847 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Palaest.* p. 850—853.



decisively the same conclusions as Roland; and gives upon his Plan, for the first time, some of the results of a partial survey of the city, with a slight shading, by which he indicates the Tyropoeon in nearly its true course from the Yâfa gate.<sup>1</sup> During all these centuries, the travellers who visited Jerusalem added little to the stock of knowledge respecting its physical topography. Even the best of them, as Maundrell and Niebuhr, make no reference to Josephus; and Pococke, although he finds the Tyropoeon in the right position, and describes it as now occupied in part by the bazars, yet makes Akra extend the whole breadth of the city from west to east, and assigns to it two summits, one on the west and the other on the north of Moriah.<sup>2</sup>

Nor has much more light been shed upon the physical features and topography of the Holy City by the earlier travellers of the nineteenth century. Dr. E. D. Clarke in 1801 started his fancy of converting the valley of Hinnom into the Tyropoeon; but this, though favourably received for a time, is now only matter of history. Sieber's Plan was constructed in 1818, and served as the basis of those of Berggren and Catherwood; but it marks no physical features within the walls, except the site of the hill Bezetha, correctly placed on the north of the Haram. The Plan of Westphal, published in 1825, distinguishes the hills of Zion on the south and Akra on the north; but has otherwise no great correctness.<sup>3</sup> Prokesch in 1829 is apparently the first traveller of the century, who speaks definitely of the hills within the city. He describes them as four in number; two, Zion and Akra, in the south-east and north-west; and two others, Moriah and Bezetha, on the east.<sup>4</sup> The same general position of Akra, viz. north of Zion and west of Moriah, is assigned by the more distinguished sacred geographers of the present century, as Rosenmueller, Raumer, Crome.<sup>5</sup> The Plans of the two latter, con-

<sup>1</sup> D'ANVILLE, *Dissertat. sur l'étendue de l'ancienne Jerusalem*, Paris, 1747; reprinted in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*. He says: "La seconde colline [Akra] s'élevait au nord de Sion, faisant face par son côté oriental au mont Moria," etc. p. 331, ed. Chateaub. See the Plan of Jerusalem upon D'Anville's Map of Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II. p. 7, 10, 12.—Pococke's statements are followed by Hamelsveld; see his Plan.

<sup>3</sup> Hertha, Bd. I. 1825. Found also in Ackermann's Bible Atlas.

<sup>4</sup> Reine ins h. Land, p. 51; comp. p. 43. Prokesch, following Lightfoot's view, takes the northwestern hill as Zion, and the southwestern as Akra.

<sup>5</sup> ROSENMUELLER *Bibl. Geogr.* II. ii. p. 210.—VON RAUMER, *Palestina*, Leipz. 1838, p. 346—348.—CROME, art. *Jerusalem*, in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopädie*.

structed from the best materials then extant, exhibit the Tyropoeon in its proper place, separating Akra on the north from Zion on the south.

All this testimony is that of witnesses earlier than the year 1838, when my own visit to Jerusalem was made; the results of which were published in the *Biblical Researches* in the year 1841. The testimony of some later travellers has been already adduced.<sup>1</sup>

Such then is the evidence derived from witnesses scattered over no less than seven centuries. I have adduced it here for two reasons; *first*, to demonstrate that the view maintained in the *Biblical Researches* as to the place of Akra and the Tyropoeon, is not a novel one resting only on "the evidence of a partial witness of the nineteenth century;" and, *secondly*, to show that although the Cambridge Fellow "never could find any traces of a valley" or depression where this view places the Tyropoeon, yet others, not less *impartial* than himself, both before and after him, have been less unsuccessful.

The discussion respecting the place of Akra and the Tyropoeon may here be brought to a close. It has been thus drawn out into minuteness of detail, because these points are fundamental in the topography of the Holy City. If the true position of Akra has now been made clear, the remaining topics will require only a briefer consideration.

## II.

*The hill BEZETHA was the hill immediately adjacent to the present area of the Haram, on its north-northwest quarter.*

The main evidence respecting this hill is contained in two passages of Josephus; in both of which it is represented as in immediate contiguity with the fortress Antonia on the north of the temple.

The first passage is as follows:<sup>2</sup> "This [third wall] Agrippa placed around the city where it had been further built out (ἐν προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει); the whole of which part was naked. For the city, overflowing with the multitude of inhabitants, had by little and little crept beyond the walls; and the population having thus united to the city the parts on the north of the temple adjacent to the hill (καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῇ λόφῳ συμπολίσσας), had advanced not a little; so that a fourth hill was now

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 433 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2.

inhabited, which is called Bezetha, lying over against Antonia and separated from it by a deep excavation (*ὄρυγμα*). For a trench had been here dug through on purpose; lest the foundations of Antonia, being joined to this hill, should be easily accessible and less lofty. In this way the depth of the trench added very greatly to the elevation of the towers. In the language of the country this newly built part (*τὸ νεώτιστον μέρος*) is called *Bezetha*; which, being interpreted in the Greek tongue, signifies *the New City*."

The second passage includes a reference to the first:<sup>1</sup> "The hill Bezetha was divided (*διήχρητο*), as I have said, from Antonia; and being the highest of all, it was built up contiguous to a part of the new city, and alone overshadowed the temple on the north (*καὶ μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἄκρον ἐπισκώτει*)."

The reader who has satisfied himself that Akra was on the west of the temple, will feel no hesitation in regarding the above language of the historian as having a clear and decisive application to the hill immediately on the northern, or rather north-north-western quarter of the present Haram. There are, further, in the language of Josephus certain specifications, which show that Bezetha could have been no other hill.

I. Bezetha was separated from the fortress Antonia by a deep artificial trench. Let now the exact position of Antonia have been what it may, so long as it was situated in or close upon the north-west quarter of the temple-area, the hill Bezetha thus divided from it by an artificial trench, could only have been the hill immediately contiguous. Indeed, there exists here only this one hill.

II. The hill Bezetha alone overshadowed the temple on the north. This applies directly and fully to the hill immediately on the north-northwest of the Haram-area; and by no possibility can it be referred to anything else.

III. In view of these facts, it would seem as if the English writer must have "overlooked or neglected" the testimony of Josephus, when he transfers the main hill of Bezetha to the north-east quarter of the city, outside of the present city wall.<sup>2</sup> Even

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 232: "There is a hill distinct from Akra [meaning here the hill north of the Haram], not mentioned by Dr. R., lying between it and the valley of the Kedron.—The highest point of this hill is nearly northeast of the summit of Akra; now without the city walls, and planted with olives; while the south, or lower part, is within the walls, and reaches down to the trench now

if such a hill existed in that region, it would be more than a quarter of a mile distant from the northern limit of the Haram-area; and very nearly as far also from the position of Antonia, even as assumed by that writer himself.<sup>1</sup> How then it, and it alone, could overshadow the temple on the north, or how it could be divided from Antonia only by an artificial trench, we are nowhere informed. There is also room for more than doubt, whether in fact, any such hill exists in that quarter. The surface of the ground is undulating, with occasional swells and hollows; but exhibits nothing that could in any circumstances be properly regarded as one of the four hills of the city mentioned by Josephus. The large Plans of Sieber and Catherwood indicate no hill in that vicinity; although they both give the eminence over the grotto of Jeremiah, so called, and although the former depicts even the mounds of ashes on the north of the city,<sup>2</sup> and also marks olive-trees on the very place of the alleged hill. The testimony of Schultz, upon his new Plan, is to the same effect; for, while he too inserts the grotto of Jeremiah and the mounds of ashes, he yet indicates no trace of any hill upon the north-east quarter of the present city.<sup>3</sup>

REMARKS. Before leaving this topic, two or three remarks connected with the above passages of Josephus, may not be out of place.

known as the 'Pool of Bethesda.' The hill of Akra does not slope down to the Valley of the Kedron, the skirt of Bezetha, on which stands the church of St. Ann, being interposed. In approaching the city from the north by the Damascus road, the two hills [this alleged Akra and Bezetha] are so distinctly marked that it is impossible to mistake them." This "skirt" of a supposed Bezetha is an undulation upon the eastern slope of the hill north of the Haram, formed by a slight depression, which according to Schultz (p. 32) extends south from the gate of Herod, so called. Such a "skirt" or "summit" of another Bezetha, is unknown to Schultz. Besides, how can such a "skirt" overshadow the temple? And where too was the deep trench which divided Antonia from it? There is at least reason in the remark of the English writer: "With regard to the fosse, I fear that cannot be found;" H. City, p. 355.

<sup>1</sup> H. City, Plan of Antonia, etc. p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. II. p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> The theory of Schultz himself is, that Bezetha was the hill on the north-northwest of the Haram, as maintained in the text; and the hill Akra (on which stood the fortress Akra and, as he thinks, afterwards Antonia) was a prolongation of the hill Bezetha towards the south; while on his Plan the hill Bezetha is marked with the word *Akra* in the sense of the *lower city*; p. 56 *bis*. But, according to Josephus, the hill Akra sustained the lower city; and Bezetha was a fourth hill distinct from Akra and the lower city; see the citations in the text, also Jos. B. J. V. 4. 1

1. The historian in the first passage calls this northern hill *Bezetha*, and explains the word as meaning the *New City*; while in the last passage he distinguishes between the two, and speaks of the *hill* Bezetha as joined to the new city. The two are likewise distinguished in other places.<sup>1</sup> Probably the hill was the first place built upon, outside of the former wall, and thus received this name; which then continued to be its specific appellation after the other or *lower* new city had extended itself upon the plain. Hence, in the writings of Josephus, the term *Bezetha* seems always to designate the hill alone; while the new city, as such, has its own distinct name.<sup>2</sup>

2. Josephus says that the hill Bezetha was "the highest of all" (*πάντων ὑψηλότερος*). But the word "all" obviously does not here refer to all the hills of the city. The historian had just been speaking of the temple as the fortress of the city (exclusive of Zion), and of Antonia as the fortress of the temple; and he goes on to say, that the hill Bezetha, the highest of all *these*, (*viz.* the lower city, Moriah, and perhaps the rock of Antonia,) was on one side connected by its buildings with the new city, and on the other overshadowed the temple.<sup>3</sup>

3. The language of Josephus being thus decisive to show that the hill on the north-northwest of the Haram was Bezetha, it is therefore equally decisive to demonstrate *per se*, that this same hill could not have been Akra.

### III.

*The gate GENNATH, at which the second wall of Josephus began, was in the first or old wall NEAR TO the tower HIPPICUS.*

The evidence in support of this position is derived, partly from the nature of the ground, and partly from the notices and statements of Josephus.

The gate in question is mentioned by its name Gennath, only once in the writings of Josephus; and this, where he is describing the commencement and course of the three walls which protected Jerusalem on the north.<sup>4</sup> The first or innermost of these

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. II. 19. 4. Perhaps too ib. V. 12. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the new city, as such, is called by Josephus: *ἡ καινὴ πόλις*, B. J. V. 5. 8. V. 8. 1; or *Καινόπολις*, ib. II. 19. 4; or also *ἡ κατωτέρω Καινόπολις*, ib. V. 12. 2. This last appellation, the *lower New City*, was probably used to distinguish it from the hill or higher ground on the south and west.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks of Villalpandus on both these points; Pradi et Villalp. Explanatt. in Ezech. Tom. III. p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2.

walls began at the tower Hippicus, and ran (eastwards along the northern brow of Zion) to the Xystus, and so to the western part of the temple. "The second wall had its beginning at the gate called Gennath in the first wall; and encircling (κυκλούμενον) only the tract on the north, extended quite to Antonia." The third wall began also at the tower Hippicus; and being carried north to the tower Psephinos, thence swept around over against the tomb of Helena, and so to the Kedron.

I. The gate Gennath then was in the first wall; and led out of Zion either into the lower city or into the open country on the north or north-west. The name Gennath (Γεννάθ, Heb. גִּנְיָת, גִּנְיָת, Aram. גִּנְיָת) signifies *a garden*; and implies here a gate leading out *to or near by* a garden; equivalent to *Garden Gate*. Now, such a garden cannot well have been within the walls either of Zion or of the lower city. The population was too crowded; and the analogy of the king's gardens below Siloam is likewise against such a supposition. We must therefore look for it outside of the wall, on the north or northwest of Zion. The gate of Gennath, then, led out of Zion to the country, and not into the lower city.<sup>1</sup> But, for such a gate, the natural place is and was near to Hippicus, not far south or southeast from the present Yâfa gate; where the descent from Zion towards the north is, and must always have been, comparatively small and gradual. More towards the east, the steepness and apparent elevation of this northern declivity of Zion increase at every step;<sup>2</sup> and there, too, in ancient times stood the towers of Phasaelis and Mariamne, built in the first wall and connected with the royal palace. Josephus describes the elevation of Zion in this part as great (λόφος ὑψηλός); and speaks of the old or first wall along its brow, to say nothing of the towers and palace, as rising still thirty cubits above the hill.<sup>3</sup> To assume therefore a gateway, leading out of Zion into the country, at any point not near to Hippicus, would be against all probability.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So too the author of the "Holy City," p. 261. So likewise Schultz, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 28: The street leads down "along the northern declivity of Zion, which naturally seems to become higher, the lower the street descends."

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The English author expresses himself still more strongly on this point; p. 262: The absurdity of supposing an exit for a city gate through such a royal palace, and down a precipice of thirty feet, is obvious, and need not be insisted on." "The same general idea I intended to convey by a remark in the Bibl. Res. I, p. 462: "It [the gate] could not have been far distant [from Hippicus];

On the other hand, both the writers in question assign the place of the gate Gennath as having been on the northern brow of Zion, just above the street leading up south from the west side of the bazars.<sup>1</sup> This spot is about eight hundred feet distant from Hippicus. At this point, according to the English writer, there is "a sudden rise to Zion;" or, as he likewise calls it, "a steep declivity;" and, according to the German author, this northern declivity of Zion "seems to become higher, the lower the street [running east] descends."<sup>2</sup> Between this point, too, and Hippicus, stood the towers of Phasaelis and Mariamne, as also the royal palace, "along the northern brow of Zion, which was here a rocky eminence thirty cubits high."<sup>3</sup> Taking into account, then, the nature of the ground, as described by both authors, it may be difficult to see, why we are not brought back by them, after all, to the "obvious absurdity of supposing an exit for a city gate . . . down a precipice of thirty feet."<sup>4</sup> Nor does the fact of "a tradition of a gate" in this vicinity, "leading into Zion and still revered by pilgrims," when rightly understood, at all lessen the difficulty.<sup>5</sup>

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because that part of Zion was then high and steep." This remark the same writer pronounces to be "perfectly unintelligible;"—"for," he says, "how a city gate could have an exit where a wall was carried along a *perpendicular cliff thirty cubits high*, I cannot understand;" p. 261. n. 3.—It may be remarked in passing, that this "thirty cubits" (not thirty feet) is not assigned by Josephus as the elevation of the hill, but as the height of the wall above the hill; B. J. V. 4. 4.

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 286. Schultz, p. 61, 62. See especially their Plans.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 286. Schultz, p. 28; see note 2 on p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 261. See note 4 on p. 442.

<sup>4</sup> H. City, p. 262. See above, p. 442, n. 4.—The English writer speaks of "a dip in the hill" in this part of Zion, "so marked that in passing from south to north . . . from near the Zion gate, you have little or no descent at all to the bazars;" p. 285. This language is, at least, exaggerated. This "dip," if any where, is according to this writer on the street leading up to Zion from the eastern side of the bazars; and is therefore some distance further east than the alleged place of the gate Gennath. What then it can have to do with the position of that gate, it may not be easy to see; and the mention of it in this connection can only serve to throw dust in the eyes of the reader. The "dip," if any really exists, may have been the effect of attrition, or perhaps partially of labour, in diminishing the steepness of a main thoroughfare, adjacent to what has been for many centuries the chief place of trade in the city.

<sup>5</sup> H. City, 286. Schultz, p. 61, 62. This traditional gate, of which even Mr. W. says he "would not attach much importance to it taken alone," is the *Porta ferrea*, so called, of the monks; which their tradition regards as a gate "leading into Zion," through which Peter passed on his way from the prison to the house of the mother of Mark; Acts 12: 10, 12. H. City, *ibid.* Quares-

II. Josephus affirms that "the city was fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable vallies;"<sup>1</sup> that is to say, upon its whole northern quarter. But if the gate Gennath, at which the second wall began, was not adjacent to Hippicus; and especially, if it was so far distant as to be opposite the bazars; then all that tract of the upper city from Hippicus to the said gate, was fortified only by a single wall before the time of Agrippa; and by only *two* walls (instead of three) at the time of which Josephus wrote. The tract thus unprotected extended, as we have seen, about eight hundred feet; amounting to more than one half of the entire northern side of Zion, and to nearly one half of the whole length of the first wall.

III. That all this, however, was not so; but that the whole of Zion was actually protected on the north by these walls, appears further from the fact, that in every siege or capture of Jerusalem, (the approaches being always and necessarily made on the north or northwest,) no attack or approach is ever described as made against the *upper* city (Zion), until after the besiegers had already broken through the second wall and got possession of the *lower* city. But if the second wall began near the bazars, then (as we have seen) more than one half of the northern brow of Zion was not protected by it at all; and the possession of the lower city was not necessary in order to make approaches against the upper, and that too at the most accessible point,—the very point indeed, near to Hippicus, where the ground was most feasible, and where Titus actually made his assault *after* he had taken the second wall.<sup>2</sup> Josephus narrates three such instances of the capture of Jerusalem, viz. by Herod, Cestius, and Titus.<sup>3</sup>

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nius II. p. 95. Unfortunately for tradition, this "iron gate," according to the Scripture, was the strong outer gate of the prison itself; which prison the same tradition places in the lower city, north of the pool of Hezekiah and not far south of the Church of the Sepulchre; Quaresmius, II. p. 89.—Both writers describe another "old gateway" in this part, "so much choked up with rubbish, that the key-stone is nearly on a level with the street;" H. City, p. 286. Schultz, p. 61, 62. But this gateway, even if ancient, (of which no evidence is adduced,) could not have belonged to the first wall, as the English writer admits; since it opens towards the west. Yet Lord Nugent thinks this may "not improbably have been the gate Gennath;" and as such he gives a drawing of it; II. p. 54, 55. To this view Schultz likewise seems to assent; p. 61, 62.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 1. See p. 417, above.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 8. 1. V. 11. 4. VI. 8. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pompey laid siege only to the temple, the rest of the city having been opened to him; B. J. I. 7. 2. Antt. XIV. 4. 2.



Herod reduced the city about the year 33 B. C. some seventy years before the building of the third or Agrippa's wall.<sup>1</sup> The outer (afterwards the middle) wall was taken by him with great difficulty after forty days; the next, or external wall of the temple-area, after fifteen days more. In the words of Josephus: "The exterior temple and the lower city being thus captured, the Jews took refuge in the interior temple and the upper city."<sup>2</sup> These were afterwards taken by assault.

Cestius marched against Jerusalem about A. D. 65, some years after the completion of Agrippa's wall.<sup>3</sup> The northern gates of the city were thrown open to him. He set fire to the hill Bezetha, to the Caenopolis or new city so called, and also to the timber-market (*δοκῶν ἀγορά*); and then "coming to the upper city, he encamped over against the royal palace. And had he been willing in that very hour to have forced his way within the walls, he might have taken the [upper] city upon the spot," and have put an end to the war. Instead of this he turned aside to assault the northern part of the temple; where the Roman soldiers came near to set fire to one of the temple-gates. That Cestius was already in full possession of the lower city, is apparent from this assault upon the temple; as we shall have occasion to see more fully hereafter.<sup>4</sup>

Titus first took the outer wall; then broke through the second wall into the lower city; was driven back, but speedily regained possession; and then, and not till then, he "laid his plans to assault the third wall" (*τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει*); that is to say, the third in the order of attack, being the inner or old wall on Zion.<sup>5</sup> Having now full possession of the lower city, he divided his forces against Antonia on the one hand, and the northwestern part of Zion on the other, over against the royal palace (*κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύνει κλίμα τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺς τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς*). This was obviously the most feasible point of attack in respect to the ground, notwithstanding the impregnable strength of the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelis, and Mariamne, by which it was defended; and here it was that the Romans, in conse-

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XIV. 16. 2; comp. B. J. I. 18. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. *ibid.* *ῥημένον δὲ τοῦ ἐξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἐσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον.*

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. II. 19. 4 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See more in another Article, in the next Number of this work, *Objection*.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 2. V. 8. 1, 2.

quence of a panic among the Jewish leaders, finally made their way by a breach into the upper city.<sup>1</sup>

I have dwelt the more fully upon these historical circumstances; because they furnish of themselves strong and almost conclusive evidence, that the second wall protected the whole northern side of Zion; and therefore the gate Gennath, at which it began, must have been near to Hippicus.

IV. Still more conclusively is this fact brought out by comparing the notices of the monument of the high priest John, which is several times mentioned by the Jewish historian, in his account of the assaults made by Titus upon the three walls successively.

The Roman general, on his arrival, after reconnoitring the city, determined to make his attack upon the outer wall at the monument of the high-priest John;<sup>2</sup> "because in this part the first [outer] fortification was lower, and the second made no junction (*καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνήπτεν*); they having been negligent in walling up those parts where the new city was not very thickly inhabited; but rather there was an easy approach to the third [inner] wall, through which he thought to take (*αἰρήσειν ἐπενόει*) the upper city, as also the temple through Antonia." Here the want of junction spoken of in the second wall, seems necessarily to refer to its junction with the first or old wall on Zion.<sup>3</sup> Josephus probably intended to express the idea, that this second wall, which strictly began at the gate Gennath in the first wall, had been suffered to fall into decay after the building of Agrippa's outer wall; so that it was now no longer actually joined to the first wall at that point. Hence, there was in this quarter an "easy approach" to the lower city and to the inner wall on Zion. This view also finds support from another consideration.

After Titus had taken the outer wall, and thus got possession of the new city, Simon and his party, who held Zion and Akra,<sup>4</sup> "took for their share the point of attack (*τὴν ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες*)

<sup>1</sup> Josh. B. J. VI. 8. 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 6. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase in question: *καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνήπτεν*, cannot of course refer to any junction of the second with the outer wall; for none could ever be supposed, since the outer wall began at Hippicus and the second at the gate Gennath on the east of that tower. Nor can the phrase be understood as affirming merely, that the second wall was here not *adjacent* to the first or third wall; for the verb *συνήπτεν* never has reference to mere proximity, but always to actual contact.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 2, 3.—In respect to Simon and the position of his followers, see *ibid.* V. 6. 1.

at the monument of John, and fortified it (*ἐπεσκήνω*) quite to the gate by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus." This passage shows very clearly, that the portion of the second line of fortification lying between the monument of John and the tower Hippicus, was in a state of neglect or dilapidation; and it thus confirms the interpretation of the former passage given in the preceding paragraph. Some further inferences will be drawn from it below.

Titus took the second wall, and was driven back from it. Again he got possession of it; destroyed the northern portion; stationed guards in the towers of the part towards the south; and afterwards planned his attack upon the third or inner wall.<sup>1</sup> For this end he raised embankments at the monument of John, "intending here to get possession of the upper city" (*ταύτη μὲν τὴν ὤψω πόλιν αἰχμαῖν ἵκνουν*).<sup>2</sup> In speaking elsewhere of these embankments, Josephus describes one of them as at the pool Amygdalon; and another as being thirty cubits distant at the monument of the high-priest.<sup>3</sup> And again he testifies, that these works were on the western quarter of the upper city, over against the royal palace, where stood the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelis, and Mariamne, impregnable against all the energies and efforts of the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

These various passages of Josephus, taken together, throw light upon the position of this monument of John the high-priest; and furnish also some important inferences in relation to the place of the gate Gennath.

*First.* The third or outer wall began at Hippicus; and ran, as we know from ancient vestiges, for some distance northwesterly, perhaps a little within the line of the present wall, along the brow of the upper part of the valley of Hinnom. The attack of the Romans, therefore, could not have been made just in this part; though it would naturally take place at a point as near to Hippicus as the nature of the ground would permit; perhaps two or three hundred feet south of the present northwest corner of the city-wall. Here the Romans broke through the outer wall, at the monument of the high-priest John; and then urged their attack upon the second

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 8. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. V. 9. 2. Comp. ib. V. 11. 4. VI. 2. 10.

<sup>3</sup> B. J. V. 11. 4.

<sup>4</sup> B. J. VI. 8. 1, 4. These towers were connected with the royal palace; ib. V. 4. 4.

wall at the same monument. The inference is, that this monument was situated between these two outer walls, in the new city, so called, and had been erected there, outside of the lower city, before Agrippa's wall was built. Further, it needs but a glance at the plan of the city, to show that the pool Amygdalon, at which one of the embankments was thrown up, can have been no other than the pool of Hezekiah, so called, a work of unquestionable antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The southern end of this reservoir is less than two hundred and fifty feet distant from the course of the first or old wall on Zion. It follows, that the monument of John and the embankments near it, which were raised against the wall on Zion, and one of which was at the pool, could not have been more distant from Zion, than was the pool itself. And further, that the said monument and the embankments were on the west of the pool, is apparent from three considerations, viz. the proximity of the monument to the outer wall, so as to mark the point of attack on the same; then, the statement of Josephus that these embankments were on the western quarter of Zion; and lastly, the fact that the Romans broke through both the outer and second walls before raising their embankment at the pool. In view of all these circumstances, there will probably be no great error, if we assign the position of the monument in question, as having been between the second and outer walls, on the west of the pool, not more than some two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet distant from the latter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 487 sq. The identity is also admitted by the author of the 'Holy City,' p. 271. The name *Amygdalon* does not of course affect the question, whether this pool was the work of Hezekiah.—In the same passage of the *Biblical Researches*, I have spoken of this reservoir as being "usually called the Pool of Hezekiah." For this I am taken to task by the English writer; who asserts, that so far from its being "usually" so called, "it may be questioned whether there are fifty persons in Jerusalem who would know it by that name;" p. 269. Yet on the very next page (p. 270), he admits that Quaresmius has the name; and that "this tradition was handed down by the Latin monks, and received from them by English travellers, until at last it found its way into a modern plan of the city;" meaning Catherwood's. He might have added, that every plan of the city, (even that of Schultz,) which marks the pool itself, gives it the name of Hezekiah. By this writer's own statement, therefore, this is its usual name among monks and travellers; and so I employed it, expressly mentioning the distinct native name, *Birket el-Hümmâm*. The case is precisely the same as with the Pool of Bethesda, so called by monks and travellers; although its native appellation is *Birket Isrâ'îl*.

<sup>2</sup> The distance of 'thirty cubits' between the embankments does not fix the distance of the monument from the pool; since the direction of the latter from

*Secondly.* From the second of the passages above cited,<sup>1</sup> it appears, that whatever may have been the position of the said monument, the second wall, which Simon and his party fortified, ran from it "quite to the gate by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus." Such a gate, of course, must have been quite near to Hippicus. It follows then from this language decisively and conclusively, that *there was a gate in the first wall adjacent to Hippicus*; and that the second wall had its junction with the first or old wall on Zion *at that gate*. Hence also we have the direct corollary, that this gate by which water was brought into Hippicus was *the gate GENNATH*.

These simple conclusions from the language of Josephus, would seem to be incontrovertible; and can hardly fail to carry conviction to every candid mind.

#### IV.

*The SECOND WALL of Josephus, ran on the west of the CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, and included that site within the Lower City.*

The only description given by Josephus of the beginning and course of this second wall, has been already quoted, as follows: <sup>2</sup> "The second wall had its beginning at the gate called Gennath, in the first wall; and, encircling only the tract on the north, extended quite to Antonia (*κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀπ' αὐτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας*)."<sup>3</sup> This gate Gennath in the first wall, as we have just seen, was adjacent to the tower Hippicus. The position here taken is, that the said second wall, commencing at that gate and extending to Antonia, ran by *a circuitous course* between those two points, on the west of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre. This appears from the following considerations.

I. The use of the word *κυκλούμενον*, *encircling*, by Josephus necessarily implies such a course of the said wall. Otherwise his language is without meaning, or at least cannot be true. A wall carried from near Hippicus to Antonia below the church in

the embankment next to it is not known.—Schultz places the monument of John near the church of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 68; contrary to the clear induction from the language of Josephus.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2. See p. 442, above.

question, would occupy almost a straight line; and could in no possible sense be said to *encircle* the tract on the north.<sup>1</sup>

II. If the wall thus ran below the church of the Sepulchre, then the whole space included in the lower city was a small triangle of about *six hundred* yards on the south side, and some *four hundred* yards on the east side; the distance of the church itself from the wall of the Haram being about four hundred yards, or less than a quarter of a mile. This is a restriction of limits utterly incompatible with all accounts of the ancient populousness of the city, as well as against every probability.<sup>2</sup>—The difficulty is only increased, if the position of the gate Gennath be assigned as opposite the western bazar, or indeed at any point not near to Hippicus; since every step by which the said gate is removed eastward from that tower, serves only to contract still more these narrow dimensions of the lower city. Especially is this the case, if the wall be supposed to have run from such a point "in a northerly direction parallel to the westernmost of the three arcades which compose the bazar, and to the street which is continued down to the Damascus gate."<sup>3</sup> Such a course would reduce the lower city in this part into a narrow strip or parallelogram of less than *three hundred and fifty* yards in width; being only a few yards broader than the court of the present Haram or the ancient temple,—a space far too confined to accord either with probability or with any of the historical representations of the ancient Jerusalem.

III. Whatever may have been the position of the gate Gennath, if the second wall ran below the church in question it must have passed, obliquely or directly, across the very termination or point of the ridge Akra, where the declivity is rocky and quite steep. In this way, instead of being a defence to the lower city, the wall would have been itself overlooked and commanded by the higher ground on the west and northwest.<sup>4</sup> Further, on occasion of the

<sup>1</sup> Lord Nugent here cuts the knot; though he writes *ἐν κύκλῳ* instead of *κυκλοῦμενον*. "This phrase," he says, "Dr. R. seems too hastily to interpret as meaning a *convex* curve. Now if these words . . . were intended to describe any peculiarity in this part, surely they are more likely to signify a *concave* turn, which would have been a peculiarity worthy of mention!" *Lands Class. and Sac.* II. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Bibl. Res.* I. p. 462. II. p. 68, 69.

<sup>3</sup> *H. City*, p. 285.—Schultz, p. 61, 62.

<sup>4</sup> This the English writer admits: "It [the wall] will be carried along a sloping ground, which is a disadvantage. . . . The disadvantage would be obviated in some measure by artificial contrivance;" *H. City*, p. 285. That is to

siege of the city by Antiochus Pius (Sidetes), about 130 B. C. a hundred and seventy years before Agrippa's wall was built, the tract "on the northern part of the wall" is described as being a "plain" (*ἐπίπεδος*);<sup>1</sup> and here Antiochus erected a hundred towers against the city. All this is irreconcilable with any proposed course of the wall below the church.

IV. Upon the preceding suppositions, and especially that which makes the second wall to have run along the west side of the street of the bazar, the form which results for the lower city is singular and unaccountable. No necessity existed for it; no military or other purpose was answered by it; but every conceivable motive was against it. The special reason, which now induces some to assume the course of the second wall below the church in question, viz. to save tradition and the alleged Holy Sepulchre, did not exist until centuries after that wall was built.

V. We turn to something more positive. We have seen above, that the monument of the high priest John was on the west of the pool Amygdalon, now known as Hezekiah's, and was also outside of the second wall. The pool itself was within the second wall; for the Romans broke through two walls before raising an embankment at the pool;<sup>2</sup> nor is it probable that such a reservoir, receiving its water from another pool higher up, would be formed close to the wall of the city on the *outside*, where it would benefit only besiegers and not the besieged. Now, as we have seen, after the taking of the outer wall, Simon and his party fortified the second wall from the point of attack at the monument of John quite to the gate by Hippicus;<sup>3</sup> and Titus having afterwards destroyed the northern portion of the same wall, stationed guards in the towers of the part towards the south.<sup>4</sup> The second wall then ran northwards from the gate by Hippicus, quite near to the monument of John and on the west of the pool; and so doing, there is almost an absolute necessity for supposing it to have continued on in the same general direction on the west of the church. This must be conceded; unless indeed the hypothesis be set up, that the wall in question here made a sharp bend for no reason and

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say, a wall built for the defence of the lower city, is placed without any reason at such disadvantage as to be useless, unless "the disadvantage be obviated by artificial contrivance!" Wise master builders; skilful engineers!

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XIII. 8. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. 7. 3. See above, p. 446, 447.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. 8. 2. See above, p. 447.

against all reason, except in order to leave the place of the future sepulchre outside.

These positive considerations, confirmed by the other circumstances above presented, and by the nature of the ground, compel me still to believe, as I have elsewhere suggested,<sup>1</sup> "that the second wall ran first from near Hippicus northwards across the higher and more level part of Akra," perhaps to some point in the present city wall not far below the Latin convent; and from thence swept round to the ancient gate in the valley, now that of Damascus. In confirmation of this general course, may be adduced the testimony of Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, who found in the angle of the city wall just north of the same convent, "the remains of a wall built of large hewn and bevelled stones; and near by are blocks so large as to be taken at first for the natural rock; but which on close examination appear to have been bevelled, though now dislocated." They remark further, that "an unusual proportion of the stones in the present wall between the north-west corner of the city and the Damascus gate, and also of those in the adjacent buildings, are ancient and bevelled; and we could hardly resist the impression, that this had been nearly the course of some ancient wall."<sup>2</sup>

VI. In favour of the conjectural course of the second wall along the west side of the street of the Bazar, it is urged by both the writers in question, that there still exist traces of ancient remains along this street, which (as they think) may have belonged to an external city wall; and this then could have been only the second wall of Josephus.

One of these supposed traces is, of course, the *tradition* of a former gateway—for it is not pretended that any *actual* traces of it now exist—at the intersection of the *Via dolorosa* with the street of the Bazar, the *Porta judiciaria* so called, through which Jesus is said to have been led out to execution. This tradition is first mentioned by Brocardus in the thirteenth century;<sup>3</sup> is most obviously connected with, and dependent on, that of the *Via dolorosa*; and like the latter is apparently not older than the times of the crusades.<sup>4</sup> It can therefore itself prove nothing;

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, No. I. p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 267. Schultz, p. 69.—See Brocardus, cap. VIII. p. 183. ed. Cleric.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 344, 372. We shall have occasion to recur again to the *Via dolorosa* in a second Article.



nor indeed can it have the slightest weight in the case now before us.

In addition to this legendary gate, the English writer adduces only "the pier of a gateway, with the spring-course of the arch still entire," on the southern part of the ruins of the hospital of the knights of St. John, and adjacent to the street of the Bazar.<sup>1</sup> This is described by the German author as "the smaller half of a fine portal of a kind of architecture which might well enough (*könnte füglich*) belong to the Roman period before the destruction of the city by Titus."<sup>2</sup> This latter writer brings forward, further, the remains of what he thinks may *probably* have been a large portal just south of the street leading down to the hospital of Helena; and likewise the remains of four or five columns between this last conjectural gateway<sup>3</sup> and the *Via dolorosa*. Lord Nugent, who examined the spot in company with the Prussian consul, and speaks as on his authority, is here more explicit. According to him, the "pier of a gateway" above mentioned is sixty-eight yards north of the corner at the street leading down from the Yâfa gate; and the several columns further north are of granite and ten feet apart.<sup>4</sup> His lordship adds likewise the following particulars, to which no allusion is made by the other writers: *First*, "ranges of large hewn stones, bevelled at the edges, precisely like those of the more ancient part of the tower of David [Hippicus];" these are found at the corner of the street in question and that from the Yâfa gate; and of them the writer says: they "appear to have been the lower part of a corner tower, which from its similarity of construction to that of Hippicus, Dr. Schultz and I judged not unlikely to have been that of Mariamne!"<sup>5</sup> *Then*, "a ridge of ground," in two places, marking a line as of an outer wall. *Lastly*, three of the said "massive

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 286: "I discovered a solid and compact mass of masonry of a totally different character from any I had before seen in Jerusalem. The workmanship was much better, and the stones much whiter and harder than those used in the hospital or in any modern building. On a closer examination I found it to be the pier of a gateway with the spring-course of the arch still entire." P. 287: "A frequent inspection of this singular and venerable pier left little doubt on my mind, that it belonged to a gateway of the second wall."

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, p. 60, 61.—"Ein muthmassliches Portal;" *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of this "row of granite columns," or rather of their remains, is mentioned also by the Rev. S. Wolcott in an unpublished letter.

<sup>5</sup> Lands Class. and Sacred, II. p. 50.—The tower of Mariamne, it may be remembered, was in the first or old wall on the high northern brow of Zion.

granite pillars built into what was evidently an old wall."<sup>1</sup> This last specification seems to refer to what the German writer regards as a "conjectural gateway."

As these remains are thus brought forward with a show of confidence; and are in truth, after the facts and considerations already presented, the only basis on which the hypothesis in question can yet depend for a shadow of support; it may be proper to give them some further attention.

1. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the difference of testimony in three writers, who held intercourse with each other in Jerusalem itself, and whose volumes were afterwards published almost simultaneously. In March 1844, Lord Nugent and the Prussian consul found at the corner opposite the bazars, "ranges of large hewn and bevelled stones," which they held to have belonged to an ancient corner tower of the first or inner wall; and also a "ridge" extending northwards along the street. Now these two particulars, if well founded, are of great importance in the question before us; yet the consul, in June 1845, makes no allusion to them in his own account. It is therefore a fair presumption, that either there was in respect to these an overstatement of the facts, or else he became convinced that in these two instances the high antiquity before claimed for them cannot properly be urged. The same course of reasoning may also be applied to other particulars brought forward. The German author, besides the more southern "pier of a gateway," adduces a second "conjectural portal" further north, with the adjacent granite columns. Now it cannot well be, but that the English writer, in his search for just such testimony, should have seen and considered these very phenomena. Yet he nowhere makes the slightest allusion to them; and we are therefore left to infer, that in respect to them also the claim and appearance of antiquity were too slight to satisfy even his not incredulous spirit.

2. It may also be noted, that no evidence is specified, by which the reader can judge for himself, whether these remains are in fact to be regarded as ancient. Lord Nugent, indeed, in speaking of the supposed "corner-tower," says expressly that the stones were "bevelled" precisely like those of the more ancient part of Hippicus; from which statement the conclusion is so far certain, that whatever may have been the edifice to which the present ranges belonged, the materials at least were derived from ancient

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<sup>1</sup> *Lands Class. and Sac. II. p. 51.*

structures. But as to the remaining instances, neither Lord Nugent nor the other writers inform us, whether the stones are bevelled, or whether the work resembles that of other structures acknowledged to be ancient. In respect to the "pier of a gate-way" only, the English writer expressly remarks, that the "masonry is of a totally different character from any he had before seen in Jerusalem;"<sup>1</sup> and of course it differs from that of acknowledged ancient monuments. In a case where so much depends upon characteristics like those here referred to, the omission to speak of them at all must be regarded as intentional; and shows that these characteristics probably do not exist. If now the stones are *not* bevelled, this fact is conclusive against the assumed antiquity of the remains. Or if, on the other hand, they are bevelled, then all depends on the circumstance, whether they are still in their original place, or have been used over once and again in the erection of later buildings. A large portion of the present walls both of the city and of the Haram is obviously built up with the bevelled stones of earlier structures; and such too is probably the case in the supposed corner-tower of Lord Nugent and the Prussian consul.<sup>2</sup> I may add here, what neither writer has mentioned, that in the southern part of the street of the Bazar, the street itself is laid with *large bevelled stones*, which of course are not here in their original place; but, like the other bevelled stones in this quarter, are probably part and parcel of the materials of the ancient wall and towers on the adjacent brow of Zion. To all this there comes the testimony of one whose accuracy in such matters is well known, who in 1844 examined the alleged remains in reference to the very question here at issue; but was unable to recognize in them any traces of the high antiquity claimed for them.<sup>3</sup>

3. But whatever may be said of the other remains specified, it is quite obvious that the granite columns described can never have formed part, either of an ancient city-wall, or of a gate-way in such a wall. The latter supposition is contradicted by their

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<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> So too in the tower at Carmel beyond Hebron, which on hasty examination I supposed to be ancient, notwithstanding the pointed arches inside; but on some of the stones of which Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping discovered inverted Greek crosses, showing that the whole structure was erected out of the ruins of another. Bibl. Res. II. p. 198. Biblioth. Sac. 1843. No. I. p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Eli Smith; to whom also I am indebted for the information respecting the large stones with which the street is laid.

number and the space which they occupy. As to the former hypothesis, the position is that they formed an internal decoration of an outer wall or rampart of the city. But such a decoration would be entirely out of character in connection with a defensive work; nor, apparently, does anything of the kind exist among any known remains of the fortifications of ancient cities.

4. Inasmuch as the supposed wall is held to have run from the bazar to the Damascus gate, it may further be remarked, that it is not in the southern part, where so many revolutions are known to have taken place, that we should naturally look for remains of high antiquity. The traces of an ancient wall upon this course, were any still in existence, would far more likely be found in the northern part, towards the gate of Damascus; where, so far as we are informed, no like revolutions have been felt, or at least the work of desolation and renovation has been carried on with far less activity. Yet just here, where we might most expect them, no traces whatever of an ancient wall are found. The inference is certainly unfavourable to the antiquity of the remains existing in the southern part.

5. If, lastly, we look more carefully at the facts of history, we may possibly find evidence, if not fully to show the actual date and character of the remains in question, yet sufficient to confirm the belief, that they cannot belong to so high an antiquity as the age of Josephus.

The original edifices of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, as erected by Constantine and dedicated in A. D. 335, had little resemblance to the structure of the present day.<sup>1</sup> Over the cave or sepulchre itself stood a chapel or oratory, decorated with splendid columns and ornaments of every kind. Adjacent on the east was a large court open to the sky, paved with polished marbles, and having porticos or colonnades on three sides. The fourth or eastern side was occupied by the magnificent *Basilica*, erected over the spot where the cross was found, if not also over the rock held to be Golgotha.<sup>2</sup> Beyond this *Basilica*, of course

<sup>1</sup> See, for the following description, Euseb. Vita Const. III. 34—39. Compare Touttée "Descr. et Hist. Basilicæ S. Resurrect." in Cyrill. Hieros. Opp. p. 418. § 4—9.

<sup>2</sup> The fact of a large court between the sepulchre and this *Basilica*, and also that later a chapel was erected over Golgotha between the two, seems to favour the idea, that at this time the rock or *monticule* of Golgotha was left uncovered in the midst of this splendid area. Eucharis seems also to testify to the same effect; see Touttée l. c. § 6.

still towards the east, was another court, with porticos or colonnades on the sides, and gates leading to the city (*αἱ αὐλαιοὶ πύλαι*); "beyond which, in the very midst of the street of the market (*ἐν αὐτῆς μεσῆς πλατείας ἀγοῶς*), the splendid *Propylaea*, or vestibule of the whole structure, presented to those passing by on the outside the wonderful view of the things seen within."<sup>1</sup>

These edifices of Constantine were destroyed by the Persians under Chosroes in A. D. 614; but were not long afterwards rebuilt by Modestus, apparently with some modifications.<sup>2</sup> According to Arculfus, as reported by Adamnanus, at the close of the same century (A. D. 697),<sup>3</sup> there now stood over the place of the sepulchre a large circular church with three concentric walls; the Basilica occupied the same position as before; while between the two was now the church of Golgotha, enclosing the rock so called. Adjacent to these, on the south, was a church of St. Mary.—Two centuries later (A. D. 870), the monk Bernhard<sup>4</sup> speaks likewise here of four churches, the walls of which were connected together; but he names only three, viz. the Basilica of Constantine, the church over the Sepulchre, and that of St. Mary. The fourth he designates as "on the south;" meaning probably the church of Golgotha mentioned by Adamnanus. Between these churches was an open court or garden (*paradisus sine tecto*), with ornamented walls and paved with precious marbles. The church of St. Mary had enjoyed the bounty of the emperor Charlemagne; it possessed through his munificence a noble library, and had farms and vineyards, and also a garden in the valley of Jehoshaphat.<sup>5</sup> Adjacent to this church, and of course towards the south, was likewise the hospital of Charlemagne, in which were received all pilgrims who spoke the Roman tongue. In front of the hospital was the market-place;

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 39.—In the Bibl. Res. II. p. 18, I have spoken of these *Propylaea* as composed of twelve columns in a semicircle; but these belong properly to Eusebius' description of the altar.

<sup>2</sup> See Bibl. Res. II. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Adamnanus *de Locis Sanct.* I. 2—7.

<sup>4</sup> Bernhard *Itin. in Loca Sanct.* 10. Found in Mabillon *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sec. III. P. II.* p. 472. Also in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Soc. de Geogr.* Tom. IV. p. 789, 790.

<sup>5</sup> "Ecclesia in honore Sancte Marie, nobilissimam habens bibliothecam studio predicti imperatoris [Karoli], cum XII mansionibus, agris, vineis, et orto in valle Josaphat;" Bernhard l. c. — By an oversight, Wilken transfers the church itself, and also the hospital, to the valley of Jehoshaphat; *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* II. p. 538.

where each tradesman paid yearly two pieces of gold for his privilege.<sup>1</sup>

These buildings, or at least those on the south of the sepulchre, appear to have been again destroyed at a later period; probably during the incursions of the Egyptian Khalif Mu'ez about A. D. 969, when the church of the Sepulchre was also set on fire.<sup>2</sup> In the latter part of this century, the merchants of Amalfi in Italy, who were particularly favoured by the Khalifs, obtained permission to erect in the Holy City a domicile, which they might call their own.<sup>3</sup> They accordingly founded a monastery with a church in honour of the Virgin, at the distance of a stone's throw from the Holy Sepulchre, in which all the services were performed in Latin; and which for this reason was called *St. Mary de Latina*.<sup>4</sup> Adjacent to this a nunnery was erected not long after, in honour of Mary Magdalene; in which the nuns devoted themselves to the care of poor female pilgrims. In the course of the following century, as the numbers and the need of the pilgrims increased, a Xenodochium or hospital was built within the allotted precincts, in which the pilgrims found shelter, and were fed from the fragments of the monastic tables. The hospital was dedicated to St. John Eleemon, the former patriarch of Alexandria, and bore his name. The site of this church and hospital can have been no other than that occupied by the former church of St. Mary and the hospital of Charlemagne.

Until the capture of the Holy City by the crusaders in A. D. 1099, the hospital of St. John continued to be dependent upon the adjacent monastery, and was sustained partly by the same, and partly by the alms of pious Christians and pilgrims. At that time, Gerard of Provence was at the head of the hospital; and found such favour with Godfrey of Bouillon and afterwards with king Baldwin I, as to induce these leaders to grant to the hospital independent privileges, accompanied with rich donations. In this way arose the celebrated order of the Hospitalers, or knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Under their second Grand Master, Raymond Dupuy, their privileges and possessions were greatly enlarged; and the former hospital for needy pilgrims now gave

<sup>1</sup> "Ante ipsum hospitale est forum, pro quo unusquisque ibi negotians in anno solvit duos aureos illi qui illud providet;" Bernhard l. c. The pronoun *illud* probably refers to the hospital.

<sup>2</sup> Cedrenus II. p. 661. ed. Par. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibl. Res. II. p. 44 sq. Will. Tyr. XVIII. 4, 5. Jacob de Vit. 64.

<sup>4</sup> "Monasterium de Latina," Will. Tyr. XVIII. 5.

place to "a magnificent church in honour of St. John the Baptist, and, near by, various apartments and vast buildings,"<sup>1</sup> testifying to the wealth and power of an aspiring order of lordly knights. The site of all these "vast buildings," including the church of St. Mary *de Latina* and other edifices with their courts and precincts, was the tract on the south of the Holy Sepulchre, and west of the street of the Bazar.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the Christians had possession of the Holy City and afterwards, the streets of Jerusalem appear to have been the same as at the present day. The chief market-place of the city was on the site and in the streets now occupied by the modern bazar; and the street running from it north to the Damascus gate, was likewise in part covered and appropriated to tradesmen.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of the preceding historical facts affords the following results and inferences:

1. That as early as the fourth century, and ever since, the *market-place* (*ἀγορά*, *forum*) of the Holy City occupied the site of the present bazar and the street leading north to the Damascus gate.
2. That the eastern or outer court of the original Basilica of Constantine, and probably likewise that of the Basilica of the seventh and ninth centuries, extended eastward to the said street, or to an open place upon it; and had there gates, and also splendid *Propylaea*.
3. That therefore the remains of granite columns now seen along said street, and any portions of apparently old wall connected with them, (all of which are directly opposite the site of the said Basilica,) cannot possibly be of an earlier date than the fourth century; much less can they have belonged to an ancient city-wall of the time of Josephus. Had they perhaps, in some way, a connection with the *Propylaea* of Constantine or of Modestus?
4. That, considering the "vast buildings" and the "magnificent" churches and chapels, and monasteries with their courts, which occupied the tract on the south of the sepulchre, it is against all

<sup>1</sup> Vertot, Hist. of the Knights of Malta, etc. I. p. 20. Lond. 1728. fol.—St. John Eleemon, the patron saint of the order, became early confounded with John the Baptist.

<sup>2</sup> See the very interesting extracts from a description of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, first published in *Bureau des Assises de Jerusalem*, Paris 1843. fol. Tom. II. p. 531 sq. Cited also at length in Schultz, App. p. 107 sq. See likewise extracts from documents of the twelfth century, Schultz, p. 117.

probability that any remains of a wall, and much less of a city gateway, from the time of Josephus, should yet be found there; and therefore the "pier of a gateway" described in this region as ancient, may, with far more probability, be regarded as having formed an entrance to some one of the courts or halls connected with these splendid edifices.<sup>1</sup>

One other point requires perhaps a few words. The German author adduces further the reputed ancient tomb of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, within the church of the Sepulchre, as evidence to show that this spot, and of course the site of the church, must have been outside of the ancient second wall; inasmuch as there could have been no sepulchre *within* the lower city.<sup>2</sup> This tomb is a small low vault or chamber in the very wall of the western part of the rotunda; and is entered by a narrow passage leading south from the alcove or recess behind the altar of the Syrians. The eastern side of the chamber, as described by this writer, is formed by the masonry of the wall itself; while the western and southern sides, according to him, are of solid rock. In the southern side, two niches, as for dead bodies, have been cut in longitudinally; while another receptacle for a body is sunk in the rock which forms the floor of the chamber. This latter the writer in question regards as not older than the times of the crusades;<sup>3</sup> but the other niches he holds to be of high antiquity. Now it is obvious from the plans of the church given by Quaresmius and others,<sup>4</sup> that this chamber in the wall stands in architectural connection with the western alcove of the rotunda; and cannot therefore, at the utmost, be of an earlier date than the eleventh century, when the Khalif Hakem caused the former church to be razed to the very foundations.<sup>5</sup> Nor do we find a tomb of Joseph or Nicodemus ever mentioned, until near the close of the sixteenth century by Zuallart, and then by

<sup>1</sup> So late as the fourteenth century, travellers speak of this hospital as still a palace, ornamented with many columns, and able to accommodate a thousand pilgrims; so Sir John Maundeville, *Travels*, p. 81; Rudolf of Suchem, in *Reissh. des h. Landes*, p. 845.—The author of the 'Holy City' alludes further to another gateway, on the precincts north of the hospital, "whose fragments [still] exhibit a variety of rich and exquisite ornament;" *H. City*, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 96, 97. Lord Nugent brings forward the same statements and argument, referring also to the personal authority of the Prussian consul; *Lands Class. and Sac. II.* p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> So too Lord Nugent; *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Quaresm. II. p. 576. See too the Plan of the church, *H. City*, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Res. II.* p. 46.



Sandys and Quaresmus.<sup>1</sup> Eye-witnesses moreover differ in their testimony. In the year 1844, a friend, whose name has already been frequently mentioned, examined the tomb in reference to this very theory; and the impression left upon his mind was, that the whole chamber, niches and all, is built up with masonry within the wall; and that if any part is earlier than the times of the crusades, it is the receptacle sunk in the floor. The entire silence of the English author in respect to this reputed tomb, is likewise under the circumstances a strong testimony against any claims of high antiquity.

We may here close the discussion respecting the course of the ancient second wall. The foregoing historical considerations relieve the subject from the dust which has been cast upon it; and leave the explicit language of Josephus, and the other circumstances above adduced, to bear their testimony in its full strength, without danger of contradiction or need of modification.

In a second article, I propose to consider the evidence relating to the following points, viz. the southern part of the temple-area and the ancient bridge which led from it to Zion; the position and extent of the fortress Antonia; the situation of the fountain Gihon; the earlier gate of St. Stephen, and the tradition connected with it; as also some miscellaneous topics of minor importance.

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## ARTICLE II.

### SCHOTT'S TREATISE ON THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF SERMONS.

By Edwards A. Park, Professor at Andover.

[A BRIEF notice of the writings of Henry Augustus Schott was given in the Bib. Sac. Vol. 2. pp. 12, 13. The notice was introductory to an abstract of the first volume of Schott's *Theorie der Beredsamkeit*. The second volume of that work is condensed into the following Article. The title of the second volume is, *The Theory of Rhetorical Invention*, with especial reference to

<sup>1</sup> Zuallart, Anvers 1626, p. 150. Sandys' Trav. p. 127. Quaresm. II. p. 568. All these writers speak of it only as the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea; so that Nicodemus has come in for a share only at a still later period.

Discourses from the Pulpit. Among the reasons for publishing an abstract of this treatise are the following: It exhibits in a good degree the spirit, the guiding principles of the German pulpit; and the preachers of every land are profited by an acquaintance with the homiletic literature of other nations. It is a celebrated volume, and we naturally feel some measure of interest in any work, whatever may be its intrinsic worth, which has exerted a perceptible influence upon a large and learned community. It is in itself a valuable treatise. It suggests many accurate distinctions of words and ideas which are frequently confounded. It affords proof that German scholars can write with sound judgment and without visionary hypotheses. It exhibits a pleasing degree of honest and sober piety, of purity of intention, of freedom from rhetorical artifice, and from the extravagances both of rationalism and fanaticism.]

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#### 1. *Use of the term, Invention, in Sacred Rhetoric.*

The ancient rhetoricians gave to the term *Invention*, *inventio*, *σύψις*, a more limited meaning than is assigned to it in modern treatises on homiletics. It included the selection of arguments, of illustrations and of appeals, by which the address of the orator might be made effective, but it did not include the selection of the subject of the address. It was according to Cicero, (*De Inventione* L. i. c. 7.) *excogitatio rerum verarum aut verisimilium, quae causam probabilem reddant*. Comp. Auctor ad Herennium L. 1. c. 2. 3, and Cicero, *Partitiones Oratoriae*, c. 2. But in modern homiletics, the term *Invention* includes the choice of the subject, as well as of the proofs, modes of explanation and of appeal by which the subject is enforced. There is indeed, in some cases, a restriction of the preacher to one prescribed text for each sermon of the year, but this text may allow him to write on either of several themes; and in other cases, there is given him a free choice, not only of his theme, but also of the text which suggests it. In treating of *Invention*, therefore, with special reference to sacred oratory, it is important to consider, first, the general classes and the character of the subjects which are proper for the pulpit; and secondly the various kinds of explanation, argument, motive and appeal which are useful in the treatment of these subjects.

## 2. The General Character of the Subjects of Sermons.

The theme of a discourse should be such as will call forth the activity of the whole soul. It should appeal not to the intellect only, nor the imagination only, nor the affections only, but to all these faculties and susceptibilities combined, and also to the will, which is always the ultimate principle to which the orator addresses himself. Hence it is a rule, that the theme of a discourse should be practical in its character. The ancient rhetoricians prescribed this rule for the judicial, demonstrative and panegyric orations. When rhetoric had declined from its original dignity, the term *eloquence* was applied to those addresses which were designed for mere parade or for the play of wit. At the present day, also, we sometimes hear the term, *scholastic or academical orations*, appended to essays whose only object is to inform the intellect. But this is an improper use of the words, *eloquence*, and *orations*. The very nature of *eloquence* has been shown to involve an appeal to the will.<sup>1</sup> The nature of religion, also, emphatically demands that a religious address should have a practical character. The design of public worship and of the services in the sanctuary, requires that the preacher aim to affect the voluntary conduct of his audience. The history of the pulpit evinces that such was the design of the earlier preachers. The pulpit should aim to affect men as free moral agents; not merely as beings capable of choice, but also as beings capable of choosing the right, the good. The subject of a discourse should be such, therefore, as is fitted to make men labor for the perfect development of every human virtue. It should be such as will excite all the virtuous susceptibilities of the preacher. He must therefore be fully acquainted with it in its various relations. He must feel a deep interest in it. He must firmly believe and must have practically experienced the truth and importance of what he utters. This must not only be the fact, but also the known fact. If he pretend to have a warmer interest in his subject than he actually does possess, his hypocrisy will soon be detected; and if he be known or supposed to preach insincerely, his hearers will not sympathize with him, and therefore he will not persuade them, he will not be eloquent. Hence results the importance of the rule, that the preacher be penetrated with an earnest love to the truth and warm philanthropy. Thus we learn the full

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<sup>1</sup> See Bib. Sac. Vol. II. Art. II. § 2. 3.

meaning of Quintilian's remark, (*Instit. Orat. L. 12. c. 1.*) *neque enim tantum id dico, eum qui sit orator virum esse oportere, sed ne futurum quidem oratorem, nisi virum bonum.* Thus also we see the importance of a minister's selecting for his discourses, only such themes as lie within the sphere of his own investigation and practical experience. He may sometimes awaken an interest in his theme by his manner of treating it, even when his audience have a prepossession against his ability or moral fitness to discuss it. But this interest would be much increased if the prepossessions of his hearers were in his favor, or were at least not unfriendly to him. A man who is advanced in life, may preach against the dread of novelties and innovations with great effect, but a young man would encounter a baneful prejudice in his attempts to recommend the new and disparage the old customs. Cicero in his Oration for Sextus Roscius, endeavors to remove the unfavorable impressions which his youth would naturally make upon his audience; and the ancients generally attached great importance to the connection between the private character of an orator and the themes of his public discourses. See Quintilian's *Inst. Lib. 12. c. 1. 5.*

But as the preacher is not merely a minister of religion, but also of the Christian religion, it follows that he should unfold in his sermons the positive and distinctive instructions of the New Testament; that the *central* truth of all his pulpit ministrations should be Jesus Christ, the person, the character, the teaching, the works of the Redeemer. The doctrines which were taught, and the duties which were inculcated, directly or indirectly, by the Saviour and his apostles, are such as will afford scope for the most extensive series of discourses. Never should the preacher be afraid of diminishing the variety of his pulpit addresses, by confining himself to what is taught or implied more or less emphatically in the New Testament. His great object should be to inspire his hearers with faith and love, with that faith which is described in the Form. Concord. as *quiddam vivum, efficax, potens, ita ut fieri non possit, quin semper bona operetur.* He should so present Christian doctrine as to evince its harmony and inseparable connection with Christian duty. The subjects of some of his discourses should be the truths of Christianity, yet not without reference to the practical virtues which grow out of them. The themes of other discourses should be the duties imposed by the Christian system, yet not without regard to the doctrines which form their basis. The subjects of the preacher's

discourses, then, should not be purely doctrinal, if by this is meant that they should have no tendency to affect the moral conduct of the hearers ; neither should they be merely practical, if by this is meant that they should have no obvious connection with the great doctrines of Christianity.

### 3. *Doctrinal Subjects of Sermons.*

When the doctrines of our religion are discussed, they should be treated in the popular, and not in the scientific form. The essential truths of Christianity are, indeed, the same, in whatever way presented ; but the interests of science demand that they be reduced to a strictly logical order, that they be considered in their relations to philosophical theories, and that they compose one compact system ; whereas the edification of the people demands that these truths be presented in a freer, simpler style, and that those nice distinctions which are needed for the schools be excluded from the pulpit. There are also some objections to the introduction of controversy into sermons. The polemical preacher is apt to be suspected of an undue zeal for all that is new, or all that is old ; of animosity toward his opposers, or of a desire to attract attention to himself. This loss of reputation injures him as an orator. Still, there are some subjects on which fatal errors are prevalent in the community, and against these errors the preacher must assume a polemical attitude. He should not fear the unfavorable judgments of men with regard to himself, when he is called to oppose the false opinions of his hearers on subjects of essential importance. That love of peace which would exclude from the pulpit all controversy on the cardinal truths of religion, is more properly called an indifference to the spirit of the Christian scheme. Great objections have been made against the practice of discoursing on the distinctive tenets of the particular church [or sect] to which the preacher belongs. Whenever these distinctive tenets are mere philosophical explanations or subtle analyses, or recondite inferences from admitted principles ; whenever they have no immediate connection with the essential genius and spirit of the New Testament, they are not proper subjects for the pulpit. But so far as the dogmas of the creed, to which we subscribe, form the characteristic features of the Christian system, we are bound to preach upon them. When a clergyman professes his belief in a creed, he is not to be considered as obligating himself to defend every word or sen-

tence in it, or as precluding himself from all further advance in theological knowledge; but he is under obligation to maintain the fundamental articles of that creed, and to avoid all appearance of despising what he professes to adopt as his system of faith.

It is a mistake to suppose that doctrinal sermons must be chiefly argumentative. Some of them may be chiefly such; others may be chiefly devoted to the unfolding of the nature of the truth discussed, and others to the exhibition of its appropriate influence on the feelings and conduct. Sometimes, these three characteristics may be united in one and the same discourse. In either case the contemplation on the doctrine may be salutary to the moral feelings.

#### 4. *Practical Subjects of Sermons.*

As doctrinal sermons may be properly called *doctrino-practical*, so practical sermons may be termed *practico-doctrinal*. They are devoted, not to exhibitions of mere philosophical ethics, but to the inculcation of such duties as are distinctively Christian. They demand that species of virtue which consists in conformity with the example of Christ, in a likeness to God, in such love to the Creator and to our fellow creatures as flows from faith in the divine word. Such sermons, being devoted to the ethics of Christianity, must also direct our attention to the great truths which make Christianity what it is.

The subjects in the department of Christian morality may be divided into general and special. The former class comprises all those themes which present evangelical duty as a whole. It is useful to exhibit the virtues of the Christian as forming a complete system; as intimately combined one with another, so that no one may feel himself justified in selecting a portion of these duties for practice and neglecting the remainder. There are various points of view from which one may take a comprehensive survey of the whole circle of Christian virtues, and may show the incompatibility of any, even the smallest sin with the spirit of the gospel. The second class of practical subjects, the special, comprises the specific virtues or vices, or the particular moral relations of individuals. It is desirable that the preacher exhibit the nature of evangelical virtue in its single modifications, as well as in its generic and systematic character. He should be careful not to select for the main subjects of his discourses, those

virtues or vices in which the majority of his audience feel no personal interest. He may preach on the duties of children to their parents, because many of his hearers are interested and profited in considering the appropriate methods of treating those who are advanced in life. He may preach on the mutual obligations of rulers and private citizens, but an ordinary audience would not be edified by an entire discourse on the duties of a civil ruler, nor on the peculiar obligations of a school teacher. Such themes are *too* special for a promiscuous auditory. The preacher should likewise avoid all minute casuistical discussions in relation to exigencies which his hearers will probably never experience; see 2 Tim. 2: 23. Titus 3: 9. He should also avoid such graphic descriptions of vice as will excite disgust in the virtuous, or inflame the bad passions of the vicious. Such descriptions often awaken in the minds of the inexperienced, a new desire to mingle in the scenes which are so vividly pictured forth. A glowing description of the delights connected with sin, is fitted to entice many hearers into the sin from which the description was intended to dissuade him.

There is a second classification of practical or ethical discourses. They may be divided into such as warn and reprove, and such as cheer and invigorate. The preacher may so portray the vices to which his hearers are exposed, and the virtues which they ought to cherish, as to deter them from the former and persuade them to the latter. He may either descend in his description from the general to the particular, or he may rise from the particular to the general. In the latter case, he may begin with some incident recorded in the Bible, and from it may infer some general principle of ethics, which may be the subject of his discourse. The life of Christ affords a rich abundance of historical data, from which the most important rules of morality may be derived. Ecclesiastical history also furnishes many facts on which ethical instruction may be grafted. Care should be taken, however, that facts selected from history should be such as will be, in their moral relations, readily comprehended by the people. It is much better to illustrate our ethical teachings by the actual occurrences of history, than by the fictitious narratives which are sometimes composed for this purpose. Why resort to fiction, when the sacred narrative is exuberant in its moral instruction? Besides, the use of this narrative gives a biblical aspect to the sermon, and thus imparts an authority to it. The habit of indulging in fictitious description is apt to lead the preacher into a meretricious style of ornament, and also to ob-

score his own and his hearers' view of the substantial truth to be illustrated. In addition to this mode of delineating the virtue or the vice, which is the subject of the discourse, and illustrating it by veritable history, the preacher may exhibit the reasons for practising or avoiding the conduct described, the encouragements to a right demeanor, the temptations to wrong, and the consequences which result from the one and the other. In his public reproofs, he should guard against too great particularity; he should not administer reprimand very often, lest the effect of it be lost by its commonness; he should never betray a petulant or angry temper, and should adapt his rebuke to the character of the persons censured. He has no right to omit the duty altogether, of preaching against the specific sins which are committed by his people; for in 2 Tim. 4: 2. 2 Thess. 3: 15. Titus 2: 15, he is commanded to reprove men, as decisively as in other passages he is commanded to comfort them. In his condemnatory discourses he should not discourage the guilty from attempting to amend their life, nor in his consolatory discourses should he impart a greater degree of hope than the character of the afflicted will justify.

It has been already stated, that the subjects of sermons may be either, Christian doctrine, so exhibited as to encourage the performance of duty, or Christian ethics, so exhibited as to illustrate its dependence on doctrinal truth. But there may be other subjects of discourses, derived either from history, which is a progressive revelation of the divine will, or from natural philosophy, which is a reflection of the divine character, or from psychology, which is related in various ways to religious doctrine and practice.

### *5. Historical Subjects of Sermons.*

Allusion was made in the preceding Section to the use of historical incidents in sermons; but the present Section is devoted to the selection of an historical narrative, as the chief theme of a discourse. Some event or series of events recorded in the Bible, some account of the early establishment of Christianity and of the triumph of the church over Judaism and Heathenism, may be a proper subject for a Christian discourse. The preacher may also devote a sermon occasionally to an exhibition of the state of God's people during the middle ages, to their conflict with spiritual despotism, to their struggles at the Reformation, to the progress and the influence of the Reformation, to the success of Missionary and Bible Societies; to the abuses and corruptions which have



sometimes prevailed in the church, the conduct of fanatical sects, the influence of heterodox parties, etc. Nor is the preacher limited to biblical and ecclesiastical history for the themes of his discourses. He may sometimes, though less frequently, select as the theme of his sermon, a narrative from the general history of religions; an account, for example, of Mohammedanism, a comparison of the ecclesiastical policy of the early Christians with that of Mohammed, a contrast of the spirit of the New Testament with the spirit of the Koran. So too the history of the various forms of religious worship among heathen nations, and of the gradual development of Pagan theological systems, may impart much spiritual knowledge to a Christian audience. The minister may also devote a sermon, occasionally, to some fragment of general history; for as the history of religions, so the history of nations and of individuals who have distinguished themselves in secular life, has often an intimate connection with the truths of Christianity. In particular, the clergyman may discourse, at certain periods, upon some historical narratives relating to his own country, or to some of its more eminent benefactors. He may sometimes, although seldom, discourse upon political movements. Some of these movements may essentially affect the freedom or the spirituality of the church, and therefore demand the attention of the clergy. Sometimes the welfare of the nation requires an immediate and great sacrifice of individual good; and the preacher is then bound to stimulate the patriotism and the philanthropy of his hearers. Such sermons are often useful in a time of foreign or of civil war.

The general rules for the selection of historical subjects are these. The subjects should have an obvious connection with Christian doctrine or duty. They should be spiritual, and not secular in their final impression on the mind. They should be in some degree familiar to the audience, or at least such as may be easily made familiar to them. The preacher should not allow the historical element to obscure the moral instruction, or diminish the moral impression of the discourse. He should, therefore, be careful not to fill up too large a part of his sermon with narrative, nor to be too minute in his historical or geographical delineations. He should never aim at a display of his own historical researches. He should never distort the truth of history, nor allow his imagination or his feelings to supply what the authentic narrative has not fairly implied. He should be modest in his interpretations of Divine Providence, and not pronounce dogmatically on the purposes of God in allowing those events to take place which are

left unexplained by the Bible and by philosophy.<sup>1</sup> He should not ascribe a *legislative* authority to the example of the men whose biography he rehearses; for the conduct of no man except our Saviour, can be held up as a faultless model to be imitated; and besides, the demeanor of an individual, however excellent, in one relation, is no inviolable rule for us who may be in a very different relation, and may therefore be obligated to conduct ourselves in a different manner. The law of God, and not the example of man is our rule of duty. /

The utility of historical discourses is obvious. They give vivid ideas of divine truth. By their particular details they interest the whole man, the imagination and sympathy as well as the intellect. The concrete form of instruction is more distinct than the abstract. When the sermons are founded on scriptural narratives, they explain the sacred word, illustrate its truths and develop its practical bearings. There are some principles which require the historical method for their full elucidation. The Bible is an historical book, and the Christian system has a positive and historical character. The doctrine of God's superintending providence, his righteous moral government can be more clearly taught by a delineation of the Jewish history, than by any abstract statements. The dignity to which man may be exalted, the debasement into which he may sink; the beauty and the profitableness of virtue, the adverseness and the misery of vice may be delineated with peculiar impressiveness by the recital of memorable instances of holy or sinful conduct.

Our Saviour often adopted the historical method of illustrating religious truth. The early Christian fathers imitated his example. In the Roman Catholic church particular days are set apart for commemorating the virtues of departed saints, and many sermons of great value have been preached on the character of the personages to whom these days were consecrated. See, for example, the sermons of Flechier and Bourdaloue. Great evils have arisen from an abuse of the historical element in sermons; and the proper employment of it requires a lively sympathy with Christian doctrine, and a sound, well practised judgment.

#### 6. *Philosophical Subjects of Sermons.*

It is not allowable for the preacher to give an exclusively phil-

<sup>1</sup> Schott would condemn, for example, all such *decisive* explanations of providential events, as are given by Dwight, in Vol. V. p. 41 of his *System of Theology*.

osophical character to his discourses; still he may occasionally select his themes from the two great departments of science, the natural and the mental. In his treatment of subjects derived from natural philosophy, he should avoid the style of a scientific treatise and also of a poetical description, and should present the Christian and the religiously practical views of the phenomena of nature. He is justified in discoursing on these phenomena, by such passages of the inspired word as are found in Ps. 19. 65. 92. 95. 104. 105. 106. 107. 111. 148. Matt. 6: 26—29. 10: 29. Acts 14: 17. 17: 27. Rom. 1: 19, 20. What a variety of religious instruction do the sacred writers derive from one small object in nature, a grain of seed-corn! In John 12: 24, this single seed is an image of the great truth, that death is a precursor of a new life. In 1 Cor. 15: 36 sq. it affords a symbol of the relation between our present bodies, and the spiritual bodies which we shall receive at the resurrection. In Matthew 13: 18 sq. it suggests the diversified influences of the divine word upon human character. In Gal. 6: 7 sq. and in 2 Cor. 9: 6, 7, it portrays to us the consequences, the rewards and punishments of our good or evil actions. Thus do the phenomena of nature serve as pictures of religious truth, and as means of increasing the vividness of our theological conceptions. They afford, moreover, notwithstanding the attempts of the critical philosophy to invalidate their force in this regard, a strictly logical argument in favor of certain doctrines relating to God, and in this way they authorize us to infer certain truths relating to man, particularly to his existence in a future state. The contemplation on these phenomena presented in connection with moral truth, exerts a subduing and calming influence on the mind, inspires us with noble feelings in regard to our relative place in the scale of creation, and gives us a pleasing familiarity with certain laws and principles which regulate the material world and are analogous to the rules for our religious life. There is a correspondence between the material kingdom and the spiritual, which it is useful for Christians to notice. The order and obedience to law which prevail throughout the physical universe, the conduciveness of all events to a good end, the richness and variety, the beauty and grandeur of nature, all have a favorable influence upon our tastes, and lead to a harmony of our moral emotions with the principles of the divine government.

If discourses on the material works of God be thus conducive to spiritual improvement, much more useful must be the preacher's exhibition of truths relating to the intellect, affections and

will. The consideration of our mental structure may increase the Christian's faith in the divinity and the excellence of the Gospel, by showing him the nice adjustment of evangelical doctrine to the susceptibilities of man, its fitness to elevate his character and to satisfy all his wants. Psychological discourses, penetrated as they should be with the devotional spirit, may suggest the meaning of numerous biblical phrases, excite the mind to a just appreciation of its powers, of its duties to itself, of its facilities for perpetual advancement in knowledge and virtue, of its dangers also, and the means of averting them. The Old and New Testaments contain an exhaustless variety of narratives, parables and apothegms which may furnish texts for such discourses, and which form a system of biblical psychology, highly useful to the pastor, and not less so to the preacher. Rheinhard has given several good specimens of psychological discourses; as for instance, his sermon on the tendency of sorrowful virtue to produce a deeper impression on men than is produced by cheerful virtue, on the connection between the necessity of providing for our physical wants, and the promotion of our spiritual good; on the influence which piety gives a man over the mind and heart of his fellows. Dräseke and Ammon, [Bishop Butler and Dr. Chalmers,] have also furnished agreeable specimens of this species of discourse.

#### *7. The Advantages of preaching from Texts.*

In the judicial, deliberative and demonstrative orations of the ancients, there was no necessity for a formal announcement of the theme. The occasions on which the orators spoke, were of themselves sufficient to indicate the subjects to be discussed. But the sacred orator cannot ordinarily apprise his hearers of the theme which he has selected, except by announcing it at the commencement of his sermon. It was the custom of the earliest preachers to discourse from passages of the inspired word. They thus announced the subjects of their discourses. In the times of Gregory the Great and of Charles the Great, collections of texts were published and the clergy were required to preach from the passages inserted in these selections. This use of prescribed texts is still continued in many churches. It was not the uniform practice of the Fathers, to deliver their sermons from passages of Scripture prefixed to them. They sometimes adopted a freer mode of address. We must not think that the use of the text is

essential to the Christian character of the sermon. It is possible for a man to preach in the spirit and according to the standard of the Gospel, and to explain many biblical passages in the progress of his discourse, without mentioning any text as the origin and foundation of his remarks. Still, it would not be right, as some contend that it would be,<sup>1</sup> for a preacher, at the present day, to deviate from the now universal custom of prefacing the address from the pulpit with a passage from sacred writ. The advantages of conforming to this ancient usage are numerous. The use of the text constantly reminds the preacher of his duty to make the Bible the source of his instructions and appeals, to avoid all those themes of discourse which are not suggested by the spirit of the New Testament, to preserve throughout his sermon the tone of evangelical doctrine, and to introduce into his pulpit ministrations the variety and copiousness of biblical truth. The use of prescribed texts, or of the *pericope*, suggests to the preacher the richest and most diversified topics of discourse, and thus saves him from falling into a monotony of preaching, into a habit of confining himself to a narrow circle of favorite subjects, and from painful suspense with regard to the character of the themes which he ought to discuss in the pulpit, and with regard to the specific mode of discussing them. It also affords him a plausible reason for selecting such themes as will be disagreeable to those of his hearers who need to be reprov'd by them. When he preaches on texts which convey a reprimand to these individuals, it is evident that he has not gone out of his way to procure these condemnatory texts, and he cannot be accused of personality for following the order which is marked out in the pericope. Nor is the use of the text less important for the hearers than for the preacher. It constantly reminds an audience of the paramount authority of the Bible, and of the binding force of sermons founded upon that sacred volume. It is far more impressive to introduce the text at first, as the foundation of the discourse, than afterwards as a mere proof or confirmation of the doctrine previously advanced. The practice of preaching from texts leads to a frequent exposition of the Bible, and affords to the hearers suggestive and easily remembered passages with which they may indissolubly associate the contents of the sermon, and which, being often perused in private, will as often for a long time recall to memory the otherwise evanescent thoughts of the discourse, and thus re-

<sup>1</sup> See the treatises of Niemeyer and Haker in Schuderoff's *Jahrb.* for 1820, and 1821.

new its good moral impression. Accordingly, that passage is the most felicitous as a text, which expresses most strikingly the general theme of the discourse, and also suggests the specific propositions into which the sermon is divided.

8. *Classification of Discourses according to the Mode of treating their Texts.*

One class of discourses is denominated *synthetic*. In these sermons a proposition is laid down and logically discussed. The proposition is suggested, but may not be all that is suggested by the text. It is considered in its philosophical or practical relations, and not necessarily in the specific relations which the text discloses. The preacher advances from the proofs to the thing proved, and on this account is his sermon called synthetic. His text, when treated in this manner, is kept subordinate to the logical train of his thoughts, and therefore is not, or need not, be chosen until after the subject is selected. This class of sermons has its advantages. It encourages a habit of connected and consecutive thought; it enables the preacher to discuss particular subjects thoroughly and comprehensively; to secure unity and thereby depth of impression. A second class of discourses is the *analytic*. In these sermons the phrases of the text are explained and applied, the thoughts which it suggests are elucidated in the order which the text itself presents, and no effort is made to combine these thoughts into one general proposition. The preacher, therefore, announces no specific theme of his discourse, but proceeds backwards from the biblical truth to the various considerations which sustain it, analyzing the text into its component parts, and on this account his sermon is called analytic. His whole train of thought is kept subordinate to the order of the words and phrases of which he treats, and therefore the text must be selected previously to the subject. This second, as well as the first class of sermons, has its peculiar advantages. It is adapted to the easy comprehension of the people; it allows a pleasing and enlivening degree of variety in a single discourse; it pursues the unconstrained order of thought laid down in the Scriptures; and this is the order most congenial with the spontaneous feelings, especially with the religious feelings of a popular audience. The continual allusion to the words of the text, impresses men with the belief that their preacher has received his doctrine from the inspired volume. Many important parts of the Bi-

ble are explained, applied and enforced in this method of preaching, and the truths of the discourse become so intimately associated with the passage from which they are derived, that whenever that passage is afterwards read, it will serve as a memento of those truths and of their personal application. This simple method of treating a text was commonly adopted by the earliest of the Church Fathers, when they did not choose to dispense with a specific text altogether. Our systematic structure of a sermon is the invention of more modern times. It evinces more artifice and labor than the analytic method, and on that account is less agreeable to the minds of uneducated and unpretending Christians.

The third class of discourses is the *analytico-synthetic*. In these sermons the entire text is made use of, but its parts are combined into one whole, its various ideas reduced to a general proposition; and this proposition embracing the truths taught or implied in the text, is discussed in a logical as well as a biblical manner. The train of the preacher's thought is, in this class of sermons, coordinate with the train of the ideas involved in the text; and therefore it is seldom advisable to select the proposition to be discussed, before the choice of the text with which that proposition is to be collateral. This class of sermons embraces the advantages of the first two classes and excludes their evils. It allows unity of impression, and also the obvious dependence of the whole discourse upon the inspired word. It avoids the excessive looseness and incoherence into which the analytic method often tempts the preacher, and likewise the severe tension of mind which is sometimes required by the synthetic method. It therefore preserves the hearers' interest longer than do the scattering remarks of the textual, or the syllogistic reasonings of the topical preacher. Not every text, however, is fitted for the analytic, or the analytico-synthetic discourse, nor can every subject be properly discussed in the logical style first named. It is, therefore, expedient to interchange the three classes of sermons. This interchange secures variety in the ministrations of the sanctuary, and the practice in each method of writing facilitates the execution of the other two methods.

It may be proper to remark, that the second of these classes of sermons is the *homily* in the proper and narrow sense of that word, and is sometimes distinguished by the phrase, *free homily*. The third of them is also called *the homily*, but in a wider and less technical signification. The term, *homily*, is sometimes though improperly applied to any discourse which allows a free

and unrestrained flow of thought. The second and third of these classes are also designated by the epithet *ascetic*, because they are with peculiar frequency applied to the mere inculcation of practical duties.

### 9. Variety in the Themes for the Pulpit.

Secular orators, having their themes determined by the very nature of the occasions on which they speak, are not tempted like clergymen to fall into a monotony of address. They may indeed often employ the same illustrations, but they are obliged to speak on very different subjects. Preachers, being allowed to choose their own topics, are apt to confine themselves within a very narrow circle. Whatever their text may be, it may lead them to the discussion of some favorite theme on which they have already preached themselves out. They are drawn into this *curriculum* sometimes by their love of ease, and sometimes by their hope of deepening the impression of their favorite ideas by a frequent repetition of them. But the reiteration of the same truths in the same style, does not enforce them upon the mind. We must approach these truths from different starting-points and in different directions, in order to present them effectively to our hearers. Sermons on various topics must be made to converge to one moral result. Every theme has numerous relations, and each of these relations should be exhibited so as to diversify the services of the pulpit. The preacher must have no uniform plans for his discourses, but must accommodate his methods of discussion to the nature of the subjects discussed. He must not always preach on doctrines, nor always on duties; not uniformly on historical, nor uniformly on philosophical themes. He must avoid all one-sidedness in his own intellectual and moral training, for it is the partial education of clergymen which indisposes them to take an extensive sweep of subjects for their discourses. He must also feel a desire for the comprehensive and symmetrical development of the character of his people; and if he aims to cultivate all the Christian graces in all his hearers, he will see the necessity of leading them through an extended range of subjects. His sermons should be appropriate to his audience, and to the times, but every audience has a character somewhat peculiar, and requires a style of preaching somewhat different from that required by other audiences. Every Sabbath may also present its own exigency, and demand a variation from the style of discourse appropriate to the



preceding Sabbaths. The doctrines advanced by the preacher need not be new, but his illustrations, his appeals, his modes of adopting and enforcing old truths, may be altogether original; suggested by his individual experience, his communion with his own heart, with the minds of his fellow men and with God. By such a variety in the selection and the treatment of his themes, he will preserve the freshness of his own spirit, and will be able to command the interested attention of his audience. He must, however, guard himself against an affectation of novelty, a search for what is new in distinction from what is good, a prurient desire to avoid all such themes as have been discussed by others. In shunning what is hackneyed, he should not be led to tolerate mannerisms and conceits. Among the moderns, good specimens of originality and variety are found in the discourses of Reinhard, Ammon, Schleiermacher and Dräseke; among the ancients, in the sermons of Ephraëm Syrus, who flourished in the fourth century.

#### 10. *Elucidation of the Subject of a Discourse.*

Next to the choice of the subject, comes the elucidation of it. The feelings and the will are not excited by a theme, unless it be distinctly exhibited in its nature and relations. /The first class of subjects to be discussed, comprises those particular events or acts which are within the sphere of individual experience or observation. These are elucidated by a more or less graphic description of them. A description may be *prosaic*, designed merely to give a clear idea of the described events or acts to the intellect; or it may be *poetical*, designed to bring these events or acts into our ideal presence and to excite the imagination and feelings; or it may be *oratorical*, designed to influence the whole soul, and especially the will. The oratorical description is, of course, the appropriate one for the pulpit. It combines and modifies both the prosaic and the poetical. It should never allow such a minute and vivid delineation of circumstantial matters, as will obscure the hearer's view of the main subject of the discourse, and allow him to lose himself among pictures when he ought to be occupied with the great reality. /The description of an act is distinguished from that of an event, by the term *narration*. It is apt to be less poetical than the description of an event, and is better adapted to the character of sermons. The narration constituted a distinct part of the ancient judicial orations. It sometimes appears as a distinct part of sermons, but is often,

like the description of events, intermingled with the other parts of the discourse. It appears most prominent in sermons on the parables, or on historical passages of the Bible. Dräseke introduces one of his sermons with a graphic narration of the circumstances in which Paul and Martin Luther were converted to spiritual Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

The second class of themes comprises not individual objects of experience and observation, but general and abstract notions. The phrase, abstract notions, is applied in its most extensive import, to such as are not perceptions or conceptions of individual objects of sense; and in its most limited import, to such as are not immediately derived from these perceptions or conceptions. Thus our notion of body is abstract in the widest sense, and our notion of power is abstract in the narrowest sense; for our notion of body is immediately derived from our perceiving an individual of the genus *body*, but our notion of power is derived, not immediately but mediately, from our perceiving a movement which suggests that notion. Ideas of the reason, as well as notions of the understanding, are termed abstract, and are included in this second class of themes. The phrase, concrete notion,

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<sup>1</sup> This sermon was preached at the celebration of the anniversary of the union between the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches in Prussia. The text is Acts 9: 8, and the preacher passes in the following manner, from his text to his theme: "Paul is on his way to Damascus, with a commission from the High Priest, to carry bound unto Jerusalem any men or women whom he might find adhering to the new doctrine. And lo! near the end of his journey, there shines round about him suddenly a light from heaven. This may have been a flash of lightning. But for Paul it was something more. It penetrated into his soul with a power never before experienced, with a power increased by the voice from heaven; and it changed the whole current of his life. In what manner and to what degree he was transformed, is familiar to all. Luther, after the close of his academic education, became the teacher of the High School at Erfurt, and the science of law was his chief study. There, on a certain day, he took a walk for the purpose of freely expressing his dissatisfaction with this study to his bosom friend Alexius, and of consulting with that true hearted companion in regard to some more agreeable mode of life. And lo! the heavens are darkened by a storm, and suddenly he sees his friend struck by the lightning, killed, and sinking to the earth by his side. Then was an impression made upon his mind, such as was never made before. And from without there came an influence transforming his inner life, and from within came forth a power changing his outward character. This is the idea which I wish to delineate by a few characteristic touches, and I will endeavor to show how Luther's faith penetrated the interior of his life, and how his inward life penetrated and pervaded his faith." Dräseke's *Predigten zur dritten Jubelfeier der Evangelischen Kirche*. No. 10.

is also used with a narrow import, to express a perception or conception of an individual object of sense, and with a wider import, to express a general notion which is proximate to, and which immediately suggests the individual object of perception or conception. Now an abstract notion is elucidated by one less abstract, or by one which is concrete in the narrow sense. It may be made palpable by mentioning some individual of the genus which it denotes. An idea of the reason may be also rendered palpable by mentioning some individual objects resembling it, especially objects within the scope of the hearers' own observation. A general proposition may be made clear by examples, as is finely illustrated in the 7th ch. of Romans, and in Catech. 6. c. 4. of Cyril of Jerusalem. A great degree of liveliness and power over the feelings, is imparted to our style by thus presenting our generalizations in sensible forms. / Definite and precise statements are also important for the elucidating of general propositions. These statements are made sometimes by means of the *definition*, which specifies the essential characteristics of the object defined, as in Heb. 11: 1; sometimes by the *exposition*, which brings to light the essential, but more obscure and less prominent characteristics of the object, as in 1 Cor. 13: 4 seq.; sometimes by the *distinction*, which points out the differences between the object explained and other objects which are similar to it in some respects, and are often confounded with it; sometimes by the *partition*, which is an analysis of the object into its essential component parts; / sometimes by the *minute division*, which technically denotes the analysis of the object into such of its subordinate parts as are important in some of its relations. There are many cases in which we may elucidate a general or abstract notion, both by one less general and abstract, and at the same time by a sensible representation. We may also explain a simple idea by stating the ideas opposed to it. This method of contrast excites attention, affixes precise limits to the ideas considered, and by clearly defining the negative, casts additional light over the positive.

In elucidating the theme of his discourse, the orator should adopt a style different from that of the philosopher. He should avoid scholastic technical phrases, and all such trains of thought as prove the decided preponderance of the intellect above the imagination, the feelings and the will. He should be easy and free in his explanatory remarks, and should select such definitions as are fitted for the special relations of his subject to the design

of his discourse, rather than such as are adapted to the general and logical relations of his subject. He should elucidate his theme in those special relations, with great copiousness, vividness and variety, yet should avoid excessive length. He should remember that he and his hearers are conducting a dialogue on a specific theme, and he should not interrupt their responses, draw their attention away from the main object of their interest, and thus retard the progress of the colloquy by thrusting cold, formal and abstruse distinctions between himself and them. Therefore, his whole soul, his imagination, feelings and will should be absorbed in his subject.

He should, in general, prefer the synthetic to the analytic method of explaining his theme. The former method descends from particulars to generals; the latter descends from generals to particulars. The former method is therefore more free, more agreeable to the natural habits of the learner's mind than the latter. The synthetic method leads the hearer from one step to another, until he forms his own idea of the whole subject; the analytic method begins with a dry definition, and thus suggests at the outset the essential truth to be developed, allays curiosity, and compels the mind to sink down from the more to the less important considerations. The former method encourages the mind to exercise its own powers, to advance from the known to the unknown; and thus both excites and prolongs the hearers' interest. It prevents confusion of thought by leading the mind from the simple to the more complex, from the contiguous to the more remote. Rising from the less to the more important, it comes nearer and nearer to the essential truth to be discussed, imparts to the hearer a feeling of rapid progress, gratifies him with continued change and novelty, and is thus peculiarly appropriate to the character of an oration, considered as a regularly advancing dialogue between the speaker and his silent yet ever active audience. Still the synthetic method, being more interesting and peculiar, is also more diffuse than the analytic, and therefore the latter is to be preferred, whenever conciseness is required. Some writers, also, are better qualified by nature and practice for the analytic method than for the synthetic, and they should not be compelled to resist the native tendencies of their minds.

It is far more necessary for the sermon than the essay, that it be written in the vividly descriptive style, that one truth be compared and contrasted with another, that the spiritual be eluci-

dated by the sensible, the inward by the outward. It is also true that external phenomena may be often advantageously illustrated by internal, events in the material world by those in the mental. There is one law pervading matter and mind, and each furnishes many symbols of the other. The will is moved by vivid ideas of the good to be attained, and therefore, especially in addressing the common people, the minister should give such visible and tangible representations of moral good, as the nature of his theme demands. In order to increase the liveliness of the description it is sometimes useful to adopt the form of a dialogue, and especially of a soliloquy. Cramer and Harms have introduced this element into their description, and thereby brought many distant scenes near to the eyes and ears of their audience. The use of the parable is also important for bringing an object into the ideal presence of hearers. Some of the allegorical illustrations in the sermons of Ephraëm Syrus (see his *Paraenes.* II. 21.) are very lucid, as also some in the discourses of Tzschirner and Stiller. Instead of originating a parable, it is sometimes useful to make a new application of some literal or allegorical narrative already found in the Scriptures. See eloquent applications of this kind in Gregory of Nazianzen, *Opp. T.* 1. p. 620. Ed. Col., Schleiermacher's *Predigten*, Vol. 3. S. 51 sq.

11. *Various Kinds and Sources of Arguments and Motives employed in a Discourse.*

The conditions of success in the pulpit are, first, that the preacher select a subject which is fitted to excite the susceptibilities of his hearers; secondly, that he unfold his subject with distinctness and precision; thirdly, that he prove the truth of his statements, and convince his hearers of the intimate connection between the duty which he enjoins and their own highest happiness; and fourthly, that he convince them of their ability to do what he requires of them. Hence it is requisite that the preacher resort to argument as well as explanation, that he demonstrate the propriety and the feasibility of the work to which he would incite the will of his hearers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nothing can be more unphilosophical than the attempt to persuade a man to do what he believes to be impossible. Hence, the preacher should endeavor to evince the practicability of every work to which he exhorts his hearers. He may effect this object, first, by dilating on the natural capabilities of the soul created in God's image, and on the aids of the Divine Spirit which are

He must adopt some mode of convincing his audience, that the proposition of his discourse is true. The conviction of this truth may be of two kinds. It is distinct from mere opinion and conjecture, and must be either *knowledge* or *faith*. Our knowledge may be either direct or indirect. The former is the knowledge of that which we perceive by our external senses, or of which we are conscious, or which is necessarily involved in, or inseparable from our sensation or consciousness, or which we are compelled to admit immediately by the demands of our spiritual nature. Indirect knowledge is that which we acquire not immediately in sensation or consciousness, but through the intervention of some truth which is known to us intuitively, and from which we infer the truth thus indirectly learned. Faith differs from knowledge, in its relating to an object which we do not or cannot perceive by our senses or consciousness, and which is not essentially involved in the truths which we do perceive in sensation, or of which we are conscious. Faith is that belief in truths which is derived from testimony, or from the harmony of those truths with our higher nature. Thus the existence of God is a doctrine of which we have no *knowledge*, for it is without the sphere of our sensation and consciousness, but we have a *faith* in it, and have sufficient reasons for our firm unwavering confidence. Faith is called *historical*, when it is founded on testimony, and religious when founded on the harmony between the truth believed and

vouchsafed to the good ; secondly, by describing the special means and facilities which may be in the hearers' power for the specific work to which they are exhorted ; by detailing the particular method in which the work may be effected ; thirdly, by referring to examples which demonstrate the possibility of performing the required operation. In the celebrated Πανηγυρικός of Isocrates, the orator attempts, *first* to show how dishonorable it is for the Greeks to allow the Persians to subjugate them ; secondly, to prove that it is possible for the Greeks to conquer the Persians ; thirdly, to arouse a feeling of indignation against the Persians ; fourthly, to prove that the present circumstances of the Greeks are favorable to a combined undertaking against their aggressors ; fifthly, to show that without such an undertaking, it is impossible to ameliorate the present deplorable situation of the Greeks ; sixthly, to quicken the feeling of shame in the bosoms of his countrymen, that they continue to live under a treaty so unfavorable to their interests as that which by their ambassador Antalcidas they formed with the Persians ; seventhly, to excite the hope that if Athens and Sparta will commence a coalition against Persia, all the other Grecian States will unite themselves in the same. Thus we see that the second, fourth and seventh, divisions of this Panegyric are occupied in setting forth the capabilities and facilities of the Greeks for making a successful resistance to the Persians. See also the first of Demosthenes' Phillipics, for a similar illustration.

the laws of our moral nature. Faith presupposes, therefore, the cultivation of all our powers and susceptibilities, moral as well as intellectual ; knowledge implies the activity of the intellect alone. Our free will has far more influence on our faith than on our knowledge.

The arguments by which we are convinced of any truth are either subjective, or objective. Of the former kind are the arguments for the divine existence, which are derived from the harmony of that truth with our moral feelings. To the latter class belong the arguments for the same truth, which are derived from the contrivances of nature. Arguments may be also divided into the mathematical, which relate to the laws of number and quantity ; the philosophical, which are the foundation of our direct knowledge ; empirical, which are the foundation of our indirect knowledge and of our faith ; the historical, which are properly a branch of the empirical, and include those arguments which are derived from testimony. The empirical reasonings comprise all the processes of induction. They also, in their widest extent, embrace those weaker arguments from analogy which often make an opinion more probable than its opposite, although they fail to give us any real knowledge of its truth.

Arguments are again divided into theoretical and practical. The former are addressed exclusively to the intellect, and are designed to produce a mere conviction in favor of the truth ; the latter are addressed to the heart as well as the judgment, and are designed to secure some particular course of action. The latter are more properly termed motives, or persuasive, as distinct from convincing arguments ; and as every discourse is intended for practical effect, its characteristic aim should be to present inducements to the will, more than reasons to the intellect. The great end of preaching the gospel is, to bring man into a state of harmony with himself and with the universe. Therefore should the sacred orator, if he would be successful, persuade his hearers to labor for their own highest physical, intellectual and moral good, and to discharge all their religious duties ; for these secure the welfare of the body, mind and heart, and thus promote the harmonious operation of the powers which are combined in the human system. He should also persuade his hearers to labor for the corporeal, mental and religious good of their fellow-men, and to secure the symmetrical development of all their faculties and susceptibilities ; and thus will every hearer be brought into a state of harmony not only with himself but with his race, and

above all with that great Being who is constantly promoting the welfare of his creatures. He should exert this persuasive influence, first by presenting the truths which impose on a man the obligation of striving to attain this perfect harmony with his own nature and with the universe; and secondly, by exciting the emotions, affections and desires which prompt the man to exert himself in the discharge of this duty; in reducing all his evil desires into a state of subordination to the authority of conscience, and in furnishing his fellow-men with the same advantages for outward and inward culture, which he himself enjoys. It is true, that in *practice* the communication of appropriate ideas cannot be separated from the attempt to awaken appropriate emotions; for all the powers and susceptibilities of man are so intimate in their union, that the operation upon one of them often involves an influence upon more than that one. But in *theory*, we may and must distinguish between an address to the percipient, and an address to the sensitive part of our natures. Although every motive is in one sense an argument, yet every argument is not a motive; and the immediate design, the first characteristic of a process of ratiocination is obviously different from that of an appeal to the feelings. The union of the convincing with the persuasive argument constitutes the truest eloquence, and the preacher should therefore aim at that comprehensive style of argumentation, which calls forth all the energies of the intellect, heart and will.

In attempting to convince his hearers of the truth, the preacher should pursue the shortest and most simple course which the nature of his subject will allow. His object is to go as directly as possible to the hearts of his audience; therefore he will not stop longer with the intellect than the wants of the heart require. The philosopher seeks to prove the truth by all the arguments which can establish it; the orator, by such arguments as will be effectual in gaining the assent of the hearers. The former seeks especially for the fundamental proofs; the latter for such as, being valid, will produce the readiest and most indelible impression on the public mind. While the philosopher regards all arguments according to their intrinsic value, the orator regards them according to their relative worth. Therefore in producing a conviction in favor of some truths, the preacher will simply delineate the nature of the truths themselves, the lucid statement of them being a sufficient argument in their favor. Sometimes he will refer to the proof as already known, and will not



minutely analyze it; sometimes he will contrast the proposition to be established with its opposite, and will make the truth appear obvious by setting it over against the related error. Cicero places his arguments for the guilt of Clodius in ingenious contrast with those for the innocence of Milo, and the former reflect additional light upon the latter. Many sermons are written on a plan similar to this oration of Cicero *pro Milone*. Remembering that he is engaged in a practical colloquy with his audience, for the purpose of securing their consent to perform some specific duty, the preacher should endeavor to bring them up, as soon as possible, to the agreement which he desires them to make, and therefore should never detain them with needless argumentation, however curious, and should never like Dr. Barrow, manifest more desire for exhausting the subject, than for inciting to the specific act of the will. Especially, should he avoid all artificial, and apparently cunning processes of reasoning. He may forfeit the confidence of his hearers in his probity and fairmindedness, by allowing himself to pursue a circuitous course of argument, where he could take a straight one, or by resorting to any kind of dialectical trick. If he be really interested in the truth and in the welfare of his audience, the course of reasoning most suitable for convincing their minds will suggest itself to him spontaneously. Aeschines was less honestly and heartily engaged than Demosthenes in the case of Ctesiphon; therefore the reasoning of the former was far less natural, direct and cogent than the reasoning of the latter.

The preacher should aim to select those arguments which his people, in their daily life, virtually allow to be valid, and the denial of which would involve them in self-contradiction; those arguments also which excite the imagination and the feelings as well as inform the intellect, and the definite, graphic statement of which will commend them at once to the belief. The sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem, and of Asterius, bishop of Amasea, abound with these forms of popular argumentation. The judicial orators of antiquity derived signal advantages for this species of reasoning, from the historical character of their speeches. The testimonies which they adduced were concrete and vivid exhibitions of principles which, being thus exemplified, did not require to be treated abstractly. Quintilian and other ancient rhetoricians recommend the *testimonia aliorum* as the class of arguments most readily comprehended, and imparting the most lively conceptions of the facts to be proved. The preacher as well as the political

orator, is at liberty to quote the opinions and appeal to the authority of men, as a means of commending the truth to his hearers, for they will be naturally influenced by the example of their fellow-beings, especially of the great and good. Reinhard, in his published discourses, gives many striking examples of this reference to human testimony.<sup>1</sup> As many religious doctrines have their foundation in human experience, they can be properly illustrated and confirmed by human examples. The authority, however, to which the minister should most frequently appeal is that of the inspired authors. There is a natural tendency in the human mind not only to adopt a system of religious belief, but also to derive this system from positive instructions. Hence all religionists profess to have obtained their creed from some express testimony of superior beings. The Bible satisfies the Christian's demand for an outward corroboration of his faith. It gives a new influence to the teachings of the pulpit. It is, therefore, of more value than the testimony of witnesses to which the orators of Greece and Rome appealed. It affords more vivid, more quickening exemplifications of truth than can be obtained from merely scientific treatises. By no means, however, does it pre-

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<sup>1</sup> See especially his sermon (Pred. 1795) on the expectation which a man feels that, after his decease, there will be an improvement in the state of society and of the times. After alluding to the fact that ancient prophets and kings died in the confident hope of a favorable change in the future destinies of the world, he says: "Permit me now to revive your recollections of that noble minded man, who more than a hundred years ago lived in this city, and adorned the offices which are at present committed to me, and died in the joyful hope that a better state of things would ensue after his demise. Philip James Spener is the venerable man whom I mean. All his life long, had he toiled, contended, suffered for the cause of Christian truth and godliness, and he had often received for his labors the ingratitude of his contemporaries. But the hope of a future improvement in the condition of society, the belief that God would surely cause virtue to triumph, was so active, so efficacious in the soul of the dying old man, that it was his last request to have not a thread of black put upon his corpse, for this is the color denoting sorrow. Clothed in white, he chose that his dead body should attest the cheerful hope with which he died, that a brighter day would soon dawn upon the world. Thou hast not hoped without reason, venerable witness for God! Much better has it gone, since thy times, and by means of thy labors and example! He on whom thou hast relied will perfect that which he has commenced in the name of his Son. Joy be with thee, and with all those who sleep as thou sleepest! May God permit us to labor, contend, hope and conquer as thou hast done." Such examples as these stimulate the hearer to resort to the same sources of right feeling and belief, which had proved so beneficial to the individuals quoted as authorities. They are suggestive and confirmatory arguments in favor of the truth, as well as persuasive arguments to the duty resulting from that truth.

clude, it rather sanctions, both by precept and example, the unre-mitted exercise of our own faculties in the various processes of induction and of deduction, in the search for religious truth through the departments of external nature, of human consciousness, of history and general science. The preacher should never hesitate to employ such philosophical arguments, as are needful for the nourishment of the minds of his audience and for the enforcement of evangelical doctrine. He should remember that the Bible communicates its instructions in the form of general principles, and therefore requires the free action of our own powers in applying these principles to the specific details of life. It was written in a style immediately adapted to its first readers or hearers, and consequently demands the application of a sound judgment in distinguishing the spirit of its assertions from the form of them. It is not, therefore, by simply quoting a multitude of biblical passages, that a minister produces a conviction in favor of sound doctrine. He must make the truth commend itself to every man's reason and conscience, by showing that it accords with the spirit of the Bible, and with the laws of the divine government. In what proportion he should quote specific texts of the inspired word, depends on the character of his audience and the nature of his theme. His invariable rule should be, to make no statement which is at variance with the moral aims of inspiration, and to exhibit truth in such a manner as to show that the Bible is his highest standard of appeal, and that he is penetrated with reverence for all its instructions. He should resort, first of all, to the records of the New Testament; for these present the most instructive realization, the most affecting embodiment of goodness in the person of our Redeemer, and are most immediately authoritative as witnesses for the Christian system. Still, he must not omit references to the Old Testament; for this teaches many doctrines which are presupposed in the gospels and epistles, furnishes the most important verbal illustrations of both the language and the spirit of those records, and is essential to the harmonious, diversified and comprehensive exhibition of evangelical truth. By showing the convergence of the Old and New Testaments to the particular doctrine which is under discussion, the preacher will make the biblical element predominant in his discourses, and will give them that persuasive power which comes from truth well fortified, even directly sanctioned by the Omniscent Father of us all.

It is sometimes necessary that the minister prove, not only the

truth of his doctrine by passages of Scripture, but also the correctness of the explanation which he gives of those passages. Often he has not sufficient authority over his people to make them receive his interpretation, without assigning a reason for it. In such cases, he is tempted to introduce a series of hermeneutical remarks which are too recondite for the facile comprehension of his auditors, and which give to the intellectual, a decided preponderance over the practical character of his discourse. It is better for him to select such arguments in favor of his exposition as are founded on general principles, than such as are founded on verbal *minutiae*. He may exhibit the *internal* evidence which is afforded by the passage explained; the evidence derived from the design of uttering the text, the connection in which the words are found, the nature of the subject to which they refer. He may also exhibit the *external* evidence suggested by the passage; the evidence derived from comparing it with other passages of the Bible, from considering the character and circumstances of the person who uttered it, or the persons to whom it was addressed, the customs, and especially the modes of speaking prevalent in times when it was written. Herm. Niemeyer and Schuler have published excellent treatises on the rules for interpreting Scripture in the pulpit. See also Mosheim's *Anweisung erbaulich zu predigen*, 387 sq.

12. *Different Methods in which the same kind of Arguments and Motives may be presented in a Discourse.*

The same argument may be exhibited in a great variety of styles; the parts of it being differently arranged, and the forms of statement being diversified, according to the various objects designed to be secured.

It is sometimes advisable to begin a discussion with some very plain statement, from which a second may be easily derived, and from this second, a third; and thus, after a series of inferences, the main proposition of the discourse will present itself as virtually admitted in the preceding statements. This arrangement is called the *Progressive* or *Synthetic*, because it leads the mind forward from what is established to something new, and combines the conceded premises, one after another, into propositions which involve more or less distinctly the very idea which is the subject of the discourse. The sermon, being a dialogue between the preacher and his hearers, calls forth from their

minds the most active responses, when it is arranged in this synthetic order; when it begins with a remark commending itself at once to the belief, and leading to a consequent observation which immediately suggests a third, and thus progressively excites the hearers to think for themselves, and work their own way, step by step, with all the interest arising from conscious progress and incessant novelty, into a heartfelt acquiescence with the preacher. When this truth is unwelcome to the hearers, and would awaken, if announced at the outset, a strong prejudice against its reception, it may be kept back until they have admitted several preliminaries, which impose an absolute necessity of admitting the obnoxious doctrine. And when these preliminaries, one after another, have been proved and conceded to be true, it may be shown that they involve the proposition which is thus insinuated into the faith of the hearers, but which, if stated suddenly and abruptly, would have met with a decidedly unfavorable bias. This progressive order of arguments makes the discussion popular and interesting, for it often begins with individual concrete statements, and advances gradually, as the audience are able and disposed to proceed, to the more general and abstract propositions. It is an arrangement, however, which requires much time for its full exhibition, and therefore is not appropriate for some subjects and for some discourses.

Where the theme is very extensive, or the discourse must be very brief, the Regressive or Analytic arrangement is preferable. This reverses the order just named. It begins with the main proposition, places this forward, in a conspicuous and prominent situation, then goes back to the constituent elements of this truth, to the premises from which it is a result, and thus constantly associates the doctrine which is advanced openly and unreservedly, with the arguments by which it is sustained. The use of the first or the second of these methods depends not merely upon the nature of the theme, and of the occasion on which it is discussed, but also upon the character and habits of the preacher, upon the specific design which he has in view, upon his text which may or may not require a formal proposition and distinct divisions, upon the facility with which his audience can or will follow a train of consecutive argument, from premises which are unobjectionable to an obnoxious inference.

Logicians have also divided arguments into the *ostensive* and the *apogogical*, the *probatio ex consequentibus* and the *probatio ex pugnantis*; the former establishing a true proposition directly,

without reference to its antagonist errors; the latter proving it indirectly, in the way of refuting the opinions opposed to it. The first of these methods is ordinarily preferable; but the second has some advantages over it. Often, when our hearers are prejudiced in favor of an erroneous proposition, the easiest method of making their mistake apparent is to set forth its consequences, and to show them that they cannot adhere to it without adopting, at the same time, some absurd or demoralizing conclusions. This indirect method conducts the mind with peculiar vivacity to the truth, by preventing it from pursuing any of the devious paths of error. Whenever the indirect can be conjoined with the direct method, the force of the argument is complete; as the refutation of a false opinion tends to prepare an audience for the reception of a true one.

Another distinction in the form of arguments, is that into the *logical* or formal, and the *rhetorical* or popular. The logical style is no more convincing than the rhetorical, but is less free and easy. The former employs certain scholastic terms; the latter dispenses with them. The syllogism is the favorite instrument of the former; the enthymeme, which the ancient rhetoricians called the rhetorical syllogism, is the favorite instrument of the latter. Sometimes indeed, for the sake of attracting attention by a novelty in his discourse, and for the purpose of making the *nervus probandi* more obvious to his congregation, the preacher will employ the regular syllogistic form of statement, but ordinarily he prefers a livelier and more flowing style, one better fitted to awaken the whole mind, and harmonizing more exactly with the excited feeling of his audience.

The orator often resorts to amplification; the mere logician, not. *Amplificatio*, *αὐξήσις*, was generally used by the ancients to signify the vivid, animated description of the magnitude, the importance, or the diminutiveness of an object; but it was sometimes used to denote what the moderns commonly express by the equivalent word, viz. a description not only of those qualities which are requisite to the full comprehension of the object, but also of other qualities and relations which contribute to the clearness of our ideas, the depth of our convictions, or the liveliness of our feelings with regard to the object. It is of use, as it induces the hearers to linger upon some one truth, to view it in its various forms, and by obtaining more striking conceptions of it, to feel more keenly its moral influence.

In the treatment of his theme the orator often adopts, what

the logician avoids, the *digression*, *digressio*, *egressio*, *παρέκβασις*. It is a mistake to suppose, that when a skilful preacher departs for a brief interval from the straight line of his argument, he diminishes at all the ultimate influence of his reasonings. He rather increases it; for the thoughts which he introduces during his digression are necessary to the full development of his theme in all its bearings, and by refreshing the mind with a transient change of view, they prepare it for the renewed force of the moral appeal. Still his digressions must be short, and, in consequence of the brevity of his discourses, far less frequent than those which were allowed to the secular orators of antiquity.

The oratorical discussion is still further distinguished from the logical, by the *recapitulation*, *recapitulatio*, *collectio*, *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*. This is found not merely at the close of the whole discourse, but also at the end of particular parts of it. It is of peculiar service to an orator, because his hearers cannot, like readers, refer at pleasure to the sentences which they failed to understand, or wish to reconsider, and they consequently need to have the essential portions of the argument restated, to have their memories refreshed with the thoughts which would otherwise be evanescent, and to have the moral impression of the truth deepened by repetition. There is a special necessity that the preacher should recapitulate before unlearned audiences, because they are the least capable of retaining either the substance or the connection of the arguments which they have heard. Whenever he sums up what he has already advanced, he should employ a terse, compressed phraseology; and should guard against repeating the identical words which he used at first. The rhetorical style demands, in general, freshness and variety, and in the recapitulation it especially proscribes all monotonous and wearisome forms of statement. By condensed and gracefully varying phrases, the recapitulation presents the whole subject to the hearer in one view, and collects, so to speak, all the scattered rays of the sermon into one focal point.

The rhetorical method of argument is further distinguished from the logical, in its expression of firm confidence in the truths which are declared. The orator, glowing with interest in his theme, strives to awaken a like interest among his audience; he utters freely and boldly the sentiments of his heart, so that his hearers sympathize with him and are carried along to all his conclusions. It is this expression of honest confidence in his statements, this undisguised eagerness and expectation to establish

their correctness, which constitutes the much talked of *δυσωπεία* of the Athenian orator.

The ancient rhetoricians often spoke of the apparently extemporaneous remark, the unpremeditated parenthesis, *το αὐτοσχέδιον*, as imparting to the discourse an air of ingenuousness and naturalness. Cicero frequently introduced such parenthetical observations, without any seeming forethought, and as they had the appearance of having accidentally occurred to him, they gave to his speeches the aspect of free and unconstrained effusions. It is, indeed, important for the preacher to attain such a command over himself, that he shall be able to weave into his discourse such thoughts as may suddenly suggest themselves to him while he is in the pulpit. This unconfined mode of delivery relieves him from that appearance of stiffness and constraint which is so inappropriate to the character of an orator. But he should guard against the least semblance of artifice in uttering a sentiment as if it had all at once arisen in his mind, when in fact he had premeditated its utterance in that way long before. Let him be honest with himself, if he would be a true orator, and speak forth the real suggestions of the moment, if they will increase the apparent freedom and ease of his utterance; but let him not practice any theatrical devices, nor seem to be what he is not. The consciousness of practising a deceit upon his hearers, is uncongenial with the spirit of an orator.

The rhetorical differs again from the logical and philosophical mode of reasoning, in the rapidity with which the arguments of an address sometimes follow one another. Thought succeeds thought with a rush and force that carry the hearers, as it were, by assault. Eloquence often delights in condensation of language, in short sentences and quick transitions, which take the mind by surprise and nullify its power of resistance. This celerity of speech is a natural result of the enthusiasm with which the whole soul of the orator is enkindled in his theme, and in his practical design.

13. *The Manner of treating such Opinions and Feelings of his Hearers, as are at variance with the Preacher's Discourse.*

When the political orators of antiquity foresaw an objection which might possibly be made to their statements, they would sometimes endeavor to preoccupy the mind of their hearers with such a train of thought or feeling, as would prevent them from



thinking of that objection. But the sacred orator is not allowed to excite the passions of his audience so far, as to preclude their attention to any adverse argument which would occur to them in their calmer moments. Besides, he does not, like the secular orator, speak merely for the present occasion, but for the whole future life, and he will therefore gain nothing by diverting his hearers' minds, for a short time, from a difficulty which will afterwards embarrass and injure them. Still, he need not attempt to answer every objection which can be brought by any one against his doctrine; but should confine himself to such difficulties as have been or will be felt by the audience which he addresses. Nor should he give a public reply to all the adverse arguments that may have occurred to every individual who hears him; for some of these arguments may be so peculiar, that true wisdom will require him to rebut them in a merely private interview. There are, for example, objections against the physico-theological proof of the divine existence, which would occur to a student of Kant's philosophy, but not to the great mass of a Christian audience. The attempt to refute these objections in the pulpit, would suggest to many minds such difficulties as would never otherwise have been known to them. It might lead them to an entire distrust of that proof on which they had previously rested the whole system of religion; and if the preacher should endeavor to establish their faith on a new basis, he would find that, as they were incompetent to detect of themselves the deficiencies in the old argument, so they are unable to discern, even with the aids and explanations of the pulpit, the conclusiveness of the proofs which are substituted for the old. We cannot expect that the populace will be convinced of the truth by philosophical reasonings, and when we have succeeded in undermining the only arguments which can be made intelligible to them, we shall find it impossible to prevent the skepticism which results from an ability to see objections and an inability to see positive proofs.

The difficulties with which an orator has to contend are sometimes negative, such as consist in the hearers' want of the convictions and feelings requisite for the success of the speech that is made to them; and sometimes positive, such as consist in the hearers' entertaining certain convictions and feelings decidedly adverse to the influence of the address. Of the difficulties last-named, some result from convictions which are true, and from feelings which are right, and the opposition of these convictions and feelings to the design of the orator is merely apparent;

others result from convictions which are false and feelings which are wrong, and the opposition of both to the design of the orator is real. In the former case, the orator should show that the convictions and feelings which are correct, do not in the least militate with his design, but they rather favor it. Some of the most eloquent passages of Cicero and Demosthenes, are those in which the objections of the adversary are converted into arguments for the speaker's own assertions. In the latter case where the convictions or feelings are wrong, the orator must devote himself to the proof, either that they are reprehensible, and ought not to be retained ; or else that they do not in reality oppose his design, and ought not to be considered as objections to his address. The ancient secular orators would often show, that the theoretical or practical errors of their audience were not really adverse to the object recommended in the oration, and at the same time would not characterize these errors as such, and might even seem to justify them. But the sacred orator, looking beyond the merely temporary influence of his address, is called upon to express his disapprobation of all opinions or inclinations which are adverse to the spirit of the Gospel. He may indeed hesitate to assail long established errors which are not inconsistent with the temper of Christianity, and which are supposed to be intimately combined with evangelical faith, but he has no right to spare such faults as conflict with essential truth. He must always express his condemnation of them, although he need not always stop the current of his discourse for the sake of proving his condemnation to be just. After his naked disavowal of all sympathy with them, he may be justified in confining himself to the proof that their opposition to the immediate design of his sermon is not real, but only apparent. When, however, the preacher finds that the speculative errors or the wrong inclinations of his audience are actually operating against the specific purpose of his address, he must not content himself with a simple disavowal of those incorrect opinions or emotions ; he must make a special effort to eradicate them from the mind of every hearer whom they influence. Sometimes he may resist them indirectly, by demonstrating the truth of his own doctrines, or by exciting the right moral feelings ; for a true faith and right affections expel their opposites from the soul. At other times, he may directly assail the false notions or evil desires which oppose him. He may show the consequences which result from them, and the sources from which they arise, and may thus diminish

the overweening confidence of his hearers in principles which lead to such disastrous results, or originate from such ignoble causes. By showing men the origin of their mistake, he often makes the way easy for them to renounce it. He proves it to be reprehensible, by giving the history of its inception and subsequent retention. He should ever aim not merely to convince his hearers of their previous error, but to enlist them in favor of the truth; not merely to secure their confidence but to engage their warm interest in the correct principles of faith and practice. He may often induce them to work their own way out of their mistake, by proposing to them a logical *dilemma*, such as our Saviour employed in Matt. 12: 25—28.

Ancient rhetoricians have recommended the practice of an orator's concealing when necessity requires it, his real design in a speech, or part of a speech, and appearing to be engaged in a very different project from that which he is actually attempting. This artifice is called the *σχήμα*, and orations composed in this style are termed *λόγοι ἐσχηματισμένοι*, *orationes figuratae*. In the first centuries of the Christian era, the rhetoricians labored in the classification, and also in the multiplication of the various forms of this artifice, with great perspicacity and inventiveness of genius. See especially the *Τέχνη Πητορικὴ* ascribed to Dionysius Halicarnassus, c. 8. 9. Demetrius Phalerius de Elocutione § 305 sq. Hermogenes de Inventione l. 4. Quintilian Inst. Orat. l. 9. c. 2. et al. The orators, particularly Isocrates and Cicero, frequently employed this artifice; see Isocrates, Panathenaicus, c. 95. 96, and Cic. pro Milone. c. 1. 24. It consisted either in announcing one theme and actually speaking on another; or in discussing the proposed subject with an entirely different design from that which was at first apparent, or in aiming at a distinct class of individuals from that which the speaker seemed to address. The circumstances of the ancient orators, haranguing assemblies who were so liable to be overawed by the civil power, or to be swayed by popular faction, tempted them frequently to adopt these circuitous methods of reaching the hearts of their auditors. A more direct appeal might have exposed them to the indignation of a ruler, or to the wrath of a mob. But the sacred orator, who addresses a calmer assembly and in a more tranquil style; who dwells in the light and discountenances works of darkness, is seldom necessitated to use the *λόγοι ἐσχηματισμένοι*. He may, however, be driven to an imitation of some of them, at certain conjunctures, in particular parts of a discourse; for it is sometimes need-

ful for him to utter truths with a design of affecting some individuals whom he would not appear to aim at, and of suggesting some inferences which it would not be prudent for him openly to announce.

#### 14. *Cautions to be observed in exciting the Feelings of an Audience.*

Man, being of a compound nature, and being impelled to action by a great variety of principles, should be addressed with an appropriate and corresponding variety of style. The diversified themes which are presented to his consideration in the pulpit, appeal to his different susceptibilities in such a manner, as to secure their full and harmonious development. / We need not fear to address the lower, innocent desires of an auditor, if their influence be always kept subordinate to that of his more dignified principles of action. We may stimulate his constitutional love of self, if we can hasten thereby his progress in virtue. / Our Creator intended that all our appetites and passions should be made to facilitate our religious advancement; and while we never disturb the fit proportions between the desires of a man for his own good, and his interest in the general welfare, we may excite those desires to such a degree as to secure their prompting and encouraging activity in favor of holiness. / The more degraded the people whom we address, so much the more must we strive to call out their lower propensities into the service of the higher, and to set over against each other, in the proper balance, the previously disordered parts of their constitution. / The more refined our audience, so much the more successful may we be in a direct appeal to their more elevated principles of action. / The majority of the ancient orators devoted their highest energies to the excitement of the feelings of their hearers, and often awakened such an interest in merely personal relations, as was predominant over the zeal for the public good. But the character of sacred eloquence does not allow such passionate appeals, as were made by the political orators of antiquity. / The preacher should attempt to excite no emotion which will disturb the symmetry of the soul; no merely animal feeling, which he does not intend to make subsidiary to spiritual improvement; no sensuous desire which, harmless in itself, may lead, without suitable direction, to a moral evil; no emotion which may be called *pathological*, and is distinguished from the *contemplative* by its originating blindly, impulsively, without a definite idea of truth previously in the

mind, without any rational cause in the preceding meditations. An excitement which has no spiritual ground, will result in no religious good ; and true eloquence, especially that of the pulpit, is the eloquence of the soul, the entire soul, and not only emanates from clear views of truth but also conduces to some beneficent end. Hence the preacher should never inflame any feelings of his audience so far, as to repress the activity of the moral judgment. Conscience must always be allowed the supreme dominion over the soul, and no passion, however innocent in itself, should usurp the place of the governing faculty. The rule is, then, that a preacher should instruct his audience, before he aim to arouse them. Ideas must call forth their emotions, and stringent proof must justify feeling. He should endeavor to secure a complete harmony between the intellectual and the moral nature, between the appetites, emotions and affections of his audience. This harmony, however, by no means forbids, but rather requires the excitement of the hearers' zeal in the discharge of duty, their joy in the contemplation of virtue, their desire to emulate the deeds of good men, their indignation against moral evil, their enthusiasm in the religious life. It is no objection to the awakening of these feelings that they diminish, for the time being, somewhat of the vigor with which the intellect applies itself to abstract truth. The intellect is not the whole of the spirit. Abstract investigation should not engross the soul. The affections are not diseased operations of the mind. They are noble parts of our nature, and lead to the most exalted achievements. Without their appropriate cultivation, the reason does not act healthily. They should, therefore, be excited by the orator, but never to that degree which may be called an irregularity in the spiritual system.

#### 15. The Department of Topics (Topica).

The whole subject of Invention is treated by the ancient rhetoricians with great copiousness and discrimination. See Aristotle, *Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ* L 1 ; Auctor ad Herennium, L 1, 2, 3 ; Cicero, *De Inventione*, L 1, 2 ; *De Oratore*, L 2 ; Orator, c. 14, 15 ; *Topica*, and *Partitiones Oratoriae*, c. 1, 2, 3, 9-15. Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, L 5. Hermogenes, *Περὶ εὐρέσεων*. All the means of persuasion were reduced by the ancients to three ; *docere, conciliare, permovere*. They were also arranged into two great divisions ; first, the *argumenta ἀσχευα, inartificialia, quae foris veniunt*, such as are

presented by witnesses, laws, decrees, and other external authorities ; second, the *argumenta étretya, artificialia, ex ipsa re aliquæ arte oratoria sumpta*. This second class of the means of persuasion, as they derived their origin from the speaker himself, constituted, of course, the main object of rhetorical invention. They were subdivided into three orders : first, those which were designed to prove the truth of a proposition, *argumenta ἀποδεικτικά, πίστως* in the narrow sense, of that word ; secondly, those which were designed to conciliate the favor of the hearers toward the person of the orator and the subject of which he treated, and which were termed ἥθη, *mores* ; and thirdly, those which made known the feelings of the speaker and excited the same affections in the hearers, and which were called πάθη, *affectus*. The *argumenta ἀποδεικτικά* were separated into the *ἐπαγωγή, inductio, exemplum oratorium*, and the *ἐνθύμημα, ratiocinatio oratoria*. The last was again distinguished into the argument *ex verisimilibus* (εἰκοσι), and the argument, *e signis* (σημείους) ; and the last-named proof from *sign* was subdivided into the *τεκμήριον*, which proved the certainty of a proposition, and the *σημείον*, in the narrower sense of that term, which proved the bare probability of the thing asserted.

After these arguments and motives had been classified with great preciseness, in the treatises on Invention, the sources from which the means of persuasion were derived, began to receive attention and to be arranged in a scientific order. The name Topics, was given to the methodical collection of the general ideas which might be of use in suggesting the particular arguments and motives to be employed by an orator. Topics were subdivided into, first, the *loci argumentorum*, the τόποι ἰδιοί, which are defined by Cicero to be *quasi regiones aut sedes, ex quibus argumenta promuntur, fontes argumentorum* ; and, secondly, the *loci communes*, the τόποι κοινοί, which were collections of such subjects of remark as were applicable to entire *genera*, and were derived from the *loci argumentorum*, the latter being immediately applicable not to the genus, but rather to particular individuals included under it. In modern writings, the word Topics has a significance still more extensive. It denotes either a connected statement of the various points of view under which every theme or class of themes may be discussed ; or else a scientific statement of the general relations in which the theme stands, and of the rules pertaining to those relations and facilitating the full development of them. It is true that the preacher may be led in the

use of a book of Topics, to a pedantic, discursive and general style of remark, ill suited to the peculiar wants of his hearers ; but he may also, if he be well educated and if he be judicious in the consultation of the book, derive from it a feeling of security that his mental processes have been correct, an enlargement and completeness of his views, and a general improvement of his mental character. Such a book will not supply natural deficiencies of talent, but may correct many faults arising from partial, one-sided conceptions of a particular subject, and an habitual contractedness and monotony of thought. Among modern treatises in this department, some of the most ingenious are found in C. F. Bahrdt's *Versuch über die Beredsamkeit*, and in Witting's *Schrift über die Meditation eines Predigers* ; but the best is C. A. L. Kästner's *Topik, oder Erfindungswissenschaft aufs neue erläutert*.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### THE TRINITY.

[Translated by Rev. H. B. Smith, West Amesbury, Mass., from the Theological Lectures of Dr. A. D. C. Twisten, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.]

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[The following Article has been translated, not only on account of its intrinsic excellence, but also because it presents a discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity upon somewhat different grounds from those ordinarily found in English and American systems of theology. Even if we do not agree with all the positions advanced nor think them conclusive, yet they may aid the mind to some new aspects of a doctrine which lies at the basis of the whole Christian scheme. This doctrine has always been discussed and illustrated differently by different minds, in different ages of the church ; and that, too, without detriment to the general orthodoxy. Those who hold, and faithfully hold, to the same formula of doctrine will expound it differently, according to the influences under which their minds have been trained, to the objections made against their creed, and to the philosophical views prevailing around them. And such a discussion of this doctrine as is here presented, may lead us to a more thorough

conviction that it is not a mere abstract formula, but a living truth ; a truth, not merely derived by a set of proof-texts from the Scriptures, but intimately inwrought into the whole scheme of Christianity ; which can not only be shown to be unassailable by the principles of a common-sense philosophy, but can also be maintained in its most orthodox form in the midst of the severest critical discussions of the Scriptures, and against all the pretensions even of pantheistic and transcendental speculations.

Some parts of the discussion will be felt, in their full force, only by those somewhat acquainted with the later theological and philosophical systems of Germany. This is especially the case in the third and fourth sections, which exhibit the connection of this doctrine with the whole system of Christianity as experienced by the believer, or with the Christian consciousness ; and in the attempts made to give a philosophical deduction of the Trinity. In both these portions of the Article the difficulty of translation has not been slight, and in many cases a free paraphrase has been thought absolutely necessary. But even with the most liberal translation, it may be doubted whether the exact sense of the original can be transferred into a language so different in its theological and philosophical phraseology, as is the English from the German. In the first section to which reference has just been made, for example, the phrase *Christian consciousness* frequently occurs ; and it is a phrase of very distinct import in the school of Schleiermacher. It will not do to translate it by *Christian experience*, for that phrase is too subjective ; it will not do to translate it by *the whole scheme of Christianity*, for that is too objective. A Christian believer is supposed to have new elements of consciousness, those viz. which are derived from the religion he has experienced. The word consciousness is here of course used in a somewhat broader sense than it bears in the English language. The phrase, *a conscious experience of the Christian faith*, may be a sufficiently accurate description of what is meant by Christian consciousness—it is the inward experience considered as embracing the whole of the objective revelation.

The fourth section, which gives a philosophical deduction of the Trinity, may appear to many to be superfluous if not unintelligible. The analysis of mental states is so different from that given or attempted in our English philosophy, that it may seem to be mystical or even imaginary. Dr. Twisten, it will be seen, expresses himself with much reserve as to the conclusiveness of any such speculations. They may be liable to another charge,



that of overstepping the bounds of human knowledge. The attempt to explain a mystery may be hazardous; yet it may not be hazardous for us to read such attempts. And they may, possibly, open to our minds some other aspects of a doctrine which we may wholly believe, though we understand it only in part.—*Tr.*]

We know that God in his nature or essence is one; that there is in him an absolute oneness of being. Yet so soon as we come to reflect upon God as he is himself, and as he is in his relations to the world, we are led to make definitions and statements, whereby that which is in itself one, this oneness or unity, is resolved into a multiplicity. God is not only one, but is also manifold. Now that which is manifold we can represent to ourselves in one of three forms; either as comprising several and distinct subjects, or several attributes, or diverse acts and modes of action. God is one; yet we speak of his attributes as many; of his operations or modes of action as many; and these two points comprise the second and third of these forms of conceiving of what is manifold; and we do this without detriment to the divine unity. We conceive of God as one identical subject having different and distinct attributes and modes of action. May there not also be that in the divine nature, which requires us to represent it as consisting of several and distinct subjects or persons as well as attributes? Are we not obliged to conceive of this complex of attributes and actions, or at least of attributes, in which our idea of the divine nature is fully expressed, in such a manner, or to reduce it to such statements, as involve the division of it into different and distinct subjects or persons?

In treating of the different relations and works and attributes of God, we are obliged to use great precaution in making our statements and definitions, lest the unity of the divine existence should seem to be infringed upon by the multiplicity and variety of these relations and attributes. These attributes are not indeed mere names; yet in God Himself they are not to be considered as wholly distinct either from one another or from the divine essence. They express the different relations in which the infinite God stands to what is finite, or rather in which finite existences stand to God; and they must always be so defined as to be consistent with the idea of the divine Unity.<sup>1</sup> Yet we should

<sup>1</sup> Relationes divinae ab essentia divina nullatenus realiter sed ratione tantum distinguuntur, nec tamen distinctione rationis ratiocinantis, sed rationis rati-  
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have only an imperfect conception of the true nature of this unity or simplicity of the divine existence, if, in comparison with it, we should think that the plurality of the divine works and attributes were of minor importance. Now, these precautions, which we are obliged to observe when treating of the divine attributes, are additionally necessary when we come to treat of the different subjects or persons in the Godhead; for here we seem to be threatened by a suspicious approximation to polytheism. But yet, as has been well remarked, we ought not to forget that there may be in polytheism an element of truth, something which is right and sound, although disfigured and misunderstood. On this account John of Damascus made his boast of Christianity, that it stood as it were in the centre between the abstract monotheism of the Jews and the idolatrous polytheism of the Greeks; that it completed what was wanting and corrected what was deficient in both. In his own words: "By the doctrine of the unity of the divine nature, the polytheism of the Greeks is clearly abolished; by the admission of the Logos and of the Spirit, the doctrine of the Jews is purified. That which is profitable in each conception remains. From the doctrine of the Jews we have the oneness of nature; from the Greeks the distinction in Hypostases alone.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian religion, then, we say, teaches us to adore One God in three persons; one and the same divine essence, or the totality of the same divine attributes, in three subjects, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This doctrine forms, as it were the key-stone of the Christian doctrine respecting God.

### § 1. *An Inadequate Conception of the Trinity.*

Before proceeding to our main discussion it may be well to notice one inadequate view of this doctrine which is adopted by some of our theologians, especially by De Wette in his *Doctrinal Theology of the Lutheran Church*.<sup>2</sup> Our conception of God, he says, must necessarily be threefold; and this was the primitive Christian view. We must consider him as the highest and absolutely independent being (the Father), as manifested or re-

*natae, ubi occasio distinguendi et fundamentum aliquod distinctionis in re ipsa invenitur.—Quenstedt.*

<sup>1</sup> Jo. Damasc. *de orthod. fide*. Conf. Basil M. *Homil.* XXIV. Opp. T. II. p. 199; Gregor. Nazianz. *orat.* XXXVII. p. 601. *orat.* XXIX. p. 400; Ambros. *de fide* i. 5; and others.

<sup>2</sup> De Wette, *Dogmatik der Lutherischen Kirche* § 41.

vealed in the world (the Son), and as ever acting in nature (the Spirit). But this view of the Godhead is one that exists only in our minds, and only serves to express the different relations which God sustains. The Church, however, under the influence of the mythological spirit which prevailed in ancient times, and in consequence of the limitation of human knowledge, has personified what was only a threefold conception of the Godhead, and affirms that it exists objectively in the divine nature itself; that it is not only a threefold way of regarding God, but that it designates real distinctions of subjects or persons in the very Godhead. The philosophical basis of this threefold way of conceiving of God may be given in some such statement as this. There are three modes in which, from the nature of our intellects, we may and are obliged to look at every object of knowledge. We may consider the object itself as a whole; we may consider the form which unites together the different parts of this whole; or we may consider the matter which is thus united, of which this whole is made up.<sup>1</sup> Thus the whole idea of God is expressed in this threefold relation. We conceive of him, in the first place, as the absolutely independent substance, the pure ideal of the reason; secondly, in relation to the world, we conceive of him as the being through whom the world exists, who has given to it existence and laws and form; and, in the third place, in relation to nature, (that is to the powers which are held together by this form, and to the phenomena which are caused by these laws,) we think of God as the source of all light and life. Thus we have a threefold view of the Godhead which contains all that is true in the doctrine of the Trinity. God as the absolutely independent substance is the Father; God as the author of the world and its laws is the Son; God as giving life to nature, as the living source of its manifold phenomena, is the Holy Ghost.<sup>2</sup> And the doctrine of the Trinity, as it exists in the church, is only a misapprehension or misapplication of this necessary and philosophical view of the Godhead.

To this statement we make three objections. In the first place, the distinction between the second and third mode of viewing the divine nature cannot be shown to be necessary or philo-

<sup>1</sup> These distinctions are expressed by Fries (whom De Wette follows), in his philosophy, under the term, *transcendental, formal and material apprehension*.

<sup>2</sup> These distinctions may be expressed in another way. God as the absolute substance, *ens extramundatum*; as the author of the world, *ens supramundum*; as the immanent ground of all existence, *ens intramundum*.

sophical. Here is a broad distinction between God as he exists in himself, and God as the Creator of the world; not so broad is the distinction between God as the author of the world, and God as ever acting in the world. It may be well, in order to remove all dualistic notions, as though God and the world were entirely independent existences, to speak of him as immanent in nature, as not only the source of the powers and laws of nature, but as also ever acting in and through these powers. But, at the best, this expresses simply a distinction in the mode of the divine operations; it does not bring into view any new attributes or powers of the Godhead; nor does it present any wholly different view of the mode in which these attributes are manifested. Under the general notion of the relation of the world to God as its creator, we are obliged to bring *all* the attributes of God. And when we consider God as the cause of nature, we are also obliged to consider this causality as immanent in all his works. It may be a matter of convenience, it may assist us in forming some conception of the universality and omnipresence of the divine agency, if we make such a distinction; but it is not a matter of philosophical necessity.

In the second place, we say, that when we make this constant presence of God in his works, this immanence of the Creator in the creation, to be the same thing as what is meant when we speak of the Holy Ghost, we are doing violence to Scriptural language and to the whole analogy of Christian faith. God as the source of all life and phenomena in nature is one thing; God as the Holy Ghost is an entirely different conception. In the Holy Ghost we have indeed the idea of the divine immanence expressed; but the specific idea is that of the dwelling of God in his children, it is the relation in which he stands to the regenerate. He who has been redeemed by Christ, and sanctified, and elevated to communion with God; of him it is said that God comes to him and dwells in him (John 14: 23); he is in God and God in him (John 17: 21); he is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. 3: 16, 17). There are indeed passages of the Old Testament in which the operations of God in nature are described as the action of the Spirit of God; yet even there, especially in the prophetic parts, this phraseology is chiefly employed when some relation to the kingdom of God in the special sense is intended. In the New Testament, however, this word, the Spirit of God, is almost exclusively used to describe that principle of a higher life which is at work in believers. And it belongs to the

very genius of Christianity to make here a broad distinction. The whole peculiarity of our faith rests upon the contrast between what we designate as nature, and what we designate as grace. And precisely because we acknowledge the indwelling of the Spirit of God in the regenerate, we cannot acknowledge it in what is not regenerate. The two conceptions express things wholly diverse.

In the third place, we object to this philosophical statement, that it does not express the essential points in the doctrine of the Trinity, and especially in the *Christian* conception of the Trinity. Even if we should concede, contrary to what the church has always maintained and enforced with the clearest consciousness, that there is nothing in the nature of God to warrant this three-fold distinction, that it has no objective value, but is only a philosophical way of thinking about God; if we should grant that this doctrine was derived from a principle foreign to Christianity, or even opposed to it, that is, from the mythologizing spirit of the ancient world; still we say, that in this doctrine as held by the church, we have very different conceptions and statements in respect to the Godhead, from those which are brought to view in this philosophical analysis. The relations are different; the subjects are different. According to this philosophy we should have the following scheme: The Father, or God considered in his absolute independence, is the infinite, eternal, unconditioned substance, beyond and above the world, self-satisfying; God, considered in his relation to the world, or the Son, is the omniscient, omnipotent, benevolent and holy creator, preserver and governor of the world; God, considered in his relation to nature, or the Spirit, is omnipresent, penetrating everything, coöperating in all and with all. But are these the distinguishing predicates by which Christianity represents the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost? The conceptions which lie at the foundation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, are wholly diverse from any such philosophical divisions and statements. It is indeed true that we believe, as the Nicene creed expresses it, that everything was created by the Son; but the Father is also declared to be the almighty maker of the heavens and the earth. Nor can we say that the Son is precisely equivalent to God revealed in the world, nor the Holy Ghost to God acting in nature; but the Son is he who has redeemed us; the Holy Ghost is he who

sanctifies us.<sup>1</sup> In other words, we are to seek the foundation of the doctrine of the Trinity in that which constitutes the peculiarity of the Christian system, that it is a scheme of redemption. It is in our conscious experience of this redemption, considering this consciousness as connected with the whole Christian scheme, that we find the true basis for this doctrine. We cannot find it in the different relations which God sustains to the world, nor can we reach it by any philosophical division we may make of God's natural attributes, nor by any reflexion upon our natural and necessary conceptions of God. It is not in Natural Theology, it is not in the general relation of God to the world, that we are to seek the basis of the Trinity; it is found only in connection with the Christian system of redemption. In the course of our discussion we shall again recur to this point.

For a clearer view of the foundation and meaning of this doctrine, we must separately consider its biblical, its religious and its speculative aspects; or its biblical foundation, its connection with the whole Christian economy, including our experience of it, and the speculations which have been made upon it. We must always come back to the assertions of the Holy Scriptures, for without them the doctrine would not have originated, nor could it be maintained in the form in which the church has held it. We also may and must endeavor to point out its connection with the whole Christian scheme, and the foundation that there is for it in our conscious experience of this scheme; so that the doctrine shall not remain a dead letter, but shall be seen to be a necessary link in that chain of truths which constitute our Christian faith. And, finally, we ought not to overlook the attempts which philosophy has made in all periods of the church to unveil, or at least to make more clear, the mystery of the Trinity.

## § 2. *The Scriptural Basis of the Doctrine.*

In the first place, the Holy Scriptures reveal God to us not only as the wise and omnipotent Creator of the heaven and the earth, not only as the holy Lawgiver, the righteous Judge, who renders to every man according to his works, but also as a merci-

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<sup>1</sup> As Luther in his Larger Catechism thus gives our Faith, "in the shortest way in so many words: I believe in God the Father who created me; I believe in God the Son who redeemed me; I believe in God the Holy Ghost who sanctifies me."

ful and gracious Father. As such, though man became apostate, and made himself unworthy and incapable of attaining the highest good, and was exposed to temporal and eternal death, God from the beginning determined to restore our fallen race; diverse times he proclaimed this decree and prepared for its execution; and at last, when the fulness of the time was come, he sent his Son into the world, that this purpose might be accomplished.

In the second place, in this Son, sent to be a Mediator and a Saviour, the Bible teaches us to recognise not a mere man, but the Word which was in the beginning with God, and which was God; the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person; higher than the angels, since he upholds all things by the word of his power, and since by him and for him all things are created. He did indeed take upon himself the form of a servant, and became like to us in all things except sin, but he was again raised to the right hand of God, and glorified with the glory which he had with the Father before the beginning of the world, since to him all power is given in heaven and upon the earth. Therefore at his name every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, that all men may honor the Son even as they honor the Father.<sup>1</sup>

But since no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost (1 Cor 12: 3), whom Christ at his departure promised to his disciples, who animated, illuminated and guided the apostles, and who dwells in all believers as the source of their assurance and joyfulness, as the pledge of everlasting life; the Scriptures do therefore, in the third place, teach us to believe in the Holy Spirit, not as an excitation, a sentiment or a disposition of our own souls, not as a quality, an active or passive state of those in whom he dwells, but as a power from above, a higher and divine principle, which is not only distinguished from, but even opposed to human personality (Rom. 8: 16. Matt. 10: 20. 1 Pet. 1: 11). His relation to God is compared with that of the human spirit to man (1 Cor. 2: 11); and he is represented as of a truly divine nature, but at the same time distinguished from the Father and the Son, as an individual subject of divine attributes and acts (Matt. 28: 19. 1 Cor. 12: 4—6. 2 Cor. 13: 13. Titus 3: 4—6. 1 Pet. 1: 2).

The general result of the declarations of the Holy Scriptures is then this: 1. That not only the Father, but also the Son and the

<sup>1</sup> John 1: 1. Heb. 1: 3. Col. 1: 16. Phil. 2: 6. Heb. 4: 15. 12: 2. John 17: 5. Matt. 28: 18. Phil. 2: 9. John 5: 23.

Spirit have not a created, but a divine nature; 2. That the divinity of the Son and of the Spirit is not merely that of the Father, but that the Son is different from the Father, and the Holy Ghost from both; but yet, 3. That there is and remains only One God.

It does not come within our plan to investigate the objections urged against this result; this would be the province of Biblical Theology. To one point only can we allude. The Scriptures seldom or never speak of the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost by themselves. In conformity with the whole character of the Bible, which is practical rather than strictly doctrinal, which is directed rather to the Christian life than to knowledge as such, it almost every where speaks of the Word in his human manifestation, and of the Spirit as acting in our minds; so that in its statements, the glory of the divinity (*δόξα τῆς θεότητος*) appears mitigated by the human form (*σχήμα ἀνθρώπινον*) in which it is exhibited. If Arian and Semi-arian conceptions thus seem to be favored, we must bear in mind that there cannot in truth be any middle term between God and a created being. If then we find that Christ and the Holy Spirit are spoken of in a way which raises them above the rank of creatures; if predicates are given to them, and a religious reverence paid to them, or sentiments and feelings expressed towards them, such as are befitting God only; we must then also regard them as having a truly divine nature.

The design of all the doctrinal statements and definitions which the church has made respecting the Trinity, is to hold fast the results which we have deduced from the Scriptures, and to exclude those views which either abandon the divinity of the Son and the Spirit, or look upon the difference between them as merely a difference in the mode of revealing or of understanding the same One God, or attribute to the Godhead three different divine natures. Hence these formulas are rather of a negative than a positive character, and, for the most part, only logical expositions of those fundamental relations which are referred to in the Scriptures.

We cannot be satisfied by a mere recital of these expositions. We must attempt to make them more clear by showing what religious truth is contained in them. This can only be done by an exhibition of the connection of the doctrine of Trinity with the fundamental characteristics of Christianity, considered as a matter of faith and of experience; in other words by showing the



connection between this doctrine and what we may call the *Christian consciousness*. This connection between the definitions that have been given of the doctrine of the Trinity and the whole sphere of Christian doctrine and experience, is not a superficial one; the two are interwoven, fast formed together in their very roots.

### § 3. *Connection of the Doctrine of the Trinity with the Christian Consciousness.*

The fundamental idea of Christianity, the one which lies at the basis of all Christian experience, is that of redemption and atonement by Jesus Christ. Two elements are involved in our experience of this redemption, the consciousness of sin or of opposition to God, and the conscious reception of grace, which is the doing away of the opposition, the return to communion with God. These two states, that of nature or sin and that of grace, are in such an antagonism as does not indeed exclude a transition from the one to the other, but as does exclude the possibility of comprehending the second as a mere development of the first. Otherwise redemption were either impossible or unnecessary. Both Manichaeism and Pelagianism, therefore, must be regarded as systems in direct opposition to the fundamental idea of Christianity.

From this it also follows, that in both these states we not only refer our life to God as its last ground, but that we must first of all make such a distinction in the mode of reference as will be conformable with the difference in the two states. We derive our natural life from God as our creator and preserver; but when we have done this we have not yet come to understand the ground of our higher life. Our natural relation to God, though it does not directly include, yet it does not exclude, a state of sin and of separation from him; and from this state the opposite one of grace and of union with God cannot of itself proceed. In order to understand this latter state, we must assume a mode of the divine agency different from that manifested in our creation and preservation, and one which shall be connected with our consciousness of redemption by Christ, in whom God became united with human nature; through whom he has become united with us, and will become united with the whole world.

Nor is this all. Not only does our consciousness lead us to

see a difference in the relations of our natural and of our higher life to God, but God himself is placed according to these relations in a different position with respect to us. By this is not meant that we do not recognize in both relations the same Being who worketh all in all; but we are obliged to form a different conception of this same Being, considered as the subject from whom the one agency proceeds, from that which we form of him as the source of the other agency. God the creator, and God the Redeemer are not *ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο*, but rather *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*. (That is, the difference is not such that we are led to attribute it to beings of entirely different or opposite natures; but it is such that we are naturally led to think of a difference in the personal agency employed.) There are those who acknowledge the difference of the two states of nature and of grace, but deny that the two can be referred to the same being; and they represent the Creator (the Demiurge), and that primal Deity who revealed himself in Christ (the just and merciful God), in complete opposition to one another; this is the fruit of a Manichaeising or dualistic principle. On the other hand, the denial of a different personal agency (of the *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*) has mostly been found in connection with Pelagian tendencies, with a denial of the radical distinction between the state of nature and the state of grace. Thus it would seem not to be a mere accident that Pelagianism when logically carried out (as, for example, among the Socinians) has also always led to Unitarianism.

However, clear as it is that a system which ignores the essential difference between the life of the natural man and of the regenerate, needs no other Saviour than one who acts by doctrine and example for the perfecting of our knowledge and our moral sentiments; and, hence, needs nothing more than a wise and holy man, or, at the very highest, only a man sent by God, endowed with higher powers and upheld by special grace; it may yet appear to be a matter of doubt whether it might not answer all the exigencies of the opposite evangelical system, to distinguish redemption as an act of God from the act of creation, in some such way as creation is distinguished from preservation, coöperation and government. For, then, it might be said, it would still remain true, as the Scripture declares (2 Cor. 5: 19), that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. But this very comparison may teach us that the relation, in point of fact, is wholly different.

Creation, preservation and coöperation, the divine prescience and government<sup>1</sup> may all be referred to the same sphere, or to the same conception, that of the universal dependence of all things upon God. In these terms this whole sphere of the divine agency is fully comprehended and exhausted, so that there is no room left for any conception of God's natural agency, which is not included in them; there is no need of any additional conceptions to complete the idea of God which lies at the basis of all these. And, on the other hand, they all exhibit the same fundamental relation of God to creation, only in different modes; and hence they can all be referred back to one another or to one fundamental idea, and they must be so referred when we think upon God who is the common source of all these relations, the subject from which they proceed. Coöperation can be considered as included or given in preservation, and preservation in creation; God's government of the world must be regarded as involved in the idea of coöperation, and prescience is involved in creation. The difference between primary and secondary causes, regard to or abstraction from the proper causality of what is finite, must recede or vanish in our consciousness, in proportion as we sink ourselves wholly into that Being who is the last ground and end of all things and powers; in proportion as we view all things in their necessary and entire dependence upon him. Hence there is here no occasion to assume for all these different agencies, (creation, preservation, etc.,) more than one subject from whom they proceed; since in the single idea of God as a Creator there is not anything wanting to explain all creation, nor in the creation do we find any such differences of operation as make it necessary for us to add anything to this idea, or to divide it into any parts which may not be resolved into one another, or referred back to one single conception of the Deity.

Redemption, on the other hand, with the ideas connected with it, presents to us a wholly different sphere of dependence, which also, only in another point of view, comprises all that is finite; for, manifestly, the very possibility of redemption presupposes that every being, without exception, is as it were ordained in reference to it. On this account the Redeemer, no less than the Creator, is called the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end (Rev. 1: 11; 22: 13;) without him was not anything made that was made (John 1: 3); without him, to

<sup>1</sup> [To these five heads Dr. Twisten reduces his discussion respecting the divine attributes.—Tr.]

whom all judgment has been committed (John 5: 22), and who in the fulness of times is to gather together all things which are in heaven and which are on the earth (Eph. 1: 10), the world cannot reach the end for which it was created. But this dependence can by no means be referred back to that general dependence which is found in nature; redemption cannot be put under the same head with creation, or be resolved into it, as can the preservation and government of the world. Much rather is it true, that when we reflect upon the author of creation and the author of redemption, there comes into our minds a decided contrast between him who, when he created all things, gave them over, as it were, to a separate and independent existence, and him who, in that he redeemed created beings from death and sin, called them back from the struggle they were making to live without God and for themselves alone, to a life of union with God, to a life which comes from God. And so, when we restrict our thoughts to the work of redemption alone, we feel and see a contrast between him to whom the world was to be reconciled, and him who made the reconciliation; between the Father who conceived the purpose of bringing back a sinful race to blessedness by means of the merits of his Son received by faith, and the Son, who was sent by the Father, and who by his life and doctrine, by his sufferings and work, by his death and resurrection, carried that purpose into effect and wrought out salvation for us.

Accordingly we say, that the religious consciousness of the Christian seems to demand, not only that we refer our redemption to God, but also that we make a distinction between God so far as we owe to him our redemption, and God so far as we consider him as the author of our natural existence. But at the same time we will not deny, that apart from the difficulty of exhibiting this view with a clearness corresponding to our inward perception of it, there might still remain such objections to it, as can only be set aside by the decisive declarations of the Holy Scriptures. The Scriptures, however, exclude every *modalistic* (or Sabellian) view of this doctrine, since they not only reveal to us in Christ, a being who is one with the Father, so that whoever sees him sees the Father also; but they likewise represent him as distinguished in the most precise manner from the Father, and that, too, not merely in his human or temporal manifestation, but as one who was before Abraham, who, even before the world was, had an eternal glory with the Father.

To come to a clear perception of the relation in which the fact of our redemption stands to God, of the new relation in which the Godhead is thus presented to us, is the first and necessary impulse of our minds when we begin to reflect upon the Christian scheme, and upon our conscious experience of that scheme; and the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ is the first fruit of such reflection.<sup>1</sup>

But as the Holy Scripture, to the confession of the Father and the Son, also adds that of the Holy Ghost, so likewise Christian reflection does not stop with the author of our redemption, but necessarily directs itself to the manner in which, and to the principle by which, we attain to the redemption made by Christ. The way and end, however, are already prescribed; the doctrine respecting the Holy Ghost, must shape itself after the analogy of the doctrine respecting the Son of God.

If our redemption is to be referred back to Christ, and in an especial manner to the indwelling of the eternal Word in him, then the indwelling of the Spirit in us is to be considered as a consequence of this, and as similar to it; here we find that union of the divine with the human, which was originally realized in Christ as the head, and is to pass over from him to the members. But although it is to be viewed as a consequence, it must also be viewed as a special and separate element, as a special divine agency, and is to be distinguished from the redeeming work of Christ; for, while the latter always remains the same, we both know that we ourselves have been in a state in which we had not yet attained to fellowship with him and through him with God, and we also see many around us who have not experienced that drawing of the Father without which no one comes to Christ (John 6: 44). But the Father draws us by the Spirit proceeding

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<sup>1</sup> This view is confirmed by history. The doctrine of Christ's relation to the Father was a very early and earnest subject of doctrinal discussion, and even after this had been described and decided in definite formulas, the doctrine respecting the Holy Spirit was left for a time without any more definite description than was found in the declarations of the Scriptures or in the expressions of ordinary Christian experience; and then, yet without any struggle or opposition such as can be compared with those upon the Christology, was defined in a corresponding manner. And not only is this so in the history of the church, but in the Bible also, God and the Lord, the Father and the Son, are more frequently brought together as two, than the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost as three; so that the doctrine of the second person in the Godhead seem to be more clearly and undeniably contained in the Scriptures, than that of the third person.

from him, or who is sent from him through the mediation of Christ (John 15: 26). Here, then, we also find a relation of dependence from which no portion of the finite universe can be excluded. The agency of the Spirit is, first of all, connected with the existence and agency of the church—for the church is the body of Christ, and the Spirit is the soul of the church; it is also connected with the general susceptibility of the human race for divine influences, which differs somewhat according to the endowments, the position and the degree of religious development of different individuals and nations; and all this cannot be separated from the general direction and government of the universe. Accordingly it is stated, that as nothing has come into being without the Son, so likewise the Spirit of God in the beginning brooded upon the face of the waters. Some reference to that divine agency, whose chief end and central purpose is the communication of redemption to the hearts of the regenerate, may be found in the whole history of man. And since redemption cannot be considered as a single divine act, coördinate with creation, preservation and government, so it is with sanctification—which one word we may use to designate this new causality. God and his general relations to us are here again to be represented by new and peculiar statements, which make it necessary for us to maintain a distinction between the Father and the Spirit. And this, again, not as if there were here a difference of nature or essence (*ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο*); but because the Father and the Spirit are represented as different subjects or persons, performing the same divine acts (as *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*). But not merely must we here distinguish the Father and the Spirit, but also the Holy Spirit and the Son. Although the indwelling of the Spirit in us is analogous to the indwelling of the Word in Christ, yet we are forced to acknowledge an essential difference in the mode of the indwelling; what in Christ was original, is in us derived; what in him was complete and perfected, is in us incomplete and progressive; what in him was a personal indwelling, is in us merely as members of the body of Christ, of his church. Not only so, but that divine influence which dwells in us cannot possibly be considered as identical with the divinity which dwelt in him. To maintain this identity would, on the one hand, involve such a degradation of Christ and such an exaltation of ourselves, as would make it difficult to say which of the two were the more opposed to the Christian consciousness; whether our reverence for the Saviour, if we consider him so wholly like to us, or our

humility, if we consider ourselves as so many repeated incarnations of the Son of God, would be most impaired. And on the other hand, it would be wholly incompatible with belief in the personality of the Word manifested in Christ. For, should we assume that the principle which became personal in Christ, after his death passed over into the church, it would follow that the personality of this principle was a mere consequence of its union with human nature, and existed only during his earthly life; that the *theanthropic* personality of Christ is no longer anywhere present; and, consequently, that Jesus, if he continues to live as man, was, after his death, not exalted but humiliated. We need not stop to show, how inconsistent this would be, not merely with the declarations of Scripture, but also with our own consciousness of the relation by which we are bound for all times to our heavenly High Priest and King. Thus, as the personal pre-existence of the Son makes it necessary to distinguish him from the Father, so the personal existence of the God-man after his earthly life, makes it necessary to distinguish him from the Holy Spirit, whom he also describes as *another* Comforter or helper, whom God would send to his followers after his departure (John 14: 16).

With these hints upon the relation of the doctrine of the Trinity to the Christian consciousness, we must for the present content ourselves.<sup>1</sup> Since this doctrine is not the simple expression of one single act or state in the inward life of the Christian (as is, for example, that of Regeneration), but the result of very many and diverse elements and states; is not merely an expression of our direct Christian experience, but is also the result of our reflections upon this experience; it would be impracticable to follow out and lay open, one by one, all the threads by which it is connected with our whole Christian faith and with the whole sphere of Christian doctrine. With some attention we shall find ourselves brought to it by every movement of Christian life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In systems of Doctrinal Theology, the doctrine of the Trinity is usually immediately connected with the doctrine respecting God's nature and attributes. This has originated from the custom of arranging dogmatical subjects in accordance with their apparently similar reference to certain objects, and not out of regard to their inward connections. It has not been without hurtful influence upon the right understanding of, and even upon belief in the Trinity, that in this way the Second and Third Persons of the Godhead were discussed, before the full doctrine respecting Christ and the Holy Spirit was introduced. These latter doctrines are more immediately connected with the facts of Christian experience and of the Christian consciousness; and here is the basis for the full development of the Trinity. [Vide p. 182 of Twisten's Lectures.]

<sup>2</sup> Thus, e. g. Melancthon rightly calls attention to the fact that when we

#### § 4. *Speculations upon the Trinity.*

The doctrine of the Trinity presents a third point of view, that is, the speculative. This is to be seen in its history, and it lies in the very nature of the case. For, it is a question appealing to and demanding reflection and thought, how that which is essentially one can be threefold, how what is threefold can yet be one. The notions which we need in order to hold fast difference in unity, and unity in difference, are of a metaphysical character. To this we may add, that speculation by itself seems to lead to similar distinctions and formulas. Hence we find, that not merely were those who had the chief influence upon the formation of this doctrine, influenced by ideas which belong to the sphere of speculation; but even the apostle John by the use of a term borrowed from the speculation or theosophy of his times, brought the Christology into connection with it. And it is impossible to understand a doctrine perfectly, without regard to what always has exercised and always will exercise so essential an influence upon it.

Yet, on the other hand, we ought not to give too much importance to the speculative element. The most of the evangelical, particularly of the Lutheran theologians, strongly inculcate the position, that the Trinity cannot and may not be proved by reason. Gerhard says: "the mystery of the Trinity neither can nor ought to be proved *a priori* by natural reason;" Quenstedt asserts: "from our natural cognitions we do not know, nor can we know,

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find ourselves laid hold of by the word of the gospel, we thus come to know the Word who was in the beginning; thereby, too, we know the Father, who sends this Word, not once, but constantly, into the world; and we are at the same time filled with an assurance and joy which are the work of the Holy Ghost. Conf. *Pezel*, *Argumenta et objectiones de præcipuis Articulis doctrinæ Christianæ cum Responsionibus Phil. Melancthonis*, 1580; (a very useful and well-arranged book for a knowledge of the theology of Melancthon;) P. I. p. 381. "Augustine (IV. de trinit.) says, The Son is sent every day into the hearts of the faithful: and he adds, he is sent in one way to be man, in another way to be with man. Athanasius expressly says, whenever the Spirit is said to be in any one it is meant, that there is in him the Word giving the Spirit. In what order? I think thus; by the spoken word. The Son truly speaks the word in the heart, and thus he shows the Father; and at the same time the heart is sprinkled all over by the Holy Spirit, which is the cause of joy in God. *These things may be understood by experience.* With this agree many sayings of the Fathers. Thus Gregory Nazianzen says; 'from the light, the Father we receive the light, the Son, in the light, the Holy Ghost.'



that God is one in essence and three in persons."<sup>1</sup> We could indeed have nothing against it, should any one succeed in transforming into a clear and well-proved philosophical theory what we believe on the testimony of Christ, and of his Spirit in the Scriptures and in Christian experience. But it is hazardous to find a philosophical proof in what has no other value than that of an explanation, or an analogy, or a ground of probability; and to build our faith upon such things. This is what has often happened in respect to this doctrine. As Calovius says, "it is one thing to illustrate a mystery by some similitude, especially if this be not foreign from Scripture; but another thing to seek to demonstrate a mystery either *a priori* or *a posteriori* from nature or the light of nature. The former course may be allowed, (as in a comparison of the divine nature with the intellectual nature of man,) in the way in which such comparisons are made by John of Damascus and others; but we can by no means concede the propriety of the latter, nor think it to be without danger, since it exposes our catholic faith to calumny and sarcasms."<sup>2</sup> Such a course is hazardous because it destroys our sense for what is really certain, and accustoms the mind in matters of faith to hold probabilities for evidence and shadows for substances; because it leads us to put into the back ground the proper and divine foundation of Christian belief; because it makes prudent men suspect a doctrine which is supported by so doubtful arguments. "He who endeavors," says Aquinas,<sup>3</sup> "to prove a Trinity of persons by natural reason derogates from our faith in a double way; first, in respect to the dignity of the faith itself, and, secondly, in his usefulness in drawing others to the faith; for when any one brings forward arguments for proving the faith which are not cogent, he gives it over to the decision of the unbelieving; since they think that we are convinced by such arguments and that our faith is founded on them." To this we must add, that the Trinity which philosophy or speculation espouses, is not, without anything further, the Trinity of Christianity. What we have said in the first section respecting the view of De Wette,

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Jo. Gerhards exeges. loc. III. § 23—31; Calovii system. tom. III. art. I. cap. I. quaest. 1; Quenstedt system. tom. I. cap. VI. sect. II. qu. 3; Musaeus de usu princip. rationis (1644), especially in the appended disputatio I. against Keckermann; Buddes institutt. lib. II. ep. I. § 44; Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre, Th. I. S. 559 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Calovius ubi supra.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Aquin. in summa, P. I. qu. XXXII. art. I.

that the idea of God in his relation to the world, is not coincident with the Christian idea of the Son of God, may be applied with less modification than might have been expected, considering the great differences in the fundamental philosophical views of other schools, to most of the speculative theories about the Trinity. It is the world, or the principle of the world, or the reason, or at any rate the race of man in general, in which these speculators see the second person of the Godhead (the *θεὸς δεύτερος*), and not Jesus Christ, born of the virgin Mary and crucified under Pontius Pilate, whom we confess in the creed. Among the later attempts to give a speculative development of this doctrine, that of Daub<sup>1</sup> was not only one of the first in the order of time, but is also among the first in its real significance. According to his view, as the Father is *autor sui*, so is the Son *autor mundi*, and the Holy Spirit *autor rationis*. To the first is to be attributed absolute necessity, majesty and unity, and hence divinity; to the second, omnipotence, the highest obedience and omnipresence, and hence personality; to the third, beatitude, absolute simplicity and omniscience, and hence spirituality. But since the Father is himself Son and Spirit, and the Son is himself Father and Spirit, and the Spirit is himself Father and Son, each one of them has also the attributes of the others. Although Daub with the creating and upholding nature (*natura creatrix et conservatrix*), which he attributes to the Son also joins his reconciling nature (*natura reconciliatrix*), and thus tries to exhibit in its true connection the work of atonement and redemption which Christ performed, and so to bring speculation into such a union with positive faith as is demanded by the Christian consciousness, yet it may with good reason be doubted whether these positions are conformed to the doctrine of the Trinity as given in the Bible and held by the church. As with his view, so with the other philosophical constructions of the Trinity. Is it not to be feared, that in proportion as our interest is thrown upon the speculative side, those very points which are for the Christian of chief importance will be crowded out of sight?<sup>2</sup> And what, now, if the speculative

<sup>1</sup> Daub, *Theologumena* § 126, 127.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly possible that any one who finds the marrow of the Christian faith in a speculative Christology, should avoid the consequences which Strauss has drawn out with such remarkable openness, keenness and clearness in the closing treatise to his "Life of Jesus," § 146 and 147. Such a one must look at the regard paid to the historical and positive parts of our faith, by those who hold to the biblical and ecclesiastical or orthodox system, as a kind of prejudice without any scientific basis, such as no man can continue in who has

theory have a character foreign to, even opposed to Christianity? Not a few of our contemporaries have laid so much stress upon the Trinity in particular, only because they found in it the expression of a pantheistic view of the universe, and so, a proof that what was the result of their speculations was also the veritable sense of the Christian doctrines and confessions. There are indeed, on the other hand, those who have found the certainty of God's personality and of his difference from the world in the philosophically developed doctrine of the Trinity. If the former give us ground to fear, that by giving ourselves up to their speculative theories we shall become estranged from the religion of the gospel, as it is presented to him who examines it on historical grounds, and as it has always been understood by the church; the latter must undermine all trust in a mode of discussion which allows such opposite results to be drawn from the same dogma, perhaps by disciples of the same philosophical school. As certain as it is that theism lies at the foundation of the declarations of Jesus and the apostles, so certain is it that they do not connect it with any speculations upon the Trinity.<sup>1</sup> Without, then, putting any arbitrary boundaries to such speculations, without denying or giving up the use they may have in guarding against a superficial rejection of our doctrine, in setting aside the

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been elevated to the heights not merely of the philosophical but also of the critical stand-point of our times.

<sup>1</sup> The most significant declarations of Christ about his person and his relation to God, (as John 10: 30. 14: 9.) might indeed be easily interpreted by a pantheistic-mystical view of things. They are even surpassed by such as we find in the jubilee-song of Attar, in Tholuck's "*Bluthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*," p. 260; or in Lessing's half playful declarations, of which Jacobi speaks in his Works, (B. IV. Abth. 1. S. 74, 79). But such an interpretation of them lies too much on the surface, to fathom the depths of a relation, which was a secret to all but the Father and the Son, (Matt. 11: 27); such a union with God would be, in the way of mere logic, of much easier attainment, than even the moral union according to the interpretation of the common rationalism; and one would not need to learn first of the East Indians, that it was such a wonder that among us God had only once become man, in the person of Christ; as Schelling has it in his "*Method of Academical Study*," p. 194. ["The Christian missionaries that went to India thought they were telling the inhabitants something never before heard of, when they taught them that the God of the Christians had become man. But these heathen were not astonished by this doctrine, they did not at all contest the Incarnation of God in Christ; they only thought it strange, that among the Christians, that had happened only once, which among themselves had often come to pass, in constant repetition."] To this is to be added the contrariety of such an interpretation with the totality of the other declarations and doctrines of Christ.

common objections to its reasonableness, or leading us to some presentiment of its deep significancy, and thus bringing it, at least in one aspect, nearer to our understanding; yet, if true to the principles of the evangelical Theology, we must find our standard for judging, it and the proper grounds of our assent to the representations of Scripture, weighed on all sides according to their sense and connection, livingly appropriated by the religious consciousness, and brought together in so definite statements as to ward off every kind of misinterpretation.

In making ourselves acquainted with these attempts to give a philosophical deduction or explanation of the Trinity, it is not our intention out of the great multitude and variety of them from the most ancient to the most recent times, to bring forward even the most noted ones in full detail; nor would it correspond with our purpose, excluding all the rest, to give only a single one of them; we will rather endeavor to bring out the fundamental ideas that recur in all of them under different forms and modifications. In doing this, we shall be compelled to give less prominence to the form itself than would be proper in a strictly philosophical or speculative discussion, where the form and the substance are not to be separated.

We can look at the matter under a double point of view. We can either consider God in relation to the revelation he has made of himself,—meaning by this not so much his special revelation in Christianity, to start from which would be the first impulse of the Christian consciousness, as his revelation in the world in general, which, to be sure, includes the former; or, we can consider God as he is in himself. Both these must be coincident and connected, if that revelation is a true one, by which we know God as he is.<sup>1</sup>

Since the world does not exist of and for itself, but is in every respect absolutely dependent upon God, or has the ground and end of its existence in God, we can comprehend it only as a revelation of the divine nature or essence.<sup>2</sup> But we know that the

<sup>1</sup> Ursperger, in his valuable "*Attempt at a more Exact Determination of the Mystery of God and of the Father and the Son*, (1769-74,) makes a similar distinction between the revealed and the essential Trinity, which last he holds to be unfathomable. The same thing lies in the distinctions of the church between the *τρόπος ἀποκαλύψεως* and *ὕπάρξεως*.

<sup>2</sup> The glory of God, and the attainment of the highest good (or revelation and communication), are not to be separated in considering the purpose of creation. God reveals himself in that he who is the highest good communicates himself to his creatures; and he communicates himself to his creatures by revealing

essence of God is infinite, perfect and necessary; or, in the terminology of our times, that he is the Absolute being, the opposite of all finite and conditioned existence. How can these two things exist together? How is it conceivable, that the world can have proceeded from, and can reveal, what is the opposite of it? For example, according to the ontological or metaphysical conception of him, God is pure reality, without parts, without antagonisms, without anything like juxtaposition, succession or division into distinct parts, such as we find in all that exists in space and time; the world or universe, on the other hand, is made of parts, is manifold, spread out in space and time. Whence, now, this manifoldness out of the unity? How can the antagonisms we every where find, be reduced to a pure identity? How can that which is thus separated into parts, each distinct from the others, in space and time, be referred back to what is eternally simple and uncompounded? We feel here the need of something to mediate between these extremes or opposites; and we find this mediation in the idea of a creative understanding, or notion (*Begriff*).<sup>1</sup> The human understanding is also a unity, which comprises in itself, and produces from itself what is varied and manifold; by means of a conception or notion we bring what is manifold into a unity, see separate things in their connection, follow out antagonisms to their coincidence, and raise ourselves above time and space and the forms of what is merely finite;—although our intellect is usually determined by external causes, to raise itself by reflection from what is individual to what is universal, and does not endeavor to do more than reproduce in itself by means of ideas a copy of the universe. It would not be able to do even this, at least we could not hope in this way to arrive at a true knowledge of the universe, if we could not presuppose as the ground of all

himself and his perfections through and for them, upon and in them. It is a matter of indifference whether we say with the older theologians, God wills his own glory, and in order to that, the blessedness of rational beings; or, with some later divines, God wills the accomplishment of the highest good, and from this his own glory follows. Conf. Twisten, p. 87—89.

<sup>1</sup> We hardly need say, that the difference we are accustomed to make between our active powers and the objects on which we exercise them, cannot be applied to God. As *Aquinas* says: "it is manifest that in God the intellect which understands and that which is understood, the intelligible idea and the understanding thereof, are wholly one and the same." (*Summa*, P. I. qu. XIV. art. IV.) It will also be unnecessary to justify ourselves for here using the word *understanding* and not *reason*. [Conf. *Schelling's Denkmal der Schrift von der göttlichen Dingen*, u. s. w. S. 140.]

created things, an *archetypal, creative understanding* (intellectum archetypum<sup>1</sup>), and so the possibility of a relation between our understanding (as intellectus ectypus), and this primitive understanding; for, without this, truth would be unattainable, even inconceivable by us.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the condition of all revelation of God in the world is the world-comprehending *thought of God*, which on the one hand is eternal in God and not different from God, and on the other hand, in order to reveal God, must proceed from him, become, as it were, external, by unfolding itself in the creature as the source of existence and truth, of light and life, (John 1: 4). Thus the thought which springs into being in the depths of the human soul is revealed by the spoken word. This *thought of God* or this Word, (the Greek language has the advantage of comprising both these things in the word λόγος,) considered as the prime condition of the revelation of God in the world, we must distinguish from God, as the original essence, enclosed in his absolute unity and self-sufficiency. We are the more led to do this, since it is impossible for us in the latter, considered by himself, to see any ground for any existence besides his own.<sup>3</sup> And yet we must hold fast the position, that this Word of God, this condition of his revelation of himself, cannot be anything else than the reflection of his glory and the image

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Kant's Kritik der Urtheilskraft, S. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Vide, Twisten's Logik § 307.

<sup>3</sup> Most persons, although some later philosophers think otherwise, will confess their inability of finding in the idea of the absolute, considered by itself alone, the necessity of its developing itself into the form of a world different from itself, into what is relative, opposed and finite. This inability has always been recognized by theologians in the position universally maintained, that "*God created the world, not from a necessity of his nature but of his own free will.*" (Quenst. P. I. cp. IX. sc. 1. Jes. 12.) Thomas Aquinas brought the doctrine of the Trinity into connection with the same idea, when he said: (Summa P. I. qu. 32. art. 1;) "*The knowledge of the divine persons is necessary to a right view of the creation of things; when we say, that God made all things by his word, we exclude the error of those who assert that God produced things from the necessity of his nature; when we say that there is in him a procession of love (processionem amoris), it is seen that God did not produce his creatures from any need of his own, but from the love of his own goodness.*" Aquinas finds in this the solution of the problem, how the manifoldness of things can proceed from what is absolutely one; "*agens per naturam agit per formam per quam est, quae unius tantum est una, et ideo non agit nisi unum; agens autem voluntarium, quale est Deus, agit per formam intellectam; cum igitur Deum multa intelligere non repugnet unitati et simplicitati ipsius, relinquitur ut, licet sit unus, possit multa facere.*" (Summa P. I. qu. 46. art. 1.)

of his nature (Heb. 1: 3), is nothing other than God himself revealing himself.—But, further, no revelation can be conceived of except for a consciousness which perceives it. It is, then, not enough for the eternal and primitive ground of all things, merely to come out of the hidden depths of his secluded state, he must also be known and perceived when he thus manifests himself. But when we have got that principle which reveals what God is, we do not at the same time get that which perceives him who is revealed. Nature reveals God, without itself knowing anything of God; man also does not see God in his revelations, so long as his sense for such revelations is not yet opened. This can only be opened by God himself, or rather this sense must be given by God; only through God can we know God, as in other things like is known only by like. God, then, must impart himself to our consciousness, and so make us able to comprehend in his works that eternal idea which is mirrored in them, that thus we may arrive at the true conception of his invisible essence, of his eternal power and Godhead (Rom. 1: 20). Hence, as a condition of the true knowledge of God we must presuppose, not only a divine principle by which he is revealed, the Word, the Logos; but also a divine principle by which the revelation is imparted, the Spirit, τὸ πνεῦμα; which are to some extent related as objective and subjective, but which serve to exhibit the same being or essence, who reveals himself in the world, and knows himself in man as revealed.

As God reveals himself, so also is he, otherwise he were not revealed. Those elements, which we have been obliged to distinguish in finding what are the preliminary conditions of a revelation of God in the world, and of our attaining a knowledge of God from the world, must in some way or other be founded and contained in the idea of the divine nature, considered by itself. And it is necessary to give special attention to this point, when our thoughts take such a direction, (which should never be without that holy fear which springs from a consciousness of our limited knowledge,) since it is all-important for us to see in God not merely the primitive ground of all things, not merely an infinite being, but a self-conscious and intelligent nature, who is in truth God alone, the living God, the being who could say, "I am, that I am" (Exodus 3: 14).

How, then, are we to conceive of God as a personal and intelligent being? We might seek an answer in the way of philosophical analysis or investigation; but it will be clearer to most if

we appeal simply to the analogy of the human mind, which is indeed at an infinite remove from God, but yet created in his image. Because it is an intelligent spirit, although it be finite, yet it must exhibit to us what is essential to an intelligent and spiritual life. In ourselves, now, we see clearly, that the consciousness of our personal, individual existence, arises only when we make ourselves an object of thought to ourselves, when we create from ourselves a representation of ourselves, which although different from ourselves, as is a thought from that which thinks, is yet at the same time nothing other than ourselves. In the same way, in order to conceive of God as a personal, self-conscious intelligence, we must first think of him as finding himself, as it were, in the eternal thought (idea) of himself, which, though so far as generated it be different from that which generates, is yet identical with it. Our self-consciousness, however, is not completed when an objective representation of ourselves proceeds from us; we must also see that this is a conception or representation of what we are, we must recognize ourselves in it; a subject must again be contrasted with, be set over against this object, which subject will again be ourselves, though in another relation. This third element is neither that which creates the objective conception or representation of ourselves, nor is it this conception or representation created in us, but it is the vision or perception of this conception as something identical with ourselves. It is neither that which conceives, nor that which is conceived, but the perceiving that this conception of ourselves though different from ourselves is yet the same as ourselves. And it is this consciousness, which has first gone out from itself (become objective), and then returned back into itself (become subjective), and so comprehends and knows itself to be itself; this it is which makes us to be *self-conscious* individuals, personal and spiritual beings; and it is this self-conscious personality which is ever after the subject from which proceed our determinations of will, and all our acts directed to external objects.<sup>1</sup> In an analo-

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<sup>1</sup> We may gain a clearer view of this matter, if we start from this last point and go backwards in the opposite way from the above. Let us try to bring before our minds what is necessary in order to the existence of a *will*, in the proper sense of the word; not a mere impulse or instinct or anything of that kind, but a true will, which is the source of those external acts which reveal what is within us. First of all, we must have a clear consciousness of our personal existence, and of that which constitutes or is included in our individuality. But how do we come to have this? It is only by making ourselves an object of our own observation, by ourselves becoming the object of our own intellec-



gous way, we must suppose that there exists in God, as a personal intelligence, not merely the eternal idea or thought of himself, but also a principle which as eternally perceives and knows this thought of himself, by means of which he also is a personal spirit; which principle can, however, be nothing else than the same God who produced that thought (or idea) of himself from himself, and is himself that which has thus become an object of thought. In the same manner, then, as we say, that we can distinguish in ourselves a threefold way of viewing our own personality (a threefold *me*); that which is hidden in the ground of our being, which comes out of this ground, and views itself as an object; this objective personality, in which we look at ourselves objectively; and, again, a subjective personality, a viewing of this second, objective personality, as being still identical with, or nothing other than ourselves; and as these three are yet one and the same person (the same *I*), only seen in different aspects or referred back to itself in different ways, in the same manner the divine nature presents itself to our consideration under three internal relations. Considered as generating the image (or idea) of itself, it is the Father; considered as existing in the eternal idea (a thought) of itself, it is the Logos, the Son; considered as having this thought of itself in distinct vision, or as returning back from it again into itself, it is the Spirit. But it returns back in order again to proceed forth in action, to unfold in the world the riches of the divine omnipotence, wisdom and love; for with the very thought of his infinite perfections, united as this must be with the highest complacency in them, we also conceive that there is connected the will or purpose of God, to bring these perfections into full view in the world, and to impart his own blessedness to his creatures.

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tual apprehension. Let us now confine ourselves to this simple fact, I observe myself, I have an intuition of myself. The very form in which we make this statement teaches us, that it rests upon a contrast between *I* as subject and *I* as object, both of which however are one and the same *I*, are identical. The perfect identity, however, (the subject-objectivity,) lies neither in the subjective nor in the objective *I*, but is a third element, presupposed by and necessary to both the others. We may call this an indifference of subject and object, lying at the basis, and which, in our intuition or observation of ourselves, (as expressed in the above formula,) is separated or disparted into subject and object, but is afterwards brought back again or reestablished in the unity of our self-consciousness. And this process is the necessary condition not only of our self-consciousness, but also of the action of our wills, which are the means of exhibiting what we really are.

This leads us in conclusion, to consider the relation between the Trinity considered as belonging to the essence of God, which we have now viewed as the form which a spiritual personality takes, and the Trinity considered in reference to the revelation which God has made of himself, which we saw to be a condition of the true knowledge of God—between the essential and revealed Trinity. If we may so express ourselves, it is the same immanent process of self-consciousness, which we have just developed, in the very nature of God, which repeats and mirrors itself in the revelation he makes of himself in the world, as we have before considered it. That world-comprehending thought (or idea), which we were obliged to suppose as a mediation between God's absolute essence and his revelation in the world, and as the principle by which the latter is constituted, cannot be essentially different from that thought or idea, with which God thinks of himself. For, if it be the divine perfections which are exhibited in the world, then that vision of himself, as the most perfect being, which God thus has, must contain the original images, the archetypes, of all which he determined to produce by means of creation and to realize in the world. The bringing forth of these divine archetypes into the world, or in other words, the revelation of God in the world, is not only conditioned by, but corresponds to the mode in which we conceive, that in the divine understanding the idea of the perfections which repose in the hidden depths of his nature, comes to be, as it were, objective to himself, to stand in distinct vision over against his own mind. And as, again, this idea is perceived by the Spirit in God and seen to be his own essence, thus is it too with the copy thereof which is realized in the world. Only the Spirit given us by God sees in the copy also the archetype, in the stream also the original fountain; only through this Spirit are we brought into a state in which we may come to know what God is through the revelation he has made of himself in the world; through a notion of him corresponding to the mode in which he knows himself, and hence a true notion so far as it goes, though still inadequate. This analogy of the archetype and the copy, which presupposes a certain causal connection between them, is the utmost limit of every theistic speculation about the Trinity. The pantheistic view identifies the archetype and the copy, so that the generation of the Son and the creation of the world, the self-consciousness of God and the knowledge which created beings have of God, become coincident, are considered in fact as

one and the same thing, and are distinguished from each other only in notion, but not in reality.

In what precedes we believe that we have given the substance of the attempts which have been made, down to the most recent times, including the views of our Lutheran theologians, to give a philosophical foundation to the doctrine of the Trinity as held by the church. If any one should think that the results are not accordant with the doctrine of the church, and that the deductions are far from being free from objections or entirely convincing; especially if the last defined limits of the theistic view, when seen from the stand-point of philosophy, should seem to him to be arbitrary, and that, by holding fast a total separation between what is manifested in this world and what lies beyond our experience in another sphere of existence, it seems to transfer the doctrine of the Trinity from the domain of what is intelligible into that which is incomprehensible and mysterious; after what we have remarked in the introduction to this section, we shall be far from contradicting him in these opinions. It is our own conviction, however much room we may allow to such discussions, that they need to be completed and adjusted, by what we have called the biblical and religious aspects of the doctrine. It is the Scriptures which make us firm in our conviction, that these limits, these distinctions between what is temporal and what is eternal, must not be abandoned; without the Bible, we should hardly hold ourselves justified in the assertion that the distinctions we were led to make by a consideration of the personal intelligence and of the revelation of God, were to be viewed as distinctions of three persons in the divine essence. Without scriptural proof and foundation, any one might well fear that he was overstepping the limits of man's power of investigation and research, if he should dare to attribute a real objective existence to the speculation about the internal economy of the divine nature and consciousness, when these speculations were made only by human reason relying upon itself, and made by a being like man, who has attained so little certainty even in his knowledge of himself. We need a higher assurance of truth, than can be found by holding our subjective forms of thought to be the only substance and source of human knowledge; we need more humility, than to believe that we can place ourselves upon the judgment-seat and decide in respect to infinite existence and absolute knowledge.

For the *Christian* view of the Trinity, it is not sufficient to see

in Christ and the Holy Spirit only the highest development and the centre of that revelation and knowledge of God, which are given us to some extent in a general way in the world and in man's reason. The point of chief importance is and remains the connection of Christ and the Holy Spirit with our redemption and sanctification. And in respect to this it may be said, that we may not only take for granted in a general way, that the highest revelation of the Word in the flesh would be coincident with redemption, and that the highest communication of the Spirit would be seen in the regeneration and sanctification of men, since only thus is a power brought into the world and received into the soul by which sin can be overcome, and a kingdom of righteousness and happiness established; but that we may go still further, and, in the way of philosophical speculation attempt to show, that when we say that God becomes objective to himself and reveals himself, we have got all the elements necessary to the idea of redemption, and that in God's self-consciousness and in his imparting himself to others we have a foundation for the doctrine of sanctification also. Even our older theologians have not neglected to notice this.<sup>1</sup> Yet it may well be doubted, whether philosophy left to itself, would ever come in its own way to the notion of redemption and sanctification in their Christian sense.

These objections to the philosophical speculations upon this doctrine, may be just, when we regard the speculations as a means of proving and establishing the Trinity; but yet they do not destroy their value in leading us to some clearer understanding of the definitions and statements which the church has made respecting this doctrine. This will be manifest when we come to exhibit these statements more fully, which we will next proceed to do.

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NOTE. It may be well here to present a concise summary of the leading attempts to give a philosophical view of the Trinity. They may be divided into three classes; those connected with the Scholastic Theology; those which proceeded from the Mystic Theology; and those made by such as espoused the philosophical views of Leibnitz and Wolff.

1. The Scholastic theologians usually put at the basis of their

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<sup>1</sup> Keckermann, Poiret and Reusch, each in his way, according to his fundamental views, endeavor to show this.

exhibition of the subject the double comparison, given by Augustin, of the divine Trinity with the essence and the essential powers or modes of action of the soul; namely, memory, understanding and will; or, the soul itself, knowledge and love.<sup>1</sup> [In making the first of these comparisons, Augustin, in order to illustrate the equality of the three persons and the entire divinity of each, goes on to say,—that in man, each one of these powers when it acts, involves also the action of all the others; since I not only remember my acts of memory, but also of knowledge and of will; and, just so, I know that I remember and will; and, again, will to know and to remember. Gregory of Nyssa and Scotus Erigena make use of almost the same comparison, when they speak of the soul, the reason and the power of life, as a Trinity immanent in man. The second comparison of Augustin is of a more speculative character; for here we have the mind, its notion of itself, produced from and equal to itself, and its love to itself equal to both of these as the image of the Trinity. In another place (*de civit. Dei*, VI. 24), he appeals in illustration to the logical relations of the notions of cause, means and end, or of the  $\psi\phi' \sigma\psi$ , the  $\delta\iota' \sigma\psi$ , and  $\delta\iota' \delta'$ . Abelard (*introduc. ad theol.* II. 12), attempts a parallel illustration from the *grammatical* distinction of three persons. Anselm (*Monol.* 48), and Alexander of Hales (*Summa*, I. 42, 2), follow Augustin's hints respecting the soul as a subject-object: "Deum intelligere se, cum intelligere sit speciem rei intellectae gignere, non est aliud, quam generare suam imaginem et speciem in se ipso." Richard of St.

<sup>1</sup> [*Aug. de Trin.* X, 11: Haec tria, *memoria, intelligentia, voluntas*, quoniam non sunt tres vitae, sed una vita, nec tres mentes, sed una mens; consequenter utique nec tres substantiae sunt, sed una substantia. Memoria quippe quod vita et mens et substantia dicitur, ad seipsam dicitur; quod vero memoria dicitur, ad aliquid relative dicitur, etc. Voluntas etiam mea totam intelligentiam totamque memoriam meam capit, dum toto utor quod intelligo et memini. Quapropter quando invicem a singulis et tota omnia capiuntur, aequalia sunt tota singula totis singulis et tota singula simul omnibus totis, et haec tria unum, una vita, una essentia. Jam adscendendum est ad illam altissimam essentiam, cujus *impar imago* est humana mens, sed tamen *imago*.

*Aug. de Trin.* IX, 2: Nondum de supernis loquitur, nondum de Deo Patre et Filio et Spiritu S., sed de hac impari imagine, attamen imagine, id est homine. Cum aliquid amo, tria sunt; *ego*, et *quod* amo, et ipse *amor*. Non enim amo amorem, nisi amantem amem, nam non est amor, ubi nihil amatur. 12: Est quaedam imago Trinitatis ipsa mens et notitia ejus, quod est proles ejus ac se de ipsa *verbum*, et *amor* tertius, et haec tria unum atque una substantia. Nec minor proles, dum tantam se novit mens, quanta est, nec minor amor, dum tantum se diligit, quantum novit et quanta est. Cited in *Hase, Dogmatik*, S. 637—8.]

Victor (de trin. 1, 4), carries out Augustin's illustration drawn from the nature of love, as demanding a commensurate object—coming to the conclusion, "that the communion of perfect love cannot exist in less than three persons."<sup>1</sup>] Peter the Lombard cites Augustin's views regarding them as an illustrating image or comparison, (Sentent. lib. I. dist. 3,) and investigating with acuteness the similarity and dissimilarity. Thomas Aquinas develops the whole doctrine of the Trinity, in a methodical way, from their comparisons, (Summa P. I. qu. 27). He shows how in God himself, corresponding with the two immanent active powers of the intellectual (or spiritual) nature, there is a twofold procession, "a procession of the word, following the operation of the understanding, and a procession of love following the action of the will;" and that, as a consequence of this, there must be four relations (*paternitas* and *filiatio* the result of the first, and *spiratio* and *processio*, the result of the second procession); and hence three persons.<sup>2</sup> The relation of these persons to the divine essence and to one another he proceeded to explain in congruity with these statements. Melanchthon adopted the same view, and frequently recurs to it in his doctrinal and exegetical writings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Conf. Strauss, Dogmatik, I, S. 462—466.]

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas P. I. Qu. 27. Art. 5: Processiones in divinis accipi non possunt nisi secundum actiones, quae in agendo manent. Hujusmodi actiones in natura intellectuali et divina non sunt nisi duae, *intelligere* et *velle*. Nam sentire quod etiam videtur esse operatio in sentiente, est extra naturam intellectualem, neque totaliter est remotum a genere actionum, quae sunt ad extra. Relinquitur igitur, quod nulla alia processio potest esse in Deo nisi *Verbi* et *Amoris*. Quoted in Hase, Dogmatik, S. 638.]

Summa, I, 27, 3: Hujusmodi actio (immanens) in intellectuali natura est actio intellectus et actio voluntatis. Processio autem verbi attenditur secundum actionem intelligibilem. Secundum autem operationem voluntatis invenitur in nobis quaedam alia processio, scilicet processio amoris, secundum quam amatum est in amante, sicut per conceptionem verbi res dicta vel intellecta est in intelligente. Unde et praeter processionem verbi ponitur alia processio in divinis, quae est processio amoris. And this is so, quia de ratione amoris est, quod non procedat, nisi a conceptione intellectus, habet ordinis distinctionem processio amoris a processione verbi in divinis. Quoted in Strauss, Dogmatik, I, 466.]

<sup>3</sup> In his *Loci theol.*, his *Examen Ordinandorum*, in the *Interpretation of the Nicene Creed*, the work against Servetus, the Notes to the Gospel of John and to the Epistle to the Colossians. [The passage from the *Loci* is given in Strauss's *Dogmatik*, S. 466. "Filius dicitur imago et λόγος. Est igitur imago cogitatione patris genita, quod ut aliquo modo considerari possit, a nostra mente exempla capiamus. Voluit enim Deus in homine conspici vestigia sua.—Mens humana cogitando mox pingit imaginem rei cogitatae; sed nos non transfundimus nostram essentiam in illas imagines, suntque cogitationes illae subitae et

Pezel, in the work of which we have already spoken (P. I. de spir. sancto arg. 5), brings together his different statements in the following manner: "If the nature of man were not corrupt, a consideration of it would have given us more instruction respecting God; but we may still to some extent take our examples from this nature. There are two chief powers belonging to the soul, the understanding and the will. The understanding generates images by thinking; the will has impulses, as when the heart generates emotions (spiritus), feels love, joy, and other affections. From these examples the exposition is taken. Since the Son may be called the Logos (λόγος), he is generated as it were by the act of thinking; but thought is the image of the thing thought; the Logos therefore is called Son, because the Son is the image of the Father. (Melanchthon states this more definitely in his *Refutatio Erroris Serveti*; The eternal Father is, as it were, the mind; he looking upon and perfectly knowing himself, by this thought generates an image of himself, not evanescent but ἐκσταμένην καὶ ὁμοούσιον, (subsistent and consubstantial). But the Holy Spirit is said to *proceed*, because love is of the will. The Father therefore looking upon the Son wills and loves him; and the Son in turn looking upon the Father wills and loves him; from this mutual love, which belongs only to the will, proceeds the Holy Spirit, who is that which excites motion (agitator); from the eternal Father and Son, in the coëternal image of the Father. As therefore to the understanding faculty we attribute *generation*, thus we say that *procession* is from the will, because the will is the seat of love and emotion (agitationis). In us however the essence is not transposed into any image of the intellect, or into any love or impulse of the will; although even our nature is vehemently carried away by love or joy, and as it were, migrates into the loved object. But the image of the eternal Father, which is the Son, is from the substance of the eternal Father; and the essence of the Father and the Son is communicated to the Holy Spirit." The opposition of the adversaries of Melanchthon (the Antiphilippists), Flacius, Wigand and others, had the effect of preventing the Lutheran theologians from pursuing these speculations any farther; and even when

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evanescentes actiones. At pater aeternus sese intuens gignit cogitationem sui, quae est imago ipsius, non evanescens, sed subsistens, communicata ipsi essentia. Haec igitur imago est secunda persona.—Ut autem filius nascitur cogitatione, ita spiritus S. procedit a voluntate patris et filii. Voluntatis enim est agitare, diligere: sicut et cor humanum non imagines sed spiritus seu halitus gignit.]

they conceded to these hints the value of a figurative explanation, they did not go into any more definite details or dogmatical development of them.<sup>1</sup> In the Reformed or Calvinistic church, on the contrary, *Mornay* and *Keckermann*<sup>2</sup> endeavored to give them the form of scientific proof, and not without real speculative talent. Even Hugo Grotius, despite his Arminian tendencies, took interest enough in them, to express the leading thought in his "*Silvae Sacrae*," in the following lines :

Aeterna tua mens, hoc quod est intelligens,  
Sapientiam progeniit aequalem sibi,  
Se mensa, quanta est, compari imagine,  
Ac hinc, videntem colligans visumque, amor  
Processit, in se vim repercutions suam,  
Unumque tria sunt ; nam quod es, scis, vis, idem est.

What Lessing, too, regards as the rational truth,<sup>3</sup> to which

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Hutter, loc. comm. de trinitate person. prop. VII. p. 106—108.

<sup>2</sup> Mornay, De la verité de la religion Chrétienne ch. V: *Keckermann*, Systema sacrosanctae theologiae, L. I, cp. II;—to this book, the judgment of Bayle, that K. had more method than mind, would be very unjustly applied.

<sup>3</sup> Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, § 173, and *Das Christenthum der Vernunft*, § 1—12, (Werke, Theol. Schriften, Thl. I. and III). [The paragraphs in the *Christianity of Reason* are remarkable, and concise. "1. The one only and most perfect being could not have employed himself from eternity with the consideration of anything but that which is most perfect. 2. That which is most perfect is himself; God then from eternity could have thought only of himself. 3. To think, to will and to create, are with God one. We may then say, that all which God conceives or represents to himself, he also creates. 4. God can think of himself only in two ways; either he thinks of all his perfections at once, and of himself as containing them all; or, he thinks of his perfections as divided, one separated from the other, and each from himself, according to its degree. 5. God thought himself from eternity in all his perfection; that is, God from eternity created a being, who was wanting in no perfection which he himself possessed. 6. This being the Scripture calls the *Son of God*, or, which would be still better the *Son God*; a *God*, since none of the attributes which belong to God are wanting in him; a *Son*, because according to our notions that which thinks of or represents to itself something seems to have a certain priority to the thought or the representation. 7. This being is God himself and is not to be distinguished from God, since we think it so soon as we think of God, and cannot think it without God; that is, since we cannot conceive of God without God, or since that would be no God, from which we should take away the thought of himself. 8. This being may be called the image of God, but it is an identical image. 9. The more two things have in common with one another, the greater is the harmony between them. The greatest harmony, then, must be between two things, which have all in common with one another, that is, between two things which are together only one. 10. Two such things are God and the Son God, or the identical image of God; and this harmony which is between



God would lead man by the New Testament doctrine of the Father, Son and Spirit, is accordant with this view, although he does not seem to have recollected it. For that which might seem a deviation, that he conceives of the Holy Ghost, as the harmony between God and his identical image, is in truth nothing but the Scholastic view of the Holy Ghost, as the "substantial love" of the Father and the Son. If it should be thought that this representation, which expresses only a relation, does not well correspond with the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is a person, this is also no less true of the more common comparison with the will, which is but a mode of spiritual action. In both these we must go back to the first element or the subject from which the operations proceed, and lay the stress not upon the notions of love, of harmony and of will, but upon that element of self-consciousness or of spiritual personality which is presupposed by, or expressed in these operations. Of the scholastic view, which follows the analogy of the human soul, it may in general be said, that it was too much influenced by the current psychological distinctions and gives them an unreal prominence.<sup>1</sup>

2. In this point of view, the mystic view can be considered as an advance upon the scholastic. Thus Jacob Boehmen usually puts at the basis of all his speculations on this subject the notion of will or of power—a sure sign that he did not concern himself with the difference of the will from the intellect. He describes<sup>2</sup> the Father as the will which has not in itself a real existence

them the Scripture calls the *Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son*. 11. In this harmony is all which is in the Father, and hence also all which is in the Son; this harmony then is God. 12. But this harmony is God in such a way, that it would not be God, if the Father were not God, and the Son were not God, and that both could not be God, if this harmony were not; that is—*all three are one*." In the other essay of Lessing to which reference is made, *The Education of the Human Race*, he gives a hint which may serve to meet the objection, that God might have a conception of himself, and yet this conception not have a real existence. He asks, "Would all be found in this conception, which there is in God himself, if it contained only a mere notion, a mere possibility of his *necessary efficiency*, as well as of his other attributes? This possibility exhausts the *essence* of his other attributes; but does it exhaust the *essence* of his necessary and actual existence? It seems to me not.—Consequently, either God can have no perfect conception of himself; or this perfect conception is as necessarily really existing, as he himself is."]

<sup>1</sup> These are justly rejected by Quenstedt, de trin. act. II. qu. IX.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. in his *Morgenröthe*, C. III. 32 seq.; VII. 25—27; XXIII. 61—73; in his *Mysterium magnum*, C. VII. 5—11; and in many other parts of his writings.

(den Willen des Urgrundes), or the divine all-power, (or possibility of all things), from which all created things proceed; this will has in itself a desire to reveal itself, and this desire, the Father's exerted power, his heart and his light, that which enlightens all his powers, his abode and centre of life, the first beginning in the will's agency and his eternal form, is the Son. By virtue of this internal energy, the will is manifested as an out-breathing or a revelation, and this out-going of the will is the Spirit of the Deity, the executor of the will in God, a former and creator of all things. As Boehmen recognises the three-fold God in the eternal generation everywhere else, so also in man, but in a different way. He compares the Father with the life-power in the heart, the blood-vessels and the brain; the Son with the light issuing forth from thence, by which we understand and know what we must do; the Spirit with the power and reason proceeding from both, circulating in the body and governing it, (Morgenröthe III. 37, 38). Since his efforts were chiefly directed to the explanation of the procession of all things from the eternal unity, the immanent, or what we have called the internal and essential Trinity is not so prominent in his exhibition of the subject. Yet it is clear enough that he also makes the reflexive movement of the divine life, by which it as it were returns back into itself, the chief thing. Thus he speaks of that movement of the divine life, by which God, "eternally brings together the power of colors and the virtue of the will into a centre of life, or heart, for his abode; and out of this state as out of his eternal form again and ever speaks; and yet also again eternally combines all together into his heart's centre," (Myster. mag. VII. 9); or "whereby the divine will leads itself into an eternal union of itself," (Gnadenwahl I, 5). The views of Poiret are more clearly expressed. Though this author generally has more susceptibility for the mystic vision of things than originality or independence in developing his views, (as might be inferred from the way in which he gave himself up to the reading of, and converse with the other mystics,) he is yet by his philosophical culture the most adapted to be a kind of mediator between the later mysticism and philosophy. His exhibition of the doctrine of the Trinity<sup>1</sup> is among the most attractive, clear and fruitful things

<sup>1</sup> In the second edition of his *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, anima et malo*, 1685, especially in the continuation of the eighth chapter of the third book, *de Deo uno et trino*; and in his *Oeconomie divine, l'oeconomie de la creation* chap. II. and XIV.

which has been said upon it by this school. The fundamental idea he thus expresses:<sup>1</sup> "God is an infinitely perfect, incomprehensible and eternal mind, that is, such as at the same time possesses infinite realities wholly united in one act as in an undiscriminated point. But when this mind reflects upon itself more distinctly, and passes as it were beyond the consideration and undivided point of this undiscriminated eternity, it is then separated or distinguished into a certain adorable triplicity; this triplicity is embraced in its immense and most vivid affection to itself and its own perfections, in its luminous understanding and idea, and finally in its delight and love or infinite joy." In his *Economy of Creation* (p. 380), he describes God as "a most puissant and independent thought which longs for and represents itself to itself by its idea, in which it acquiesces and finds the source of its joy and its love." Here are many points of view for the distinction of the three persons from which we select the following as he has put them together in a tabular form in his *Cogitationes rationales*, (p. 235 and 236):

I. PATER.	II. FILIUS.	III. SPIRITUS S.
Deus a se.	Deus ex se.	Deus ad se refluens.
Cogitatio directa, se quaerens.	Cogitatio sui reflexa, se ipsam adepta.	Cogitatio se inventam sibi exponens et patefaciens.
Cogitatio infinitis virtutibus praedita.	Sui forma, idea, intelligentia, imago, repraesentatio, λόγος, verbum internum.	Intelligentia reflexa super sui intelligentiam; acquiescentia, amor impletus, voluntas regens.
Ens sine fundo; abyssus, tenebrae, cogitatio considerata sine sui idea, lumine, detectione.	Is qui in sinu (fundo) Patris videt Patrem; lux ipsa.	Is qui scrutatur profunditates Dei, et manifestat inventam lucem e tenebris.
Ignis (ens activissimum et vividissimum).	Lux (agentis ad se directio vel tendentia).	Calor, ardor, (ac gentis ad se reflexio).

The agreement of this with the explanation we have attempted, will be readily seen. We must pass by the peculiar way in which Poiret brings the distinction between nature and grace, and the whole economy of redemption, into union with his theory of the Trinity, that we may be able to give a short notice of the speculations of theologians of the school of Leibnitz and Wolf.

3. Leibnitz himself is also best pleased with the comparison with the process of reflection, which lies at the foundation of the

<sup>1</sup> In his work, de eruditione solida, superficialia et falsa, L. I. P. I. § 4.

scholastic and mystic views. "I find nothing" he says,<sup>1</sup> "in created beings more fit to illustrate this subject than the process of mental reflection, when the same mind is its own immediate object, and acts upon itself in thinking of itself and of what it does. For the reduplication gives an image or shadow of two respective substances in one and the same absolute substance, that is, of that which understands and of that which is understood; each of these existences is substantial, each is a concrete individual; they differ in their mutual relations, but they are still only one and the same, one absolute individual substance."<sup>2</sup> Wolf did not give himself up to these speculations; and the most of the theologians of his school were satisfied with a formal application of his method and definitions to the explanation of the church doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Those who used the Leibnitz-Wolfian propositions to make a plurality that should be congruous with the unity of the divine nature either credible or conceivable (as Daries, Canz, Reusch and several others), did not gain any singular success, though they did not all encounter so violent an opposition as Daries.<sup>4</sup> They did not even bring about an agreement in their modes of teaching, and contributed less to the promotion of belief and understanding, than to a certain fondness for all sorts of attempts at explaining things. So long as faith in the Scriptures and in the scriptural character of this doctrine was firm, such attempts had the appearance of a vain over-curiousness, or exposed them to the suspicion of heterodoxy; but when faith in the Bible was sinking, they seemed more like a foolish endeavor to maintain what was untenable, and became, one might almost say, contemptible. As an example we may take that of Reusch,

<sup>1</sup> Miscellan. IV. Remarque Sur le livre d'un Antitrinitaire. [In his Opp. I. p. 14, he describes the Father as the *intellectivum*, the Son as the *intelligibile*, the Spirit as the *intellectio*.—Strauss, I. 484.]

<sup>2</sup> ["In this comparison there is no personal independence of the individual elements; and, besides, here, as in many other attempts of the kind, the number of the elements is different from that in the doctrine of the Trinity as held by the church. Correctly carried out, the latter contains three elements which are united in a fourth, the divine essence; in the philosophical construction, on the other hand, the three are not one in a fourth, but two elements are united in a higher third element."—Strauss, p. 485.]

<sup>3</sup> Thus Carпов in his "Dissertatio S. S. Trinitatis mysterium methodo demonstrativa sistens."

<sup>4</sup> He was obliged by the Theological Faculty in Jena to recall his treatise, "in quo pluralitas personarum in Deitate ex solis rationis principiis demonstratur:" conf. Ludovici Historie der Wolf. Philos. Th. II. § 519.

one of the most acute, though not the most successful.<sup>1</sup> "According to the analogy of the human spirit," he says, "we must also find in God as the most perfect spirit, the faculties of thought and of will exhibited in three modes of action or three productions, which are connected together and suppose one another. From an infinite power of thought must proceed: 1. The most perfect conception of all that is possible, so to speak, the *materia idealis* of all possible worlds; 2.\* The most perfect conception of possible forms, or of the arrangement and combination of these possibilities into all possible systems of possible worlds; 3. The knowledge, springing from this comparison, of the best and most perfect world among all these systems. In a like way, in the idea of the most perfect will, the following things are involved: 1. The inclination to all possible good and perfection, the aversion to all possible evil and imperfection in itself considered—the *voluntas primitiva*; 2. The relation of this inclination and aversion to the possible combinations or systems of worlds as they exist in the idea of them, according to the degree of the perfections and imperfections conceived to be in them—the *voluntas media*; 3. The choice of that one of these worlds, in which, the least imperfection being allowed the highest perfection can be realized—the *voluntas finalis*. Analogous acts of the understanding and will are found in the finite spirit also, and in every one of them, this spirit, as their *suppositum intelligens*, is a person; but, in consequence of its finiteness, these acts come into being only in succession, one after another, and hence are accidental and changeable states, and always possible only on condition of being exchanged for one another. In the Infinite Spirit, however, these limitations must be considered as abolished, and hence these states must be conceived of as simultaneous, essential and eternally actual; or, we must say, that by means of them, that power of conceiving of or representing things which exists in God (*vis repræsentativa Dei*), that is the divine essence, has a triple subsistence, and hence that three persons in the divine essence are possible by means of these acts." It would be superfluous to go into a further examination of this theory; we will therefore only add that Le Clerc was in fact the first one who thought that he could comprehend the possibility of three persons in the divine nature from the position, that what in a finite being was not possible, might exist simultaneously in God as several

<sup>1</sup> Introductio in theol. revelatam, § 406—426.

distinct series of thoughts. "God," he says,<sup>1</sup> "although only one in number can at the same time form various series of thoughts. God, thinking in a certain way, is called the Father; in another way, the Son; in another, the Holy Spirit; and thus there are rightly said to be three persons in only one essence. A person is that which is neither a part nor an adjunct of any other thing. But the Deity thinking in a certain manner, which is called the Father, is neither a part nor an adjunct of the Son or of the Holy Spirit, but is constituted wholly by itself; and the same is to be said of the Son and the Holy Spirit." Reusch had only to complete this view by defining the difference of the series of thoughts possible in God according to the hypothesis which lies at the foundation of the *Theodicée* of Leibnitz.

From the Transcendental Idealism, and from the general impulse which speculative philosophy has received in later times, there might have been expected a more profound comprehension of the doctrine of the Trinity; but the relation of the declarations and deductions of the modern German philosophy to the doctrine of the church has as yet been brought out so inconsiderably, that we cannot enter into a closer examination of them. We must content ourselves then, in conclusion, with reference to a small work of Fr. Baader (*Ueber die Vierzahl des Lebens*, Berlin 1818), as one which is a sort of intermediate link between the older (especially the mystical), and the later attempts at the fathoming of our doctrine, throwing light upon both—although we do not fully agree with his positions. [Since the publication of this volume of Dr. Twisten, many works have been published in Germany which discuss this latter point more fully. Nitzsch and Weisse in the "*Studien und Kritiken*" have both presented able arguments for an Immanent Trinity in the Godhead; the former giving the Biblical, and the latter the philosophical foundation for this doctrine. Baur of Tübingen has published an elaborate History of the Trinity in 3 vols. 8vo; and Meier has given the first volume of a work on the same subject. The noted Dr. Friedrich Strauss has examined the whole matter of a philosophical construction of the Trinity with his usual acuteness and clearness in his system of Doctrinal Theology (1840). His conclusion seems to be that no philosophical Trinity is possible excepting a pantheistic in which the world is the second person. Both Schelling and Hegel concede a certain Trinity as necessary in a phil-

<sup>1</sup> In his "*Epistolæ Theologicæ*," Ep. II. and III, published under the name of Liberius de Sancto Amore," p. 103.

osophical construction of the universe.<sup>1</sup> The views of Schelling are now more accordant with the Christian system, than when he published his "Method of Academical Study." It is still a matter of controversy in the school of Hegel, whether this philosopher believed in a Trinity immanent in God, or only a Trinity developed in, and growing out of, the existence of a created universe. By some he is considered orthodox in this point; by others he is reputed pantheistic; by many, if not most, he is thought to be inconsistent with himself. His *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* were not published till after his death; and they have been published in two editions by different editors; and the different editions differ, as might be expected from the fact that they were compiled from the manuscript notes of several auditors in different years. Had his own belief been clear, or had he not been influenced by a desire to give his philosophy some currency among orthodox men, this inconsistency could hardly have been so great. And in general it may be said, that what is true of most of the attempts at a philosophical construction of this doctrine, is especially true of the speculations of the more recent German philosophers, that while they may serve to show, that even philosophy does not disown the necessity of making certain fundamental distinctions in the very Godhead, that the conception of God as only one does not fully satisfy the mind; yet they have signally failed in the endeavor to show, that these distinctions are necessarily the same as those for which the church has agreed to employ the word *persons*. This distinction is an inference from the declarations of the Scriptures, and not from any philosophical speculations about the Godhead.]

<sup>1</sup> [Conf. Schelling, *Method. d. ak. Stud.* S. 184, *Philosophie u. Religion*, S. 28. Hegel, *Religions-philosophie*, II. S. 185, 199, 230—238, 261. *Encycl.* § 567. *Gesch. d. Phil.* S. 8. Hase in his *Dogmatik* gives the most concise sketch of these various speculations, S. 638—9. "The logical form of thesis, antithesis and synthesis lies at the foundation of most of them. For the most part they transfer the mode in which human self-consciousness originates into the divine self-consciousness, either in the mode already presented in the systems of Reusch, De Wette, etc.; or in the higher forms of pantheism, (as held by Schelling and Hegel), by considering the Father as the original ground, who becomes revealed to himself in the world's history as the Son, and as the Holy Ghost takes back himself into himself; or, in another way of expressing it, the Father becomes himself *another* in the Son, and in this other knows himself as Spirit; or, as it is given by those who are striving to overcome the pantheistic view, (Weise, Günther and others), God in order to be a person must from all eternity have had in himself a distinction, must have "*specified himself*," as a threefold personality, unity in manifoldness."]

## ARTICLE IV.

## MEMOIR OF COUNT ZINZENDORF.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor at Andover.

THE life and labors of Zinzendorf embrace an important part of the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century. That century may be characterized, in general, as one of mediocrity and spiritual lethargy. Religious interest in every part of Christendom languished. On the continent the power of piety both in the Lutheran and Reformed communions, had given place to forms and ceremonials. The spirit of Luther and Calvin had not wholly disappeared, but it was nowhere in the ascendant. In England and Scotland, it was a period for the most part, of latitudinarian views and practical irreligion, notwithstanding the universal assent to orthodox articles and catechisms. In this country, if we may credit historical records, the churches were in a state of melancholy degeneracy. Formality and an indiscriminate charity were stealing into those sanctuaries where the Puritans had offered spiritual worship. Yet, in almost every part of the Christian world, there were revivals of religion, of greater or less extent. In the American colonies, in England, Scotland and Germany, there were many indications of the presence of the regenerating Spirit, and foretastes of better things to come. In Halle and its neighborhood, the flame of piety again shone out brightly in consequence of the labors of the Pietists. In Saxony, also, the Moravian church reasserted the claims of simple, living piety and of the primitive missionary zeal. Along with Franke, the Wesleys, Whitefield and others, Zinzendorf stands as one of the chief spiritual lights of the eighteenth century.

His life is also interesting from its missionary relations. One of the principal marks of the genuineness of the religious movement, of which Herrnhut was the centre, was its expansive character. It sought to benefit and save the most distant tribes. Its zeal seemed to be earnest in proportion to the remoteness and degradation of the objects of its love. In this it revealed its truly apostolical character, a descent from Him who established a religion that is to be necessarily aggressive and missionary until it is universal. It is this feature, doubtless, in the establishment of the United Brethren, which has essentially contributed to its per-



manence. Its object has not been so much to make proselytes, as to win souls to the Saviour. The extension of vital piety, not the endowment of a splendid church, was the aim, and has been the effect, of Zinzendorf's exertions.

Other points of interest in the life of the Count will be apparent in the progress of the narrative. His memoir is instructive from its developments of some of the peculiarities of German character, and also from its bearings on certain interesting questions in mental philosophy and religious experience. Distinguished men in civil life and literature, and who made no pretensions to piety, have regarded the course and character of Zinzendorf with high respect and admiration. Among these may be mentioned, Von Koen, a cabinet minister of Frederic the Great, Schiller, Göthe, Stolberg and Steffens. Göthe has given, in his "Confessions of a beautiful Soul," a portraiture of the mode of life and of the relations of the community at Herrnhut. Steffens also has introduced into his poems a worthy delineation of the personal appearance of Zinzendorf.

Our main authority in the following narrative, is the "*Leben des Grafen von Zinzendorf* by K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, Berlin, 1830, 507 pages." Some use has also been made of the *Life* by J. G. Müller, Winterthur, 1822. Both authors appear to have made a faithful use of the copious materials furnished by Zinzendorf's own works and by those of his disciple and biographer, Spangenberg.<sup>1</sup>

### *Birth and Childhood.*

NICHOLAS LEWIS, count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, was born at Dresden, May 26, 1700. The family of Zinzendorf, raised by the emperor Leopold I. in 1662 to the honors of knighthood, had long been in possession of large estates in Austria and many honors. Some branches of the house were friends of the Reformation. The grand-father of the subject of this memoir removed, on account of his Lutheran tendencies, from Austria to Franconia and took up his abode at Oberbirg, a castle near Nuremberg. Two of his sons went to Saxony and there acquired a respecta-

<sup>1</sup> A serious and unaccountable deficiency both in Varnhagen von Ense and Müller is the want of an index, table of contents and of divisions of any kind. The volumes are a solid, unbroken mass, without chapter, section or heading to the pages.

ble property and high distinction. The elder became master of ordnance and commander of the fortresses, and the younger, George Lewis, was appointed one of the ministers of the court of Saxony. Lewis, by his first marriage had two children, a son and daughter. By his second wife, Charlotte Justina, baroness of Gersdorf, he had one son, whose life is described in the following pages. The father was highly esteemed for his religious character, and his ability in the discharge of his duties. The mother was a woman of piety and excellent feelings. She was acquainted with the Greek, Latin and the principal modern languages, and was also versed in theology and in the composition of German poetry. The celebrated Spener, who was the means of giving new life to the Lutheran church in the 17th century, was an intimate friend of both parents. He had removed from Dresden to Berlin, where he passed an honorable and active old age. Together with the wives of the elector of Saxony and of the Palatinate, he became sponsor to the infant count. The duties of this relation were soon increased by the death of the father. The little one, hardly six weeks old, was carried while asleep to his dying father in order to receive his blessing. "My dear son," he said, "I must bless thee, and thou art more happy now than I am, though I am almost standing before the throne of Jesus." He then, in emphatic words, gave him his benediction, charging him to live not only as a pious nobleman, but as a devoted disciple of Christ.

To the widow and her son was left only a small portion of the estate of the deceased count, which at best was not large. Accordingly they quitted Dresden and went to Upper Lusatia, where the widow's brother, Nicholas, baron of Gersdorf, possessed, among other estates, Grosshennersdorf and Bertholdsdorf, which subsequently became celebrated places. At the same time, this relative performed the duties of the principal magistrate of the district. But he, also, died in six months, and thus left his young nephew once more an orphan. Two years subsequently, his mother entered again, under favorable circumstances, into the marriage relation. She became the wife of the Prussian general, afterwards field marshal, Von Nattsmer, with whom she went to reside at Berlin. She committed her little son, not yet five years of age, to the care of her mother, the widowed baroness of Gersdorf, with the full conviction that she thus consulted the best interests of the child. This noble lady, who had already devoted herself with the tenderest assiduity to the care of her grand-child,

became his second mother. She was a pattern of piety and virtue, possessed a cultivated intellect and was not without poetic talent. Under her enlightened guidance, a direction was given to the little boy's feelings and education which determined the whole course of his life. A kindred influence was exerted upon him by his aunt Henrietta, the sister of his mother. The case of Zinzendorf adds another to the not small catalogue of those excellent women, who have performed the office of step-mother in the gentlest and most judicious manner. Spener from Berlin, and the pious Franke, Anton and the baron Von Canstein from Halle often visited Groshennersdorf. All gave to the young Zinzendorf their warmest benedictions. On one occasion, when he was in his fourth year, Spener took him in his arms, and in a most affecting manner devoted him to the service of Christ.

The health of the boy was delicate, while he possessed great warmth of emotion. His self-will almost amounting to obstinacy, sometimes broke forth in a violent manner. He had a quick apprehension, and strong powers of memory and imagination. In the use of language he early showed great aptitude. Still, his fiery temperament was modified by habits of reflection which appeared in him when he was a mere child. In learning set and formal lessons, he was slow, while his religious feelings by example and exercise were rapidly unfolded. He was very early trained to devotional habits, and in his fourth year knew the principal truths of the gospel. He was greatly delighted with the idea that Christ is our Brother and died for us; his love to the Saviour was of the most artless kind. He was filled with the thought that he then held with Jesus the most friendly fraternal intercourse, and he was not ashamed to confess to him all his faults and sins. There was thus unfolded in the childish heart a trustful intercourse with the Redeemer, which became through his whole life, a sweet and indispensable habit. For many weeks, he joyfully looked forward to those days in which the birth and the sufferings of the Redeemer were celebrated, because then beautiful little songs were sung, and he hoped to hear something very interesting about the Saviour. When he went to bed at night, if he had neglected to say the verse of a hymn which calls the Redeemer "our Brother," he would weep for grief. His satisfaction with this topic, he alludes to in the following terms: "In my grand-mother I noted two circumstances, which gave a direction to my entire future course. When I was in my sixth year, Edeling, who was my teacher for

three years, when he bade me good night as I went to my bed, used the most loving expressions about my Saviour and his merits and my relations to him. They made such a deep impression on me that I wept for a long time, and finally resolved, among other things, to live only for the man who had given his life for me. In this course of thinking I was taught in a very kind and condescending manner, by my dear aunt Henrietta. She said I must tell her my whole heart, and then we bore our wants in common to the Saviour. I had no fear of telling her whatever was right or wrong in myself. In my eighth year, I lay all one night without sleep, while my thoughts, occasioned by an old hymn which my grand-mother sung before she went to sleep, wandered away into such deep speculations, that at last my hearing and sight seemed to vanish, while the subtlest atheistical sentiments arose spontaneously in me, and I was so possessed by them and so deeply did they penetrate my soul, that everything which I have since heard and read has appeared to me very shallow and unsatisfactory, and has not been able to make the slightest impression. But similar speculations which have since occurred have had no other effect than to deprive me of sleep or temporarily excite my feelings, because my heart was with the Saviour, and I loved him with conscious sincerity ; often thinking that were there another God, I would rather be condemned with the Saviour than be happy with him. Such speculations did not have the smallest permanent effect on my heart. What I believed I willed ; what occurred to me in my reasonings was odious, and I then came to the firm conclusion to use my reason in temporal things as far as it would go, and let it explain them as fully as possible and thus sharpen my understanding ; while in spiritual matters I resolved that the truth received into the heart should remain so simple as to become the ground of all other truth, and what I could not deduce from it I would instantly reject. This determination I have kept to the present day." In another place, he remarks : " I hear it told of my Saviour that he became a man. This much affected me. I thought with myself, ' If my dear Lord is loved by no one else, I will still rest upon him and will live and die with him.' So, for many years, in my childlike way, I held intercourse with him ; for hours I conversed with him as one friend does with another. In talking with him, I was very happy and thankful that he had consulted my good in his becoming man. But I did not at all understand the greatness and sufficiency of the merits of his wounds and alas ! the martyr-death

of my Creator. The misery and weakness of my human nature were not rightly revealed to me ; in order to become happy, I did my own will, up to a certain remarkable day, when I was so vividly affected on account of what my Creator had suffered for me that I shed a thousand tears and afterwards felt myself still more tenderly attached to him. I continued to talk with him when I was alone, and believed in my heart that he was very near me. I thought thus : ' He is God and can understand me ; though I do not rightly make known my thoughts, he has a sympathy for what I shall say to him.' I often reflected, ' would he but once hear me that would be enough, I should be so happy all my life.' "

At that time Zinzendorf entered into a covenant with the Saviour : " If thou wilt be mine, dear Redeemer, I will be thine ! " This covenant he very often renewed. He also wrote little letters to Christ. These childlike exercises exerted their influence upon him in subsequent life. The church and the sermon, the singing of hymns and prayers furnished nutriment to these infant tendencies. The feelings of his heart, however, did not end there. He often gave to the poor his whole stock of money, delighting in acts of kindness towards all, while he was heartily thankful for any favor which was shown him. He readily confessed his faults and sought to free himself from them. These qualities of the little boy early attained such strength and permanence, that they made a deep impression on others. When Charles XII. of Sweden marched into Saxony with his army in 1706, a band of his soldiers came to Grosshennersdorf to demand a military contribution. They entered the castle and advanced even to the chamber where the little boy slept. The unexpected looks and style of speaking of this remarkable child made such an impression on the warriors, that almost losing sight of their object, they at once joined with much earnestness in his devotions.

#### *Residence in Halle.*

Zinzendorf, having acquired considerable knowledge of Latin and French and laid a good foundation in other branches of learning, joined, in his eleventh year, the royal Paedagogium at Halle. This institution then enjoyed a high reputation as a place for the moral and intellectual culture of youth belonging to the higher classes, in like manner as the Orphan House supplied excellent facilities for the education of youth of the poorer classes. Franke,

their founder, conducted both with the same great object in view—the promotion of piety. A like impulse the city and university also received from him. The last, founded in 1694, was flourishing in all its youthful vigor. The Christian zeal, which here prevailed, often imparted an austere severity to the ruling spirits. The brethren, under the name of Pietists,—derived from Spener's *Collegia Pietatis*, were opposed and decried in many ways; yet only the firmer did they hold on their chosen way. Zinzendorf, though familiar from his childhood with this mode of life, was now called to partake of some bitter draughts. His grandmother accompanied him to Halle to place him under Franke's charge. Whether worldly feelings had now become predominant in him, or whether other causes operated, he was at any rate described to Franke as a youth whose pride needed to be humbled and whose impulses must be carefully restrained. Hence many methods were taken to cross his inclinations; he was thrust down into the lower classes; he was chastised severely and shamefully; his rank and previous training were not at all taken into the account; his fellow-pupils ridiculed and even hated him. At the same time, he was not the less compelled to resist the seductive influence which they spread around him. "While I, in obedience to the command of my dear aunt," so he writes, "entirely refrained from seeking female society abroad, though at home I was in the midst of females, still, on the contrary, the scholars sought to impart to me, with all the cunning, art and plausibility with which Satan can inspire the heart of man, their vices peculiar to schools and which were daily gaining the upper hand. I had a relish for such things; and besides, being naturally bold and forward, I felt impelled to know everything good or bad. But I was under the discipline of divine grace, while the others were not, so that I was not only restrained from all these evil deeds, but it happened to me more than once to win those for my Saviour who would have seduced me." He now began to toil for the spiritual good of others with great zeal. He met with other young people, (among whom were some who had been notorious sinners,) in the contiguous villages, for the purposes of prayer and mutual exhortation. He was very desirous to unite his associates, and to promote their progress, in all the changes which they experienced in their numbers and to strengthen them against ill-will and persecution. They devoted themselves to the Saviour and to the advancement of his kingdom in a closer manner by forming a league under the name of

the "Order of mustard seed," *senfkorn*, adopting certain regulations, and wearing as a badge a golden ring, on which were engraved the words "none of us liveth unto himself." This order with the existence of which Zinzendorf's mother was made acquainted, held on its existence in quiet by means of correspondence, long after the members had returned home to Holland, France, Hungary and elsewhere. Zinzendorf formed a most intimate friendship with the baron Frederic von Watteville, a youth of a distinguished Swiss family who was likewise a pupil at the seminary. The missionary zeal, which was enkindled at the Orphan House under Franke's lead, directed the attention of the youth to the resolution of personally engaging in the work of missions,—a resolution which was followed by important consequences. So great was Zinzendorf's power of uniting together elements of the most diverse character, that his spiritual life and labors began to savor strongly of a worldly spirit. He became proud; he relied, (yet not in respect to the affairs of Christ's kingdom, but in matters of a civil and social character,) on his own natural gifts and graces. Franke named him in consequence, the *conceited count*; he loved to shine and take the lead; he had a passion for dress and mirth, and was not disinclined to wit and joking. He became a party at the card-table—an amusement which Franke had wholly disowned. Zinzendorf remarked in respect to it, that one might do a worse thing, though he did not deny but he might do a better. Yet his love to the Saviour prevented these worldly feelings from gaining an entire ascendancy over him. Emotions of joy and faith when he was in adversity, and of contentment when he was in the meanest condition filled his heart. His first participation in the Lord's Supper was the means of exciting in him unwonted emotions of love to the Saviour. Franke and his other teachers, to whom he exhibited the warmest affection, befriended him more and more as they witnessed the development of his character. On one occasion, Franke told him that he would yet become a great light to the church. A peculiar relation was formed between him and the baron von Canstein, Franke's friend, a man of elevated rank and large fortune, who devoted his estate wholly to the promotion of religion and its institutions. He was a distant relative of Zinzendorf, and exerted such an influence upon his young friend, that the demeanor of the latter seemed to be in certain characteristics an exact copy of that of the former. Zinzendorf in the mean time made a somewhat rapid advance in his studies; he

perused the Greek authors, was able to write and speak Latin, paid some attention to Hebrew, and distinguished himself in public speaking. He also possessed great facility in composing German poetry. In this manner he passed six years in Halle. His health still remained feeble, so that on one occasion he left his studies and passed some time in the house of his grandmother. He finally quitted Halle in April 1716, his valedictory performance being a Latin exercise on the "Dogmatism of the Learned." He now spent about three months at home, partly in attending to the instructions of a domestic tutor, Erisenius, and partly in private reading, especially of the works of Luther, together with delightful social intercourse.

*Zinzendorf as a member of the University of Wittenberg.*

Before commencing his university life, Zinzendorf paid a visit to his uncle and guardian at Gavernitz. This relative did not at all relish the young man's pietistic feelings, and determined to send him (not as Zinzendorf wished, to the university at Halle) but to that at Wittenberg, partly on the ground that the latter was a Saxon institution, but particularly because a spirit reigned there very different from the one predominant at Halle. The two universities were indeed in open conflict, Wittenberg maintaining the old Lutheran orthodoxy and contending that the Halle Pietism was a dangerous innovation, while the younger university looked upon Wittenberg as the patron of a cold, dead, unfruitful orthodoxy. Zinzendorf's guardian drew up an extended series of counsels for his nephew's guidance at the university, which, though operating as a great restraint upon his inclinations, he determined to follow. But being aware that an effort would be made to detach him from that course which was ridiculed as pietistic, he resolved to guard the more carefully those treasures which were so dear to his soul. Still he devoted himself zealously to the study of law amid other branches of profane learning, as he had been advised. Even the physical exercises, which were appropriate to his condition, he did not neglect. In the performance of these too, in his accustomed way, he sought the aid of his Redeemer. "People will turn it, I suppose, into ridicule," he writes, "yet without any occasion. A youth, addicted to pietism, who has any degree of understanding, knows that when his guardians and tutors direct him to attend on fencing, dancing and riding masters, he can find no adequate excuse to



decline these gymnastic sports. He consequently devotes himself to them without much gainsaying; yet he takes counsel with his heart's friend, the all-worthy Saviour Jesus Christ, in order that he would give him skill in these things, that he might soon leave with honor all such matters and have liberty to dedicate some hours of the day to more solid pursuits and those more befitting his feelings and future circumstances. My only and true Confidant has not let me on this subject pray in vain." Zinzendorf's main concern was to adopt a course of life by which he might secure the salvation of his soul, and thus consecrate all his thoughts to religion. Hence theology became his favorite study. Public and private devotions were his delight; he read the Bible, sung pious hymns, sometimes spent whole nights in meditation, observed the festivals of the church and was more earnest in attending on the means of grace than at any earlier or later period. Still, while his conduct was more circumspect, his heart enjoyed less freedom and peace. The theological controversies, in the midst of which he was placed, occasioned an unpleasant confinement to his mind and sorrow to his heart. There were many unnecessary, harsh and long-protracted disputes, as he describes them, which, during twelve years, afflicted his soul. His peculiar religious experience was thus exposed to repeated censure, and the more so as he remained firm to the religious convictions which he had embraced at Halle, and which he was not at all backward to avow. He defended, against many assaults, the labors of Franke and the whole course of life and instruction which was concentrated at the Orphan House. The departed Spener, as whose disciple he had come to Wittenberg, he eulogised in a public and extended discourse. The Wittenberg theologians, the most prominent of whom was Wernsdorf, allowed this out-flow of well-meant zeal to pass without censure, and Zinzendorf himself soon regretted that he had cherished those unfounded prejudices, by which he was led to regard the Wittenberg theologians as pertinacious wranglers. When he knew them more intimately, he began to esteem and love them. But while it might appear as if he would be won over to the views prevailing at Wittenberg, the reverse actually took place. In confidential conversations with the Wittenberg professors, he ventured, both seasonably and unseasonably, to remind them of their errors in respect to the Halle school, and to tell them truths which it was hardly decorous for a young student to advance. Indeed he did not refrain from pub-

lic exhibitions of his zeal. At the same time, his uncle, as Zinzendorf himself relates, made it his object to implant in his nephew, as far as possible, different principles. He had laid it down in his instructions, that he should never defend a theme, hoping thereby that the young scholar would be drawn off from his pietism and be the more influenced to take the opposite course. But Zinzendorf found two ways of evading his uncle's wishes. "In the first place," he writes, "I was not commanded not to oppose others, and secondly, it had not occurred to my uncle, (for he cherished a hope, altogether excessive that I should abandon my Pietism at Wittenberg,) that I might, on the contrary, cherish the good design of making Pietists of the theological Faculty at Wittenberg." This result did not indeed altogether take place, yet considerable approximation was made towards it by his zealous labors. The stripling of eighteen years was esteemed by both parties as a welcome umpire, and he had already formed the design of travelling to Halle, in company with Wernsdorf, to see Franke, so as to complete his favorite scheme of reconciling the two schools; but he desisted from the project in compliance with the wishes of his mother and for other reasons. In the meantime he carried on an active correspondence with his friends, partly in Latin and partly in French. He also wrote much in addition both in prose and verse, and, among other things, a dissertation on "Self-Love as the primary Source of the Affections." He made great advance, likewise in the study of eloquence, poetry, history, languages, law and theology. His social intercourse was pleasant and edifying, there being something in his personal appearance very striking, while an acquaintance with him was much sought after.

### *Travels.*

Zinzendorf completed his studies at Wittenberg in the spring of 1719. His uncle had in the meantime died, and his mother and grandmother resumed their oversight of him. Though they were highly gratified with the proofs which he exhibited of pious feeling, yet they hardly thought of any other course of life than one befitting his name and noble rank. His own mind, however, was busily engaged with other thoughts and purposes. Still, he did not choose to act in opposition to the proposal of his friends in regard to foreign travel. He first went to Holland, accompanied by his elder brother, and his tutor, whose name was Roederer.

The peculiar direction of his mind was seen in many little incidents. Frankfurt on the Maine, was particularly attractive to him on account of Spener who had there lived and labored. Among the paintings which he saw in the gallery at Düsseldorf, one representing the suffering Saviour made the deepest impression, which was increased by the words underneath, "Every thing have I done for thee, what hast thou done for me?" He felt a sense of shame that he could answer this question no better, while he devoted himself to the Saviour with a stronger determination. At the close of May, 1719, he came to Utrecht, whence he journeyed to Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden and Amsterdam. He then went back to Utrecht, where, with his tutor, he attended the university exercises. He busied himself industriously with law, history, medicine, to which he had a special attachment, the English language, but most of all with religion, in comparison with which other things were of little account. "In my nineteenth year," he subsequently wrote, "I went to Holland and studied under various foreign teachers, who excited my mind, but did not touch my heart. The whole tour was the means of leading off my feelings in a sensible manner from all earthly things. The constant sighing of my heart was everywhere for Jesus and his blessing upon others." He now read the Bible with new zeal, and also other writings which were fitted to edify and instruct. Meditation, also, was a favorite duty. An intercessory prayer, which he composed, for his own daily use, was drawn out into more than a hundred particulars, embracing the emperor, all Christian kings, the government under whose protection he then lived, his teachers, friends, enemies, all the sick and dying, his Roman catholic relatives, all studying theology, the universities of Halle, Wittenberg and Leipsic, the Jansenists in France, the conversion of the Jews, etc. He now began to feel that attachment to litanies which he ever afterwards cherished. At the same time his general character and learning commanded much respect. He contracted an intimate friendship with several young noblemen from different parts of the continent. He became acquainted with the princess of Orange, who invited him to the birth-day festival of her son, which occasion he celebrated by a poem. He lived on intimate terms with the great lawyer, Vitriarius, and with the celebrated theologian James Basnage, of whom he used to say, "that Basnage would receive the truth even from an adversary." He here came in contact with men entertaining all kinds of religious be-

lief. The effects of the warm discussions into which he entered were not without salutary effects on his own character. The determination, to which he came, to let his opponents have the last word, conciliated their esteem and increased his reputation for fairness. He met four of his friends every day in a religious exercise, when he expounded a portion of the Scriptures. The meeting was opened and concluded by prayer. With the count von Reuss, who went before him to Paris, he formed a special covenant that they would live only for the Saviour and heartily serve him. At Utrecht he heard of the death of the baron von Canstein at Berlin, that man of elevated piety, of whom it may be said that he maintained in the midst of the world the character of a child of God, though he exhibited nothing of austerity in his demeanor. He left his estate to the Halle Orphan-house. In commemoration of his death, Zinzendorf wrote a poem, which breathes nothing of lamentation, but on the contrary, the most joyful confidence in respect to death. His fearlessness on this subject was at that time remarkable. He thought that a true Christian could be afraid of death only from ignorance. He made it his increasing aim to be ready for that event. He had already adopted for his motto, *aeternitati*.

In September, he went to Paris by the way of Antwerp, Brussels and Cambray. He remained in the French capital through the autumn and winter. Among the individuals with whom he formed an acquaintance were the duchess of Orleans, Lord Stairs the English ambassador, Marshall Villars, the baron Nicolas von Watteville from Germany, the Abbe La Tour, the cardinal Noailles, etc. On one occasion, he heard a Dominican monk preach, who appeared to him to be a second Tauler. The monk spoke with the utmost earnestness, insisted on the conversion of the heart, from which a change of life would of necessity follow, maintained that there should be no peace with the world, and showed the necessity of a reformation, not only among the poor, but especially among the great. Zinzendorf sought the acquaintance of the preacher, whose name was d' Albizi, and who introduced him to the acquaintance of the bishops of Boulogne and Montpellier, who were then with others contending for the necessity of an appeal from the pope's famous bull, called *unigenitus*, to a general council. By his intercourse with this class of men, by his zealous maintenance of the cause of the Jansenists, by the boldness with which he defended the great principles of Protestantism, Zinzendorf in-

curred not a little danger of losing his liberty and perhaps, his life. It was reported that an attempt was actually made to poison him. He was also exposed to dangers of another kind. The French monarchy was then in the height of its splendor, while in no country in Europe did the Roman Catholic religion hold such dominant sway as in France. Paris was the centre of fashion and taste, where vice was clothed in its most attractive forms, and where everything was found which could seduce a young man like Zinzendorf, of noble birth, of warm feelings and of winning manners. Efforts were not wanting to induce him to swerve from the path which he had chosen and even to renounce his Protestant and religious principles. Yet he remained true to his convictions. His affectionate trust in the Saviour seems not to have been chilled in the frigid atmosphere around him. At the same time his feelings were liberalized, and he learned to estimate others, especially Roman Catholics, with more candor and forbearance. On the whole, his travels proved of essential benefit to him. They were the means of enlarging his views, extending his knowledge in various departments of science and literature, and of introducing him to many estimable persons, with a few of whom he formed an endearing friendship. But the great practical lesson which he learned was the unsatisfactory nature of earthly good, and the blessedness of living in communion with the Redeemer. Every step of his wanderings convinced him that like Mary, he had chosen the better lot. To sit at the feet of Jesus was worth more than all which Europe could bestow. From Paris Zinzendorf returned home by way of Strasburg, Bâle and Zurich.

*Residence at Dresden and Marriage.*

In October, 1721, Zinzendorf became a court-counsellor and judge at Dresden, in compliance with the earnest wishes, or rather what amounted to the commands of his friends, though in direct opposition to his own inclinations. He wished to become a preacher of the gospel and to employ all his talents directly in the service of the church. For the business and pleasures of courts he had no relish. Among the various motives urged upon him by his zealous relatives, was the example of some eminent civilians who had spent a life of simple devotedness to the Saviour in the midst of worldly avocations. Though he was now twenty-one years of age and authorized to determine his own

course of life, yet his mother, grandmother and aunts seemed unwilling to relax their authority or to look upon him in any other light than as a darling and dependent child. He at length yielded to their wishes with many tears and took up his abode in the court. Still, as might have been expected, he did not find himself at home in his new employment, and during the five years he passed at Dresden, he scarcely put his hand to any civil employment. The only exceptions were cases in which his advice and aid could be of service to the poor and friendless. His delight was in religious conversation, in social prayer-meetings, (in which he found a coadjutor in Dr. Löscher, church superintendent at Dresden,) and in efforts to promote the spiritual good of all, both high and low, with whom he came in contact. Noblemen and courtiers shared in his friendly counsels and warnings, as well as the poorest artisan and peasant. "In Dresden I held every Sunday," he writes, "without any opposition from my civil or ecclesiastical superiors, a public religious service with open doors for every one who wished to attend. The wonder was only this, that I was a preacher, who in obedience to his parents, wore a sword and became a member of the government, but whose whole heart, at the same time, was on the preaching of the gospel."

In the meantime, the situation of the two religious parties in Germany had somewhat changed. The old orthodox or Lutheran party had acquired more zeal and warmth in their religious services, while the Halle pietists were nearly stationary. This circumstance, among other facts, induced Zinzendorf to refrain from giving his allegiance to either party. At the same time he determined to assemble from men of all shades of opinion the genuine friends of the Redeemer, the true children of God, and in this higher communion to overlook all outward distinctions. This plan took entire possession of his soul and spread over the future an indescribable interest. His grandmother, in pursuance of his design, purchased for him the estate of Bertholdsdorf, adjoining Grosshennersdorf. The building of a house had been before commenced. Here he now contemplated founding a community composed of his numerous dependents, and in accordance with his own ideas. As an assistant he selected Andrew Rothe, a preacher whose piety and intellectual gifts were held in high esteem. After providing for the spiritual necessities of the community, Zinzendorf sought for a companion of like mind with himself who would give her attention to the secular affairs. His

choice, after much deliberation, fell upon the countess Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss, sister of his friend at Ebersdorf. He had fully ascertained, before the connection was formed, that she was prepared, like himself, to leave home and country, at the command of the Lord, and with staff in hand, to go to the heathen. In order to free himself from worldly care, he put into her hands, at the same time, all his estate. In 1732, he gave her complete possession of it. In one of his works he describes her as, "a virtuous, well-educated countess, who had already given up those vanities, which both in respect to words and actions present so formidable an obstacle to the progress of the gospel. She still exhibited in herself the happy traces of that beautiful communion which Spener had held with her grandmother, Benigna. That her husband might not be troubled, she assumed alone, from the first day of her marriage, the entire administration of household matters, and though the property which she had to manage was only moderate, still the simple foundation for our undertakings required more than a million of *thalers*; this trust, for twenty-six years, she so executed, that neither in the house nor on the estates nor in the community, was there any complaint. For those who know her and her labors, it is not necessary to say that she devoted herself as a nursing mother to the Lord and his church." In another place he writes: "I have found from twenty-five years' experience, that the help-meet whom I had, was the only one who could have fitted in to all the ends and corners of my vocation. Who had so perfect an acquaintance in my household? Who lived so unblamably before the world? Who stood by me so intelligently in renouncing a dry morality? Who comprehended so fundamentally the Phariseism which had forced its way down through all these years? Who had so perfect an insight into those erring spirits who from time to time had mixed themselves with us? Who could have provided so prudently and abundantly for my household needs for so many years? Who could live so economically and still so generously? Who at the fitting times could be so lowly and yet so lofty? Who could so represent the character now of a servant, now of a mistress, without affecting, either any peculiar spirituality or worldly-mindedness? Who could undertake and endure such astonishing journeys by land and sea? Who knew how so well both to honor and despise the world?" "With a weak body," says Müller, "she had a well-balanced and cultivated mind, a manly courage, and the softest, sweetest and kindest heart." "She was not

made," remarks Spangenberg, "to be a copy; she was an original, and though she cordially loved and honored her husband, yet she reflected on all subjects with so much judgment that she might be regarded in a degree rather as a sister and friend." After the death of her darling son, Christian Renatus, in 1752, which deeply afflicted her, she lost more and more her inclination for business. Weary of life and of its many hard labors and heavy cares, this noble woman at length entered into the joy of her Lord, June 19, 1756, after a sickness which was attended with little pain. She was greatly bewailed by all the members of the community, who had familiarly called and known her as "the mother." She had six sons and six daughters, most of whom died early. Three daughters only survived their father: Benigna, who was married to John von Watteville; Maria Agnes, married to the count Maurice von Dohna, likewise a member of the brotherhood at Herrnhut; and Elizabeth, whose husband was the baron Frederic von Watteville. These daughters followed in the steps of their parents with great zeal and fidelity, remained in the community and are now remembered with much honor.

#### *Settlement at Herrnhut.*

Christianity was first planted in Bohemia and Moravia by missionaries of the Greek church. When the Latin church obtained the ascendancy in those countries, a great part of the people continued true to their earlier faith, esteeming it as the most pure. With these the Waldenses were connected; John Huss and his followers contended for them with the Bible and with the sword, and the subject of religion became with them the great national question. But the exertions of the Moravians and Bohemians proved abortive; their church, persecuted and oppressed by the Roman Catholic, and cut off from the Greek communion, was compelled to seek in obscurity the means for its further existence and advancement. Deprived of outward resources, its adherents were compelled to cultivate inward affection, and thus became more like the primitive Christians, than any religious community of modern times. They were in fact and in name UNITED BRETHREN. Luther's Reformation awakened them to new life; their belief essentially coincided with his. The same fate which befel all the evangelical communions in those regions, during and after the Thirty Years' War, abolished all remaining differences. Many, in consequence of cruel per-



secutions, had wandered to other lands, for example to Poland, Prussia and Saxony, where they founded churches. In Bohemia and Moravia, being wholly deprived of freedom, they were compelled to conceal their faith, as they were their books, and retain it only in the deepest silence. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the terms which the terrible approach of Charles XII. of Sweden extorted from the emperor Joseph I., in favor of the Protestants in Silesia, awakened considerable hope; but it expired with the retreat and fall of that warrior. Among the Protestants in some districts of Moravia and Bohemia, persecuted anew about the year 1720, there was a revival of religious zeal. Many now satisfied the desire which they had long cherished of freedom in religious worship, and joined their brethren in foreign lands. A carpenter, Christian David by name, was particularly helpful in this emergency. He had before left his abode, Senfleben in Moravia, reached Berlin, and was there living in communion with the evangelical church. Eight years earlier, he had earnestly sought the Saviour. In Görlitz, where he practised his trade and constantly attended upon the awakening sermons of Schäfer and Schwedler, he first attained true peace of mind. He here became acquainted with the candidate Rothe, and through him with Zinzendorf, who had just before returned from his travels. To the latter he made known the melancholy condition of some of his brethren in Moravia. Zinzendorf immediately engaged to receive the oppressed families and to provide a place of refuge for them. He at first thought of Ebersdorf; but as obstacles thwarted him in this direction, he determined to find an asylum at Bertholdsdorf, which about this time came into his possession. Meanwhile, three Moravian families, accompanied by the zealous Christian David, came, in the spring of 1822, to Upper Lusatia, first visiting Schwedler in Niederwiese, then Schäfer in Görlitz, by whom they were recommended to Grosshennersdorf. Thence they repaired to Bertholdsdorf. The poor exiles were not able, as they greatly desired, to take up their abode in the village. A place was selected in a forest, protected by a hill, on the Zittau road. The spot seems not to have had anything inviting, for the company counted less on external advantages than the aid of the Almighty. In the meantime, they depended on what was given or lent to them. The countess of Gersdorf sent them a cow which supplied milk for the small children. She also assigned them the necessary timber for building. Christian David struck his axe into a tree, with the words,

"Here has the swallow found his house and the sparrow her nest, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!" On the 17th of June, 1722, they felled the first tree for the first house built in what was afterwards *HERRNHUT*. They prosecuted the work with so much zeal, that the house was ready to be occupied in the beginning of October. Heitz, the pious domestic tutor, made a speech at its dedication. He gave occasion to the name by which the place was afterwards known, in a letter then written to Zinzendorf, in which he expressed the wish that the dwelling might always remain under the protection of the Lord (*unter des Herrn Hut*), and its inmates always rely on the protection of the Lord. Hitherto, *Marche* (domestic tutor at *Grosshennersdorf*) and Heitz had prosecuted the undertaking with the aid of the countess of *Gersdorf*, and with the cognizance and from the means of Zinzendorf, but without his particular knowledge or coöperation. On the 22d of December, when he was on the road, with his bride, to *Grosshennersdorf*, he was surprised to perceive a house newly built in a forest. Still, he heartily rejoiced when he learned that it was the dwelling of the poor Moravian exiles. He at once went to them, welcomed them to the spot, knelt down and gave thanks to the Saviour, whose blessing on the undertaking he earnestly implored. He exhorted the people to have good courage, to keep up their trust in God; and then went on his way.

It was important above all things, in the view of Zinzendorf, to lead all his people at *Bertholdsdorf* in the path of true piety. Yet, in accordance with *Spener's* suggestion, he intended to found only small churches to be in communion with the established Lutheran communion. He had not yet conceived of more extensive plans. The office, which he held as landlord, led him to administer the secular affairs of the establishment. These he did not mix with his spiritual duties, for he believed that the civil arm had no authority over the conscience; in like manner he believed that a true pastor would not call in the aid of the secular power in order to extend the faith; either would occasion only detestable hypocrisy and utter ruin. His preacher, *Rothe*, whose discourses were very impressive, lent him the most necessary assistance. *Schäfer* of *Gerlitz* also took an active part in the enterprise. These three together with *Frederic von Watteville*, (*Zinzendorf's* friend from the time of his abode at *Halle*,) regarded themselves as brothers closely united, whose whole life was set apart to promote the kingdom of God. *Watteville* was a man of fervent piety and of a noble heart. His gentle nature and

condescending manners could not, indeed, prevent the disputes and misunderstandings which sometimes occurred in their religious conferences. On account of these contentions, Zinzendorf sometimes kneeling alone before the Saviour, poured out bitter tears. The conferences, in which, from time to time, other persons participated, were at a later period, greatly extended, and were not without a living influence on the community. Still, Zinzendorf's zeal did not content itself with such manifestations, but multiplied channels for active exertion. As occasion offered he composed extempore spiritual hymns and odes in the freest measure, often adorned with the boldest and most startling figures. These effusions were indeed more remarkable for emotion than for judgment or taste. Still, they greatly promoted his own spiritual edification and that of many others. He possessed, also, a popular style of speaking, sometimes diversifying the religious meetings with dialogues and animated conversations. He thus became a kind of deacon or catechist to the pastor Rothe. In the afternoon of the Sabbath, he held a meeting in a hall in his own house, and went over the morning discourse which had been preached in the church, interspersing free remarks and sometimes correcting the opinions that Rothe had advanced. In consequence of these repeated services of the four individuals alluded to, in addition to the zealous coöperation of Heitz and Christian David, many persons were awakened to a deeper sense of the importance of religion and became zealous adherents of their spiritual guides. Pious people from the vicinity also resorted to Herrnhut, to share in its religious privileges, while new exiles from Moravia here found a quiet home.

#### *Organization of the Community at Herrnhut.*

Among other wants, Zinzendorf discovered a great lack of practical works on religion. With the aid of the countess of Gersdorf, he established a printing office in order to supply the poor people in the vicinity with cheap religious works, as well as with the Bible. On account of some serious obstacles, this press was removed from Lusatia to Ebersdorf, where it was usefully employed for several years. Not less zeal was manifested in favor of a project for establishing a school for poor children. A noble lady, Zetzschwitsch by name, who was subsequently married to one of the Watteviles, removed to Bertholdsdorf, and took charge of poor girls, and thus laid the foundation of the girls'

school afterwards set up at Herrnhut. A school for children of higher rank was also contemplated. The resemblance of these establishments to those at Halle is obvious. The people at Herrnhut soon received a new accession of pilgrims from Moravia, some of whom had been a long time imprisoned and otherwise grievously persecuted. Christian David visited Moravia and sought out the villages where the descendants of the Brethren of ancient times lived. By his exhortations and those of two intrepid men, David and Melchior Nitschmann, the people were much excited, and came together at night by hundreds, in secret places, to sing and pray. These movements could not be long concealed. The civil authorities interfered, some were cast into prison and were menaced with the loss of life. In these extremities, five young men, threatened with a new imprisonment, fled in the silence of the night, fell down on their knees, on a spot in front of their native place, implored for themselves and their brethren the protection of the Almighty, and then went on their way through the wildest mountains, singing :

“O happy day when I must leave,” etc.,

which had been sung in like circumstances, centuries before. They came to the house of Schwedler at Niederwiese, who commended them in a letter to Zinzendorf at Herrnhut. There they arrived on the 12th of May, 1724, at the moment that Watteville was laying the foundation stone of a building for a hall or chapel. Here they listened to a fervent dedicatory discourse from Zinzendorf, who prayed that God would suffer the building to stand no longer than it should be an abode of love and peace to the glory of the Saviour. Still, the circumstances of the new community were not those of unmingled prosperity. Men of various mental peculiarities and religious sentiments had here found an asylum. The conflicting opinions of the Lutherans and the Reformed in respect to the Lord's Supper, occasioned not a little difficulty. Hetz, a zealous member of the Reformed communion, left the service of the count ; still the Lutheran view was far from being predominant. Enthusiastic or fanatical opinions also crept in. Some of the poor mechanics and day-laborers, inflamed with sectarian zeal, came out in direct opposition to their learned pastors and noble patron. The first settlers at Herrnhut were men of a fervent spirit, but scarcely instructed in the doctrines of salvation. On the other hand the five brethren, who had just come from Moravia, were genuine descendants of the ancient Moravi-

an Brethren, and held fast to the church-organization of their ancestors. The commingling of men of various opinions at Herrnhut, seemed to them to preclude all hope of reviving the usages to which they were so much attached. When they zealously spoke of the necessity of reëstablishing the discipline and order of the Moravian Brethren, no one seemed to understand or approve their design. The consequences, as might be expected, were irritating remarks, strifes and danger of an open rupture. These events were a source of the deepest grief to the count, who began to doubt of the expediency of admitting any more exiles from Moravia. Still, he did not withdraw his protection from those who were already there. His compassion triumphed over his displeasure, and in spite of indignant feelings which would sometimes break forth, he manifested, on the whole, towards his numerous dependants such forbearance, that his moderation became itself an occasion of finding fault with him. In reference to this unhappy state of things, Zinzendorf wrote: "My best apology in respect to this matter is, that many persons of the description that we have here, the Saviour has already taken home as the trophy of his long-suffering. In the garden of the Lord there are trees which one must let stand this year and the next, in hope that in the following year some little fruit will appear." He sought not to disgrace them, or embitter their feelings; on the contrary, he watched for every trace of a better mind, and when anything faulty had disappeared, he thought nothing further of it. In this way alone, by the power of a friendly heart and by his genuine piety, he held his little community together in a manner truly wonderful. His Sabbath exercises in Bertholdsdorf often lasted from six o'clock, A. M. till midnight. The people of Herrnhut often brought a piece of bread in their pockets, and on no account were the religious services omitted for the sake of eating. With much pains, Zinzendorf succeeded in uniting those to the church communion who had withdrawn; and, finally, May 12, 1725, after three days' conference which extended into the night, a plan of agreement in respect to religious doctrine was happily adopted.

Zinzendorf's civil duties did not interfere in the least with these pious labors. Often when he went to Dresden, it was chiefly or wholly to promote the enterprise on which his heart was set. At that fashionable capital, he experienced much opposition, not only from the enemies and revilers of the gospel, but from well meaning friends who misunderstood his motives.

Still he went on his course unterrified. "I belong to the number of those," he writes, "whom the Lord has called from darkness into light. Therefore I must testify of the light. I am called one of the nobles of this world; I must enjoy the privileges of one. I am consequently bound, more than others, to bear witness of the light." The opposition of the people of rank to his views led him to mingle more and more with the middling and lower classes, among which he found not a few of the excellent of the earth. He continued the religious service at his own house, where many assembled, some of whom made no pretensions to piety. The count was also actively employed in preparing and circulating religious books and tracts. He translated Arndt's four books on "True Christianity" into French, dedicated the book to the Cardinal Noailles, and sent it by Watteville to Paris. About this time the establishment at Herrnhut received a fresh accession of strength from Silesia. These persons were devout in feeling yet but little instructed in doctrine. Zinzendorf sought rather to lead them to the Saviour than proselyte them to the Lutheran creed. At the same time, his missionary zeal led him to undertake the evangelization of some of the Wendish tribes who dwelt in the vicinity. In these toils his venerable grand-mother coöperated, bearing her part with him in the expense of an edition of the Bible in the Wendish dialect. This excellent lady died in 1726. For twelve years, on account of age and weakness, she rarely left her house. But when she saw her end drawing near, she went to Herrnhut, there to bestow her last blessing. In the meanwhile, the count labored with great diligence in favor of the persecuted brethren in Moravia. David Nitschmann who had gone home to visit his father, was seized and cast into prison. In order to liberate him Zinzendorf journeyed to Moravia, but without success. On his return he held interesting religious services with his friends in Silesia, in Ebersdorf, Leipsic, Halle, in Lusatia and in Dresden. At Halle he had much interesting conversation with the well-known Christian Thomasius, who entertained some doubts in respect to the utility of Zinzendorf's labors at Herrnhut. On his return the count devoted special attention to an edition of the Bible to which he prefixed a preface, and which was accompanied with notes by Rothe and others. Meanwhile, a lawyer of Voigtland, who had become disaffected with his clergy at home, went to Herrnhut, and though kindly received by the count, employed his whole time to sow dissensions in the community. His zeal at length terminated in insanity. He left

Herrnhut and after some time died. But his works of evil followed him. The Moravian brethren, with few exceptions, left the church and communion at Bertholdsdorf. Some of them were mean enough to spread the most infamous reports in relation to the count. They called him the beast who had given his power to Rothe, the false prophet. The affair excited no little commotion and made in all quarters a bad impression. Herrnhut had become a nest of sectaries. Zinzendorf, though not wanting in confidence and courage, seemed to be somewhat deficient in the means of forming a sound judgment in the emergency. He had not that acquaintance with the doctrines of religion and the history of the church which would have enabled him to extricate himself from these embarrassments. Something more was wanted than kind feelings and warm-hearted piety. At the same juncture a violent outcry was raised against him at Dresden. His religious meetings were broken up, and there were not a few other indications of his unpopularity, even with the court and the clergy. In these circumstances, he concluded, with the assent of his mother and other friends, to resign his office at Dresden and take up his permanent abode at Herrnhut. His first endeavor was to effect such an arrangement of duties as would promise harmony to the community. He formed a fraternal agreement with the pastor Rothe, by which the rights and duties of the church patron and of the pastor were respectively determined. Rothe was to assume the entire pastoral care at Bertholdsdorf, while the count, as the unordained catechist of Rothe, was to proceed, according to his own discretion at Herrnhut. The members of the community were made fully acquainted with the plan and offered no objection. The count, so as to be free from secular cares, now fully committed to his wife and to Frederic von Watteville all the domestic and financial arrangements of the establishment. Watteville also took part in the spiritual duties, and devoted himself to his work zealously and with an excellent spirit. Zinzendorf, also, now felt that he could gratify the single desire of his heart and labor only for his Saviour, undisturbed by court intrigues and the scorn of an ungodly generation. Still, he found the Moravians quite refractory. They pertinaciously clung to the ancient usages of their church, and declared that they would seek a new asylum rather than adopt any other church organization. In this exigency, the count, after he had thoroughly examined the ground of their religious feelings and opinions, and found them evangelical, and after he had laid

the matter before some distinguished theologians and received their concurrence, determined to protect for the glory of his Redeemer, these souls purchased with a precious price. He accordingly proceeded to draft and arrange some ordinances by which the Brethren were organized into a free Christian society. The zeal of the count, sustained by love and patience, surmounted every obstacle. On the 12th of May, 1727, articles of agreement founded on old and established principles, were voluntarily subscribed as binding statutes by all the brethren and sisters. These proceedings were hallowed by fervent prayer and by that influence which descends in answer. Twelve elders were chosen, not on account of age, but from weight of character, to perform the office of watchmen. Zinzendorf was elected general overseer and Frederic von Watteville, his assistant. The elders chose by lot four of their number who constituted a kind of common council in connection with Zinzendorf, bearing the name of the "Elders' Conference." In case of no decisive preponderance of opinion in any direction, resort was had to the lot, which was viewed as indicating the will of the Saviour. A general school for boys was established, and another for girls, both being under the direction of females. One of the most important arrangements was that of choruses, into which the whole community was divided according to sex and age. Each chorus had its own leaders and assistants, religious exercises, songs and festivals. The female choruses in particular had strongly marked characteristics. A simple mode of dress was universally adopted; all display was discarded; parasols and fans were dispensed with. A small protection for the head was made—commonly a hood of white linen without lace. The color of the string or band, by which it was tied on, distinguished the members of the choruses. The widows had one of white; the married women one of blue; the virgins, a rose-colored one; and the female children, one of a dark red color. The Brethren had no such mark of distinction. Still, they all wore garments of great simplicity, commonly those of a brown or gray color. Neither sex put on mourning garments, since death, or rather the going out of life, as it was called in Herrnhut, was regarded in relation to the pious as no cause for sorrow. Unions for prayer were formed, which continued throughout the night. Sometimes bands of twenty-four persons continued in prayer—one person for an hour—from one midnight to another, following literally the command of the prophet to keep not silence and give the Lord no rest till he should build up Jerusalem. Of all these arrangements and exercises, Zinzendorf



was the soul. The shorter and longer addresses, which his zeal prompted him to make in connection with Rothe's discourses, or when there were baptisms, funerals, etc. were poured out from an overflowing heart. His talent for extemporaneous verse-making, and for changing and adapting verses to special occasions, was great. He was also accustomed to read a letter or a chapter in the Bible with a happy emphasis and striking effect. In order that the impression of these religious services might not be dissipated by worldly business or indulgence in eating and drinking, a usage, like the *agapae* or love-feasts of the primitive Christians was adopted. For the sake of preserving the utmost purity of morals, the two sexes were carefully separated. The sisters, in their various labors and exercises, were superintended by persons of their own sex. With true love and zeal Zinzendorf applied himself to the religious teaching of the young. Under his impressive instructions, a general awakening took place. The little children, like the adults, were deeply convinced of sin and earnestly entreated the Saviour for mercy. They often retired into solitary places in the woods, and on their knees, cried to Heaven for the pardon of their sins. The Count stood at a distance, carefully watching these little penitents. On their return home, he sometimes accompanied them, singing as he went. In the childrens' meetings, the Saviour was described as a child; his childhood was commended and praised in songs, and communion with him, as a child who innocently played, was earnestly sought. In such exercises, the count had a rich store of experience in his own childhood from which to draw. "One day," he writes, "a small child of three years came to the count in a chamber, fell down on its knees and prayed, 'Oh my Jesus, take away what hurts my mind and heart, so that I might see thee all the time as thou art,' together with many similar heart-breaking words, to the great edification of the count." A hymn-book for children was collected and frequently printed.

In the midst of all his other labors, Zinzendorf undertook short journeys to Silesia and Dresden, and visited by invitation, the crown-prince at Saalfeld, by way of Jena and Rudolstadt. At the different courts he met with a favorable reception, fearlessly proclaimed his sentiments before men of all classes, endeavoring to do good to all as he had opportunity. In this manner originated the custom among the Brethren of sending out domestic missionaries, two or more in company, to spread the principles of the community and to lead souls to the Saviour. Such messengers

were despatched to Voigtland, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Denmark. To the last named country, John and David Nitschmann were sent, carrying a short history of the Brethren, prepared by Zinzendorf, together with other notices respecting Herrnhut, for the use of prince Charles, brother of king Frederic IV. Three brethren went over to England to see those who held the like faith there. A deputation visited professor Buddens at Jena with the request that he would cause to be printed in German an edition of "Amos Comenius's History of the Bohemian Brethren," which had before been published in Latin. Subsequently, in consequence of urgent invitations, Zinzendorf himself visited Jena and stayed there some time with his wife and children. He here found a hundred undergraduates, several persons who had taken degrees and even professors, who sympathized in his views and frequented the meetings which he held in a summer-house which had been hired for the purpose. Among this number was Spangenberg, afterwards a most valuable co-worker with the count and also the writer of a copious biography of him. By Zinzendorf's influence, a kind of theological seminary of the most practical character was devised, of which Buddens was appointed principal. But the project met with opposition and failed. The count was received with the same distinguished consideration at Weimar by the duke, who consulted him in relation to important matters of government. At Gera he had an interview with the crown-prince of Denmark and his princess. At Hirschberg and Coburg, many sought his acquaintance and attended his meetings. He remained sometime in Lange's house in Halle and "spoke the things concerning the kingdom of God" to multitudes. More than a hundred students adopted, more or less, his views. From Halle he returned to Herrnhut by way of Merseburg and Dresden.

During his absence, difficulties had occurred among the Brethren which occasioned some modifications in the arrangements of the establishment. The main cause of the trouble seems to have been a difference of views on church government. Some zealous Lutherans were not willing to deviate at all from the views of the great founder of their church. The pastor, Rothe, and Christian David had become deeply involved in the controversy. While at Jena, the count, in connection with the Brethren there had sent a spirited protest against these movements. But the matter remained unadjusted till his return. On the 6th of November, 1723, the statutes of the community were reduced to a

new form, and the relations of the different classes were once more exactly defined. Christian David vacated his office as elder. Soon after, the remaining elders resigned and others were substituted. The first article of the new statutes was in the following words: "It is never to be forgotten in Herrnhut that the place was built for the living God and is a work of his Almighty hand; that it is properly no new place, but an institution intended only for the Brethren and for their benefit. In everything which is undertaken among us, love and simplicity are to be sought." These statutes also asserted that Herrnhut was and should forever remain free from all slavery and vassalage. The settlement of difficulties was entrusted to a common tribunal; rules for the acquisition of means of living were established; the liturgy of Bertholdsdorf was adopted, still with the recognition of entire freedom of conscience and of that internal species of union peculiar to the Moravian Brethren; a more entire separation was effected between the sisters and the brethren, not so much from any fear of actual evil consequences to morals, as to remove occasion of reproach. Since these statutes related to civil duties rather than ecclesiastical, they might be named civil ordinances and prohibitions. After protracted discussions, interspersed with religious exercises, they were unanimously adopted. Those who had occasioned the disturbance penitently returned to the bosom of the community. Thus, without any commotion, without any harsh measures, or the exercise of authority, a complete Christian reconciliation was effected. The mildness, the love, the unaffected spirit of charity and the wisdom of the count shone out conspicuously in all these proceedings. He now devoted himself more zealously than ever to the spiritual good of the people. Prayers, exposition of the Scriptures, singing, vigils, catechetical instructions, etc. attested the fervent piety which prevailed. The custom of washing each others' feet, after the apostolic model, was now first introduced. The subject of lots was more exactly defined and a new method of discipline for incorrigible offenders was devised. In 1730, the count laid down his office as principal or civil overseer. His example was followed by the elders. Martin Lianer, a young baker and an eloquent speaker, was elected to the eldership. Anna Nitschmann, a modest, quiet young woman, who had supported herself by spinning wool, was made an *eldress* of the sisterhood. A number of active and approved brethren and sisters were chosen as helpers or syndics, whose aid Zinzendorf found to be very important.

Still, the life of Zinzendorf was by no means one of unalloyed prosperity. By adopting some of the devotional writings of the Catholics, especially certain beautiful hymns of John Scheffler, and in general by his liberal sentiments, he was accused of a tendency to papacy and of indifference to Protestantism, in addition to the old charges of fanaticism and enthusiasm. Color was given to these reproaches by his intercourse with some Roman Catholic divines and by the efforts which were made to induce him to return to the papal communion. In the midst of these attacks from Protestants, a Jesuit, father Regent, whose endeavors to convert to popery the Schwenkfelders in Silesia had been rendered nugatory by Zinzendorf's influence, came out against him with a book entitled, "Notices of a new sect which has broken out in Upper Lusatia and Silesia." This book was answered by Rothe, Schwedler and Schäfer who were also assailed in it. The count found, at this time, a powerful friend and defender in Jablonski, upper court preacher at Berlin, uncle of Comenius the Moravian bishop, and who himself sustained the office of bishop of the Brethren in Poland. With him Zinzendorf carried on an active correspondence, and his warm sympathy and coöperation greatly encouraged the heart of the pious nobleman.

*Various Events, Labors, Journeys, etc.*

Our limits will not allow us to follow in detail or in exact chronological order the subsequent life and experience of Zinzendorf. We have chosen to present at some length his early history as well as an account of the establishment at Herrnhut. We must now select a few of the more interesting incidents of his life from the mass of materials which lie before us.

In 1731, Zinzendorf, in company with several Brethren, made a visit to Copenhagen, and was very kindly received by the queen's mother and by other persons high in rank and in office. The king, against the count's earnest remonstrances, conferred on him the order of knighthood called Daebrog. Instead of seeking these earthly distinctions, it was his earnest desire to renounce them all. Though he found opportunities to promote the cause which was so near his heart, yet on the whole his visit seems to have been unsatisfactory. Among his pleasant recollections was the news which he had heard in the Danish capital of the conversion of the heathen in the West Indies and Greenland. The exertions of Paul Egede in the latter country, he determined actively to support.

On the 8th of March, 1732, Zinzendorf formally resigned his office in the government at Dresden, taking occasion at the time, before the assembled court, to explain at length his religious views and the nature of the institution at Herrnhut. At this period a new and glorious field of activity was opened for the Brethren, in sending the gospel to the heathen. Four young men of active habits and fervent piety determined to devote their lives to the instruction of the slaves in the West Indies and Greenland. The count's narratives, after his return from Denmark, of the unhappy state of those degraded communities and the visit of a Moravian at Herrnhut, who had been baptised at Copenhagen, were the means of calling into life this new and interesting enterprise. The matter was canvassed with great deliberation, and all the difficulties which the missionary would be called to meet were fully adduced. Still, the zeal of the young brethren remained unshaken. After a sufficient examination, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann departed for St. Thomas in the West Indies, in August, 1732. In the following year the two brothers, Stach, proceeded to Greenland. This was the beginning of the missions of the United Brethren, so extensive and rich in its results. When nearly all the rest of Christendom was slumbering over its obligations to the perishing, pagan world, a small and despised company in a remote part of Germany began a course of heroic toil and of disinterested love, which will ever give it a most honorable place in the annals of the church.

In 1734, Zinzendorf attained a long and much desired object—authority to preach the gospel. He delivered his first sermons in Tübingen on the 19th of December. In the following year David Nitschmann was consecrated as a bishop by Jablonski. This step was taken mainly in order that the missionaries whom the community at Herrnhut should send to the heathen might be ordained before their departure. In 1735, the count undertook a journey to Constance and Zurich. While in the former place, he visited those spots where John Huss and Jerome of Prague encountered the flames with such heroic courage. Zinzendorf composed and sung an ode in honor of the martyrs. In 1736, repeated and pressing invitations from Holland induced him to undertake a journey into that country. He set out on the 15th of February, accompanied by more than sixty persons, among whom were his wife and eldest daughter. In Hof, between Meissen and Leipsic, he visited his elder brother, a respectable and pious man, but unlike the count in zeal and peculiar religious

tendencies. He tarried at Jena three days and addressed the pious people whom he found there, individually and in hymns and discourses. He reached Amsterdam on the 4th of March, and was welcomed by multitudes, both of the high and the low, including some pious strangers from Holstein and England. A large dwelling was entirely filled by him and his friends. The countess took her station at the head of the household, and directed the labors of the friends and helpers who voluntarily assumed the position of servants. The count made the same daily disposition of his time as in Herrnhut. At 8 o'clock, A. M., he delivered a discourse on the lot of the day; at evening twilight there was a singing exercise; at 11 o'clock P. M. a short exhortation was given as a concluding exercise to the day. Besides these regular exercises, special meetings were held, in accordance with the customs at Herrnhut. The number of visitors constantly increased, partly from religious impulses, partly from curiosity to hear the count preach, till it was necessary to make a new arrangement for want of space to hold the throng. The men assembled for religious service at one hour, the females at another. At length, the count was compelled to deliver his discourses before the door to the multitudes standing without and within the house. The effect of his sermons and exhortations was extraordinary. In addition to members of the Reformed Church who were on intimate terms with him and whose genuine piety and mild manners were particularly pleasing, members of various sects and some who were attached to heterodox communions thronged around him and were deeply impressed by his fervent discourses. He came in contact also with Socinians and Mennonites, some of whom were deeply impressed by his sermons and conversations. A learned Socinian, Samuel Creliaus, was so affected that he concluded to proceed to Herrnhut with the count. Though he did not carry this resolution into effect, yet ten years afterwards he returned, as he expressed it, to the dear Lamb of God, and died expressing his confidence that he should find salvation in the blood of the Lamb. Still, the zealous nobleman did not escape persecution. Opinions were ascribed to him which he adduced only to controvert. He was reported to be influenced by political motives in favor of the house of Orange. A justification of his character and proceedings, which he caused to be printed, was the means of removing these scandals and prejudices only in part. In the mean time, he used the most zealous efforts, to promote the interests of the

**Brethren.** The obstacles, which prevented the introduction of missions into the Dutch colonies, were much diminished, though not wholly removed, by his earnest representations to the directors of the East India and of the Surinam Companies, and to some of the most influential officers of government. The princess of Orange proposed that there should be some place in Holland devoted to the Brethren, and which might serve as an intermediate resting spot for missionaries going from or returning to Herrnhut. Such a refuge was set apart at a place on the princess's estates called Heerendyk. A part of the count's retinue remained in Holland to complete the arrangement. Zinzendorf set out on his return home on the 15th of April.

At Cassel, the count received intelligence that the government of Saxony had forbidden him to reside any longer in their dominions. This unexpected stroke he bore with exemplary patience, and proceeded on his journey to Ebersdorf, employed in the most confiding intercourse with his Saviour. David Nitschmann met him on the way, handed to him the royal rescript and informed him that a Second Commission was expected at Herrnhut, whose object, as it was feared, was the entire destruction of the community. The alleged reasons of these proceedings were the old complaints that Herrnhut was the rendezvous of the subjects of foreign governments, and that it was becoming the seat of various irregularities dangerous to church and State;—allegations which Zinzendorf's enemies at Court were not unwilling to make use of. In the mean time the countess, who had returned to Herrnhut, received very graciously the members of the royal commission, among whom was the superintendent Löscher. They investigated all the details of the establishment and were fully and candidly informed in respect to its history and objects. They at length returned very favorably disposed towards the Brethren.

Zinzendorf, now in exile from home and country, was free to indulge his increasing love for travel and missionary labors. In the summer of 1836, he journeyed through a large part of Germany. At Berlin, he visited his mother and her husband, field-marshal von Natzmer, with whom he found the most cordial reception. From Königsberg to Riga he travelled, mostly on foot, enjoying, as he termed it, the most endeared communion with the Redeemer. At Riga and Neval he found many adherents, both among the clergy and laity; he preached to great crowds, zealously promoted the translations of the Bible into the

Esthonian and Lettish dialects, which were then commenced, and contributed his counsels and pecuniary aid to other benevolent objects. At Memel, he wrote to the king of Prussia, strongly commending to his notice the condition of the poor, persecuted Salzburgers. On the 25th of October, he arrived at Berlin. He here received a note from the king, Frederic William I, inviting him to visit his majesty. At the interview the count had hardly uttered a word, before the king saw that he was a very different man from what he had been represented; that, instead of being a weak enthusiast or a headstrong fanatic, he possessed a clear and vigorous understanding and a thorough acquaintance with the ways of the world. Accordingly he engaged in a protracted and familiar conversation with him, which, three days subsequently, was repeated, the king feeling for him increasing respect and love. On the last occasion, Frederic William declared before the whole court, that Zinzendorf was neither a heretic nor a political disturber, but that his whole fault was that as a nobleman and one respected in the world, he had devoted himself entirely to the service of the gospel. The king subsequently affirmed in public, "that the devil from hell could not lie more cunningly than Zinzendorf's opponents had done." The result of this friendly intercourse was that, May 20, 1737, the count was ordained a bishop by order of the king. The service was performed privately in Jablonski's house by that prelate and bishop Nitschmann, with the written concurrence of bishop Sitkovius of Poland. This royal and ecclesiastical patronage, while it increased the reputation of Zinzendorf with many who had overlooked or undervalued him, furnished occasion for jealousy and fear lest he should make an undue use of his spiritual power. In consequence of a letter of von Natzmer to the king of Poland, Zinzendorf obtained permission to return to Herrnhut. An order from the court of Saxony soon followed, allowing the community to remain undisturbed, so long as they adhered to the doctrines of the Augsburg confession.

In 1737, Zinzendorf undertook a voyage to the West Indies, to promote the Brethrens' missions in those islands. He sailed from Holland on the 26th of December and arrived in St. Eustatia on the 28th of Jan. 1739. He at once passed over to the Danish island of St. Thomas. The affairs of the mission were in a melancholy state. The brethren had been three months in prison on account of their refusal to take an oath which had been required of them in a court of justice, the Moravians properly so-



called declining to confirm their declaration by an oath. At the instance of Zinzendorf, the Danish governor released the missionaries. At the same time the count began to labor zealously for the conversion of the negroes; his meetings were thronged, and many of the poor slaves appeared to come out from their spiritual bondage into the freedom of the gospel. The planters, as might be expected, took the alarm and complained to the governor that Zinzendorf taught the negroes to become better Christians than their masters. As the governor had not the power or the desire to afford the needed protection to the slaves and the missionaries, Zinzendorf concluded to return immediately and lay the case before the court at Copenhagen, taking with him the complaints which the converted negroes had themselves written to the Danish king. He embarked on the 28th of February, and in seven weeks reached England, and on the 1st of June rejoined his wife and children at Marienborn.<sup>1</sup>

On his return, he devoted himself with unremitting zeal to the concerns of his community which were now enlarging themselves in every direction. Müller, who had been a professor at Leipsic, was chosen bishop. Bishop and Anna Nitschmann were despatched on a missionary journey to North America. New missionaries were sent to Greenland and Surinam. In 1741, Zinzendorf journeyed with a large retinue to Geneva where his son Christian Renatus was about to resume his studies. The order of march was a little amusing. The countess, her daughter and two female companions led the van; some days afterwards the young count with a number of others took up the line of march; after a like interval, a third detachment proceeded; then, Zinzendorf followed with several brethren and two female elders; a sixth division brought up the rear. A copious letter in French, explanatory of the nature, history and objects of the United Brethren was addressed by Zinzendorf to the "venerable company of professors and pastors of the church at Geneva." His representations were courteously received, but seemed to make but little impression on the degenerate descendants of Calvin and Beza.

On his homeward journey, the count conceived the plan of undertaking a voyage to North America. On the 7th of August, he set out, having caused the election of a new bishop, John Nitschmann, and a board of advisers under the name of the General Conference. Having been detained several weeks in Hol-

<sup>1</sup> Whether he actually made representations on the subject to the government at Copenhagen, we are not informed.

land on urgent business of the brethren, he reached London in safety. At a synod held in that city, a deacon was chosen to manage, in connection with the countess the pecuniary affairs of the community which had now become somewhat involved. The count sailed for New York on the 17th of Sept., accompanied by his eldest daughter, Benigna, now seventeen years old; his wife returned to Germany. At the end of November the ship arrived at New York. He was hospitably received, and held a number of meetings with some friends. At Philadelphia he addressed a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, announcing that the only object of his visit was to promote the spiritual good of his countrymen, of whom there were more than 100,000 in the province. On the banks of the Delaware, he found an establishment of the Brethren, from which, at a later period, proceeded the flourishing colonies of Nazareth and Bethlehem. On the 28th of May, he delivered an address in Latin, in the governor's house, before many distinguished men, among whom was Dr. Franklin, in which he unfolded the principal grounds of his undertaking. This address was printed. The labors of the count were incessant both among the Reformed and the Lutherans. The good fruits which at first appeared were in a measure neutralized by some unhappy collisions, both with their visitor and with each other. Of his reception and labors, Anna Nitschmann thus wrote to the community in Europe: "How beautifully and lovely it looks in Bethlehem, I cannot write to you. Never in my life have I seen any thing equal to it. We were all together a month while the affairs of the community were set in order. We loved each other like children. This was accomplished by the dear Lamb of God, who has made out of sinners such happy children of grace. Our very dear brother Lewis is now completing his travels in these wilds, and will then set in order various things in Pennsylvania and in the churches. Pennsylvania has treated him very unkindly; there are notorious enemies of the cross of Jesus and of his blessed little church of sinners; still, they have effected nothing. The Lord is with us." This letter alludes to the common accusations and shameful reports which the good count was called to meet here as well as in Europe. The novelty of the circumstances in which he appeared was enough in the view of many persons to condemn him. He appeared, somewhat like Whitefield, commissioned to break up the spiritual lethargy in which the mass of the population of this country were then involved. Some preachers, finding him not a

partizan of their particular communion, denounced him as the false prophet or the beast of the apocalypse. At the outset, Zinzendorf took pains to refute these calumnious charges, and for this purpose procured the insertion of two communications in Dr. Franklin's newspaper. Subsequently, he was disposed to trust to time, or rather the good Providence of God for his vindication.

Among his other labors, the count visited the Indians on the Delaware and Susquehannah rivers. His exhortations were attentively listened to by many of the Indians, though some of the more evil-disposed appear to have entertained designs of murdering him. The general effects of his labors on the German population and the establishments of the Brethren were happy. He sailed for Europe with his daughter and Anna Nitschmann, on the 9th of Jan. 1743, and arrived at Dover, England, Feb. 17th, where he was joyfully received by his numerous friends. While in London he preached daily in the Brethren's church in German; on the following day, the sermon was repeated in English. On one occasion he preached in French.

The remainder of Zinzendorf's life was passed in the most indefatigable activity. He made repeated journeys to Silesia, Holland, England and various parts of Germany, and attempted to enter Russia, but was forbidden by the empress. His toils at Herrnhut were unremitted. By sermons, addresses, conversations in public and in private, in season and out of season, he endeavored to win souls to the Saviour, and to build them up in the faith. At a synod in 1747, John von Watteville and Leonard Dober were chosen bishops, more than thirty persons were named as deacons and deaconesses, and two hundred were appointed *acolytes*. His daughter Benigna, married to von Watteville, departed with her husband, in 1747, on a visit to the missions in North America and the West Indies. Among the principal labors of the count was the preparation of books for the press, especially those which he felt compelled to write in defence of the Brethren. Of the distinguished individuals who assailed his system were Bengel, Walch and Baumgarten. The most important of these publications amounted to about twenty. Some errors and indefensible things in the movements of the Brethren, and even in those of the count, furnished plausible ground for these assaults. Most of them were, however, characterized by great injustice and prejudice; some were filled with abuse and scurrility. In 1745, the count published a vindication, with the title: "The present Condition of the kingdom of Jesus'

Cross in its Innocence; or various obvious facts in answer to innumerable falsehoods put forth against a well-known evangelical community." This volume, without naming any opponent or publication, was written with earnestness and ability and had a favorable effect on the unprejudiced. Zinzendorf then published a series of works, in the form of autobiography or personal reminiscences. It is the most peculiar and characteristic of his writings, and is rich in notices of his childhood and youth. In 1746, a collection of his addresses to the community at Herrnhut appeared. This was followed in 1747 by *Thirty-one Discourses on the Augsburg Confession*, which he had delivered to the theological seminary at Herrnhut. In 1751, the work of Spangenberg was published, in which the count took part, and which was entitled, "Exhibition of the true answers to more than three hundred accusations."

In 1751, Christian David died, the first of the Moravians who settled at Herrnhut, and the leader of the Greenland mission. In May 1752, Zinzendorf's son Christian Renatus, a young man of gentle feelings, of childlike piety, and of great promise, departed to his everlasting rest. His parents were filled with inexpressible sorrow, and the count seems never to have recovered from the shock. In 1753, he procured the publication in London of a hymn book, containing more than 2000 hymns, "old, new and translated." A second part was published in 1754, of more than 1000 hymns, containing many of Zinzendorf's own compositions. He subsequently published a collection of hymns which had been written by his son. On the 19th of July, 1756, the countess sweetly and without pain slept in Jesus. Her numerous cares and frequent journeys had impaired her constitution. Her health was also much affected by the death of her son. She was so universally and deeply bewailed, that Zinzendorf himself was compelled to assume the office of consoling others. In the following year, Zinzendorf was united in marriage with Anna Nitschmann, in accordance with the unanimous advice of his friends, who perceived that his excessive labors and the breaking up of his domestic habits, were fast bringing him to the grave. His missionary spirit continued unabated to the last. Fresh missionaries were sent to Egypt and Abyssinia, and the establishments in North America were carefully provided for. At the same time, several of the stations in Europe suffered the horrors of the war which then raged in so many parts of the continent. Saxony and especially Silesia were the theatre of the bloodiest

battles and of campaigns most destructive to the lives and property of the people. Some places where the Brethren dwelt, were utterly destroyed. In most of them troops were quartered and various hard exactions levied. Still, amid all these troubles, general prosperity attended the labors of Zinzendorf and his coadjutors.

The last days of this venerable man now drew near. On the 5th of May 1760, he was seized with an illness which proved to be a catarrhal fever and which ended fatally on the 9th of that month. He enjoyed, throughout his illness, great peace of mind and assured hope of eternal life. He passed a part of one sleepless night in reading recent news from the missionary stations. On the day of his death, he called his three daughters to his bedside, kissed them and bade them an affectionate farewell. About a hundred of the brethren and sisters took a tearful adieu of him. He then reclined his head, closed his eyes, and while his son-in-law, John von Watteville, repeated the words, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," he breathed out his last breath with the word "peace."

His death was made known to the community, as is usual with Brethren, by the sound of a trumpet. The people assembled in the afternoon, and after John von Watteville had made a short address, fell on their knees and gave thanks to the Saviour, who through the departed saint, had so magnified his mercy. On the 16th of May, the interment took place. More than two thousand strangers from the surrounding country came together, among whom were distinguished Austrian officers, and a troop of imperial grenadiers who were stationed at Zittau. Besides these strangers, twenty-one hundred persons belonging to the Brethrens' establishments, followed the body to the grave, among whom were thirty-two ministers and deacons, some of them from Holland, England, North America and Greenland. A monument, with a simple inscription, was erected over his remains. In the same month, his wife died with the same joyful resignation to the Saviour's will.

Zinzendorf's bodily presence was imposing, indicating great vigor and firm health. His strength was impaired only after the most indefatigable labors. His countenance revealed some of the finest features,—a beautiful mouth, a high forehead, and blue eyes full of fire and, at the same time, of benevolence.<sup>1</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> "The count has a fine form. His eyes are neither too dull nor too fiery. He has a fresh color and all the marks of a sanguine temperament."—*Von Keen*.

manner was open, frank, affectionate and very winning. He was ever ready to converse with men of all ranks, and in a way remarkably adapted to their position and circumstances.

Zinzendorf's most remarkable characteristic was a confiding simplicity and a harmless gaiety, passing, when occasion offered, into sprightly humor and wit. His feelings were extremely excitable, sometimes exhibiting the most passionate warmth. They, however, soon subsided and left no trace of ill-will. His powers of imagination and fancy were originally strong, but were not properly cultivated or regulated. Some of his poems exhibit great vigor of conception, clothed in the boldest and most striking imagery; but he was deficient in rhetorical taste and judgment. In some respects, his compositions strikingly resembled those of Charles Wesley, though they lack the genius, the exquisite feeling, the felicitous expression which distinguish some of the hymns of the English Methodist. Zinzendorf's faculties fitted him peculiarly to act on the living world. Here he would not suffer in comparison with the first men of any age. He had the power to seize upon a great and worthy object, and in all his troubles and controversies, never to lose sight of it; he had a true insight into the ways of the world in general, and a remarkable tact in applying his knowledge to particular cases; great acuteness and versatility in shaping his course as circumstances varied; adaptedness to his position as a leader and founder of a community; uncommon powers of invention in discovering the needful resources; strength of purpose when laboring alone or in public; courage, presence of mind and perseverance; an inextinguishable zeal and great powers of eloquence, both with his pen and voice. He lacked scarcely one quality necessary to form a great statesman. A statesman he unquestionably was, one of a noble rank, connected with a kingdom that shall stand forever. He shunned the honors of earthly courts only from love to those which alone would satisfy him. Yet his simple and fervent piety was his crowning grace. A holy and childlike trust in God illuminated the path of his life and imparted serenity to his last hours. The cross was the centre of all his joys and labors. On the Lamb of God his hopes of salvation rested. Love to Him was the impelling motive of his labors, beginning in the country of the Reformation and reaching to the ends of the earth. His

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<sup>1</sup> "Zinzendorf has not only much wit but vigorous powers of imagination. One need only read his hymns to be convinced of this. There are passages which could have flowed only from the original fountains of Parnassus."—*Van Keen*."

highest eulogy is, that his field was the world. Messengers of grace went forth from the little village of Herrnhut to the snows of Greenland, the burning deserts of Africa and the pestilential swamps of South America. While kings and princes were listening to the impassioned appeals of the pious nobleman in Amsterdam and Berlin, his disciples were proclaiming, in persuasive accents, the love of Jesus to barbarous fishermen near the northern pole and to naked savages under the line. The silent industry and peaceful joy which reigned in the modest dwellings at Herrnhut, were copied in the commercial capital of the world and in the forests of Pennsylvania. Of few individuals among our race can it be affirmed with more truth than of Zinzendorf, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them;" or that other sentence, engraved on his monument, "He was ordained to go and bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain."

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## ARTICLE V.

### HISTORICAL STUDIES.

By Rev. B. Sears, D. D. President of Theol. Institution, Newton.

1. *Grundzüge der Historik von G. G. Gervinus, Leipzig, 1837.*
2. *Lectures on Modern History, by Thomas Arnold, D. D. with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. Henry Reed, New York, 1846.*

WE have placed these two works at the head of the present article, not for the purpose of making them the subject of a critical examination and review, but rather as indicating the general topic on which we propose to remark. The study of history and the historical art itself are beginning to receive from our countrymen a larger and more just share of attention, while in Europe men of the profoundest erudition, and of the most exalted genius and talents, are consecrating themselves to the cultivation of this department of knowledge. Examples are numerous, but it is unnecessary to cite them. The most careless observer of the literature of the age, must have noticed that, among the more substan-

tial and magnificent works which are issued from the press in England, France and Germany, those of a historical character hold a conspicuous place. This circumstance suggests the propriety of our devoting a little space to the consideration of the qualifications and labors of the historian, with some observations on the importance of this branch of study in general.

That investigation should precede historical composition, though a truism, has often been regarded as untrue. Of those who have undertaken the sacred office of historian many are found who have neither the means nor the inclination for historical research. Secondary sources of information are all that they seek, and in the use of these they are, too often, not over scrupulous. The consequence of this abuse is that, among intelligent readers, history having lost its freshness, has ceased to awaken general interest; and the only wonder is that the disgust has not been greater. Writers of this description seem not to have been aware, or if aware, not heedful of the boggy nature of the soil in some of the tracts over which they have travelled, or rather flown, nor of the rich mines that lie scarcely beneath the surface, in others. Nothing is more ludicrous than the gravity with which fables are sometimes set forth as veritable history, or more contemptible than the stupid indifference with which, at other times, things of intensest interest, lying, too, directly in the path of the historian, are unheeded, as the remains of ancient art are by the self-satisfied Turk. Most of our compends of general history are, for this reason, unworthy of the place which they occupy, and many a larger work, of respectability, would poorly abide the test of searching criticism. We might here instance the early history of Rome, which, often and confidently as its story has been told, is, to the true scholar, what the polar regions are to the geographer. Some of its seas have been navigated; some of its coasts have been touched; but as to the rest, there are impenetrable fields of ice, which have to this day baffled all the skill of the explorer. Since Niebuhr has shown how little reliance can be placed upon much that passes under the name of Roman history, others who have come after him are in a situation like that of merchants whose store-houses have been consumed by a general conflagration, and who must content themselves for a while with sheds and stalls till they shall have time to erect something more substantial.

In respect to Grecian history, the state of things is more favorable; but it has not long been so. Less than thirty years ago, little comparatively was known of the many-sided life of



the Greeks. The entire subject of the legal antiquities of Athens, to give but one instance, was a chaos, too faithfully exemplified in the Notes to Dobson's edition of the Attic orators. How great the change since the investigations of Böckh, Müller, Wachsmuth, Hermann, Meyer and Schömann! It is inspiring to see, with what restless activity almost every subject connected with Grecian history has within a few years been investigated. With this multitude of historical dissertations, it has, at length, become possible to compose a tolerable history of Greece. Instead of what has been done, let us suppose that modern scholars had been satisfied with the method of good old Rollin, and laid out their strength in rhetorical exhibition, and in setting forth by way of ratiocination vague and uncertain generalities. How different would have been the state of our knowledge! Of what use, then, is this perpetual varnishing up of old furniture, while the very frame-work is in danger of falling in pieces; this outside stucco-work and polish, while the building itself is crumbling and tottering? He who settles one disputed question, who clears up one obscurity, who corrects one error, does a better service to mankind, than he who fills the shelves of book-sellers with "libraries" of superficial and unauthentic history. After the days of poly-history, the age of the Scaligers, of Casaubon, of Salmasius, of Gronovius, of Heinsius and others, there was some value to be attached to the labors of those who converted the accumulated mass of historical collections into readable histories. But that ore was long since all worked up. If men will now write history, they must begin with research, the want of which it is in vain for mere cultivated taste or even genius to attempt to supply. The true historian, who understands the condition of that branch of study to which he is devoted, will not only feel the necessity of laying anew the foundations of history, but will be almost oppressed with a sense of the greatness of the undertaking. His only encouragement will be that, while it is the work of an age, and perhaps of many ages to accomplish what is needed by way of investigation, it is in his power to select some single part of the work, and perform it so thoroughly that it shall be of permanent value. Greater undertakings will be left for the few, if such there be, who are adequate to them. Even a Niebuhr was not able to complete the examination of the history of a single people. Heeren could explore thoroughly but one of the aspects of the ancient world, that of its material or economical interests. Schlosser has at-

tempted more, and with partial success; but who will venture, single-handed, to undertake what a Schlosser has failed to accomplish? The attempt to write, from original investigations, a general history, where others have not before critically explored the ground and furnished innumerable helps and guides, is too gigantic for the powers of the human mind. As in erecting an Egyptian pyramid, so here, many laborers must be long employed before the pile can be reared. All efforts in anticipation of this preparatory work are misdirected and nearly useless. The present generation of historians must, if they would meet the demand that is made upon them, limit their ambition chiefly to the accurate investigation of details. Without these, nothing of real and lasting importance in history can be produced. After that work shall have been accomplished, men of the requisite genius and industry will be able to construct the fabric of a general history from safe and durable materials.

We have spoken of Greece and Rome; but the time is passed, when it could be supposed that in them, in their language and literature, is to be found the key which shall unlock the history of the ancient world. Not to insist on the point, that Asia had an influence upon the early civilization and subsequent fortunes of these countries so various and so extensive that it cannot be safely overlooked, that original seat of the human race had a history of its own, equal, at least, in interest and importance to that of Europe, a history which can never be written from Greek and Latin authorities. He who would contemplate Asia as she was, can do so only by following her to her own home and hearing the recitals of her history in her own language. Our knowledge even of western Asia was very imperfect, till the aids of Oriental literature and of modern travels were added to those already possessed in the remains of classical learning. Still much remains to be done, and probably many things pertaining to the early history of those countries, will always continue in obscurity. In regard to ancient Egypt, the age of utter incredulity in one class of men, and of despondency in another, has passed away. Nowhere is the value of patient research more apparent than in the results to which it has led respecting that country. It is impossible yet to say how much the study of Sanscrit literature, and the possession of so large a part of India by the British, and the various investigations which will grow out of these circumstances, will contribute to remove the obscurity which rests upon the history of that more easterly part of the world which was the

most exuberant source of influence in shaping the destinies of many nations. The comparative study of languages as now pursued, and applied to ethnographical inquiries; the discovery and interpretation of various literary productions in the different languages of Asia descended from a remote antiquity; the study of the face of the country and of its monuments of art by scholars who shall be able to follow out every hint of ancient authors, may yet conspire to increase our knowledge of ancient India beyond the present expectation of the most sanguine inquirer. Nor can we believe it a vain hope that, in a historical point of view, China will yet be more widely opened.

There is another quarter from which we may confidently expect additional light on the history of Asia. We refer to the occupancy of all the north of Asia by the Russians, and the culture of the languages of the country both ancient and modern, and the study of its history as now successfully prosecuted under the auspices of the government. There is, for example, a Mongolian literature existing to an extent which is yet unknown. In this literature there are, according to scholars now in the employ of the Russian government, numerous historical works, relating to that part of Asia where originated those great military movements which agitated the whole world from Spain to China. Now as we have only fragments of information on this great subject, a knowledge of Tartar and Mongolian history would furnish a key to much that is unknown and enigmatical in the history of other nations both in Europe and in Asia. So far as we know, von Hammer, of the historians, has directed most attention to this subject.

In no period of history is the necessity of further research more obvious than in that of the Middle Ages. The learning of a Hallam suffices but for two or three of the western and southern States of Europe. With the language and literature of the two great political powers of that age, the Imperial and the Mohammedan, he appears to have no intimate acquaintance. Yet an accurate history of the Middle Ages, without such knowledge, is utterly impossible. And in regard to the Latin chronicles of this period, it is to be observed, that many of them have recently been brought to light for the first time, and that all the others need to be examined anew with sounder principles of historical criticism, and to be interpreted in connection with all the remains of the vernacular literature of the age. This last circumstance suggests what is particularly needed at the present

time. Scholars have begun,—and they have but begun,—the study of the Scandinavian, the Teutonic and the Romance dialects. The Anglo-Saxon history can never be thoroughly written, till all the relations of the Anglo-Saxons with their continental ancestors and kindred are more definitely ascertained. Not only their descent and language, but their institutions and laws, the very germ of their political character, must be traced to the continent, and illustrated by the history of similar institutions and laws, that were in force all along the north-western coast of Germany. On these points of vital interest, neither Turner nor Palgrave, excellent as they are in other respects, have given us any information; and Lappenberg has rather indicated what is to be done than accomplished it.

The history of Germany is now awakening very general interest. The German grammar of Grimm has created an era not only in philology, but in history also. The history of a language and the history of a people are found to be very nearly allied. The religion, the laws, the customs and the fortunes of a people are constantly alluded to in all literary productions as well as in grave histories. Thus during the study of the dialects of the old German, German history itself has been, as it were, raised from the dead. Now a fresh effort is made—and it is indispensable that it should be made—to investigate anew every portion of the history of the country. The history of single institutions, religious, political and literary, of single towns and cities, of dioceses, of provinces, of small states, no less than of kingdoms is now employing innumerable individuals of unquenchable curiosity and unwearied research. This is the more necessary, on account of the great variety of laws and usages which prevailed in an age when every petty prince and almost every considerable city was aiming at independence. In such cases, all generalizations drawn from a few facts are uncertain and often deceptive. On some important subjects a general ignorance, on others serious errors have prevailed. This is proved by a multitude of special investigations which have, of late, been made and published. Until very recently, there has been no documentary and authentic history of the Peasants' War; and the work of Bensen is complete only in respect to the southern part of its theatre. The early history of Prussia proper, the country formerly occupied by the Teutonic Order of Knights, was almost an entire mystery till Professor Voight opened, for the first time, its many volumes of manuscript records, documents and correspondence,

and revealed to the world things more interesting than Romance itself. The veritable history of the Swiss reformers, and of the subordinate German reformers, we may truly affirm, is just beginning to be written. The amount of manuscript records and of epistolary correspondence, hitherto wholly unnoticed and nearly unknown, but now brought to light, may well excite our astonishment.

The history of the Anabaptists still remains in great obscurity. Some of the principal facts, particularly the political misdemeanors both of public bodies and of individuals, are well known; but an accurate knowledge and classification, according to their philosophical tenets and their theological creeds or fancies, of the heterogeneous characters who passed under that vague and merely accidental appellation, will be sought for in vain in any book on the subject. Scanty as the printed authorities are at the present day, there are unpublished papers relating to the subject, written, too, at the very time of the transactions, scattered in various archives in Germany and Switzerland, which, if carefully and systematically examined, would certainly settle many doubtful points in the history of those enthusiasts. Sufficient evidence of this may be found in what is said by Schreiber in his life of Hubmayer, by the editors of Zuingle's works,—the new and first complete edition,—and by Hagen on the literary and religious state of Germany at the time of the Reformation. We forbear here to go more into details. A volume might be written, showing how much of the present knowledge of German history is of recent growth, and how much that is now unknown is within the reach of the curious and industrious historian.

In the history of France, scarcely a period is to be found in which there is not a similar demand for investigation. The whole subject of the relative influence of the old Gallic and the Roman elements of social order, after Gaul became a Roman province, is yet debatable ground; and the bold theories of Amadeus Thierry tend but indirectly to settle the points in dispute. Nor are the social relations of these more ancient inhabitants of the country, the Gallic Romans, with their conquerors, the Franks, yet sufficiently explained. The earlier French writers found in the origin of the French government pretty much what their political biases led them to prefer.<sup>1</sup> Boulainvilliers discovered that the Franks, whose individual rights were equal, were the lawful masters of

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<sup>1</sup> Löbell's *Gregor von Tours*, p. 550.

the conquered country, and that the French nobles were the descendants of the Franks. Consequently Louis XIV. had invaded the freedom of the nobility; but the common people being the descendants of the conquered Gauls, had merely the right of existence. Dubos denied that there was such a conquest, and maintained that Gaul was defended against its enemies by the Franks, and that, when delivered, it consented to be governed by the Merovingian kings with absolute authority, the right of property and that of holding civil offices alone being reserved. Montesquieu rejected both theories, and set forth an intermediate and more rational view, but fell into many errors in detail. Mably wrote in the spirit of the French revolution, and could carry by force what could not be carried by reason. One of the ablest, most accurate and diligent inquirers on this and other connected subjects, is Fauriel in his history of southern Gaul under the Germans. Still Löbell thinks him not free entirely from French prejudices. Augustus Thierry is certainly one of the most attractive of the late French historians, and paints with the hand of a master. Yet, though his pictures are admirable, and his details correct, the combination is sometimes that of the artist, and one which never existed in nature. He, also, is a champion of the ancient Gauls, and maintains that they formed a third and distinct element pervading all the periods of French history, and that the Germans were their brutal masters through successive generations; not remembering that history records as many instances of Roman as of German violence to the original natives of the soil. Guizot seems to be the freest from prejudices of any of the men of his class, and to unite in himself, more than others, the highest qualities of the historian. He has given glimpses on this subject which tend to bring the investigation to a successful issue. As might be expected, the Germans have not been idle spectators of a controversy which was so closely connected with the early history of their own country. Eichhorn, in his history of German law; Savigny, in his history of the Roman law during the middle ages; Pertz, in his history of the Merovingian mayors of the palace; Schmidt, in his history of France; Löbell, in his life of Gregory of Tours, and many others have contributed much to the solution of this great historical problem. Further investigations, however, will be indispensable to a complete history of the subject. We have read Michelet on this point with mingled feelings of delight and disgust,—delight at the evidence of the abundant means which he possessed for prosecuting his in-

quiries, his industry in using them, and at many brilliant passages in his work; but disgust with the flippancy with which he often dismisses the gravest subjects, and with the puerile conceits and fancies to which he as frequently resorts in sustaining a theory or in solving difficulties.

The historical problem upon which we have accidentally fallen in these remarks, is but one of a thousand which might be brought forward to show the necessity of more investigation in regard to the history of France. Its religious history, in particular, requires the labors of able, sound and candid critics. On nearly all points of interest, we have been, until within a very few years, almost entirely dependent on catholic and even monastic writers, or on a few Protestant polemics. Notwithstanding the credulity of the monks, and the partiality for Romanism which everywhere pervades their writings, we are obliged to award to them, especially to the Benedictines, the praise of more diligence and even more profoundness of learning, than to others who have treated on the same subjects. Reuchlin, in his history of the Port-Royalists, and the biographers of some of the mystics and of other great men of the Gallican church, have given specimens of what is needed; but that part which remains to be done is immense. Unhappily, the French historians of the new school, are deficient in the earnestness of religious character, and in the theological learning requisite to the skilful and satisfactory performance of the task just indicated. Nothing in this line could be more desirable than a philosophic history of Jesuitism as a moral system. Reuchlin, in his life of Pascal, has given admirable hints on the subject. None, however, but a profound and philosophic theologian, can explain the nature and causes of that system, as well as its effects—with which last most men satisfy their curiosity; and none but a laborious student will read, and take the necessary pains fully to comprehend those voluminous works of the Spanish Jesuits on moral theology which alone can furnish a true basis for the investigation.

Besides the Catholic history, there is the Protestant history of France, some parts of which have for a long period lain in a lamentable state of neglect. Here more than almost anywhere else, new research, not a new dress of the scanty materials already before us, is what is needed. The few individuals who have interested themselves lately in these inquiries, have contributed much to the instruction and gratification of the intelligent Christian reader, and created a desire for more information. May

others soon be found to follow the example of Coquerel and Schmidt.

It were unnecessary to seek to illustrate the importance of the truth with which we started, by a particular reference to the present state of the study of English history. Men are everywhere opening their eyes to the astounding fact that they have no history of England. Books in abundance there are on the subject, but which of all the number gives us the true history of the country? Never has the tyranny of prejudice been more fatal to the interests of truth, than in the English writers who are known to the world under the name of the historians of their country. No mere mediation between partisans will suffice to remedy the evil. The original witnesses on which later authors have relied, spoke so much under the influence of prejudice, there is so much of false coloring in the standard literature of certain periods, that the witnesses must be more searchingly tried, and the facts more carefully investigated one by one, before the frame-work of a national history can be reared. The labors of a Niebuhr are demanded, classifying authorities, increasing their number by diligent search, carefully interpreting, correcting and illustrating each by the light of the whole, till truth, so far as it is not already utterly beyond our reach, shall be brought out and demonstrated. True, indeed, works thus elaborated will bring with them as an accompaniment much of the process by which the author has conducted his investigations, and will stand in the way of that artistic arrangement of the mere results, which constitutes the charm of historical narrative. But such is the state of doubt and suspicion on the part of the reader, that he will no longer take the mere authority of the historian, but will demand the evidence in the case. Until the most important facts which are now the subject of dispute, shall be settled and demonstrated, no good histories can be written after the manner of Hume or Lingard. No one, unless himself a historian, knows where the latter is to be trusted and where he is not, where he has made new investigations, and where he has merely given us a recollection of the old repast. Having dwelt so long on the necessity of farther and more accurate investigation, we must hasten to take another view of the historian's work.

A powerful and well cultivated intellect, familiar, too, with the nature of all the public interests which give to the events their importance, is essential to a great historian. Histories of individual public interests, as those of politics, war, and the like; or



of professions and studies, as of law, medicine, theology, philosophy, literature; and of the several arts and sciences, all of which are in the highest degree both useful and attractive, plainly require a particular acquaintance with these subjects, without which it were absurd to undertake to write upon them. That which is so obvious in the instances here given, is not less true nor less important in all other cases. To do justice to a general history, therefore, in which so many subjects need to be treated, is impossible for one in whom high mental endowments and much general culture are not united. The ideal, indeed, can never be fully reached; but on all that constitutes the groundwork of any history, the author must be an adept in order to be a competent critic. Here the great masters of the art whose works have descended to us from antiquity excelled. Of Herodotus we will not speak; his history is a sort of epic, and is good in its way. But Thucydides received into his capacious soul and fully appreciated everything of which he treated. Polybius is well known to have excelled in this respect. Livy's deficiencies sprung from other causes; he would not have been incompetent to treat of such high subjects, had his method and aims, in other respects, been right. Of Tacitus it is unnecessary to speak. Do the great modern historians equal their prototypes? Hume was an acute metaphysician, an elegant scholar and an incomparable writer; but how much better would Burke have understood political and practical subjects? Robertson had various knowledge, and great historical tact in presenting his materials in the simplest and most attractive form. But he did not comprehend the subject of his best work. The nature and workings of the great internal struggle between the Italian and the German spirit, between the spirit of the Middle Ages and the spirit of reform, of which the events of the age of Charles V. were but the visible tokens, this most essential point in the history of that emperor and his times, was not understood by his biographer. Gibbon seems to have understood his subject somewhat better. His deficiencies were chiefly moral and rhetorical. Great expectations were raised in respect to the historical project of Mackintosh, in consequence of his being known to possess, in a remarkable degree, the qualities above mentioned. The failure, so far as it was one, must be traced either to a want of suitable preparation, or to the effect of his conversational habits and advancing age, or to both. Among the Italian writers in this department none have a better reputation than Machiavelli and

Paul Sarpi. Their faults are, to a great extent, the results of the *pragmatical* school to which they belonged, not those of incompetency. Of the older French historians, Thuanus or de Thou and Bossuet, are remarkable, though in very different ways, for their comprehension of their subjects. The former, though highly learned, judicious and candid, is not very original; the latter is possibly too much so. At the present day, Guizot enjoys, in respect to ability, a singular preëminence. Heeren and Schlosser, among the Germans, the former contemplating rather the outer, the latter the inner life of a people, have as complete an understanding of their subjects as can be expected from University professors. The severest criticism ever made upon them, was that their knowledge was book knowledge. Niebuhr, Rotteck and von Raumer had the advantage of being more or less conversant with public affairs. The first made a good use of it; the second owes to it much of his unbounded popularity; the last has, perhaps, in his later years, trusted too much to it. Of the ecclesiastical historians, none excels Neander in being completely master of his subject. Most of them want comprehensiveness, or an ability to appreciate Christianity in its essential features, as distinguished from the accidents of ecclesiastical usages and party interests, and to form a true estimate of those various influences which serve to render every successive age of the church what it is.

So many partial failures in eminent historians, show how necessary it is for every author to select his subject with special reference to his peculiar qualifications. Gibbon's subject required of him a careful, philosophic and candid estimate of the comparative influences of paganism and of Christianity upon society and government. Here lay his greatest weakness. Semler and Hencke hated the church; and yet they attempted to write its history. They have merely written the history of its follies. Maimbourg formerly undertook,—and Audin is now walking in his footsteps,—to explain the Protestant reformation. They were about as well qualified for their task as Luther would have been to write the biography of Zuingli or of Henry VIII. Southey must needs write the lives of Bunyan and Wesley. That is all very well so far as it respects the poetical elements of their character; but beyond that, nothing could be more odd than such a conjunction of names on a title-page.

In those cases where an entire period is made the subject of the narrative, the highest degree of perfection is reached when

the author studies it in the light of universal history, so treats it as to make it teach all the more important practical lessons of history, and, in short, exhibits human nature by giving a faithful picture of it with all its leading passions and aspirations. The conservative and the innovator, the cunning aristocrat and the honest yeoman, the believer in divine Providence and the skeptic, the patriot and the political knave, all ought to have their full length portraits in such a gallery, and each in such a way as to represent his class in all ages. Every well chosen and well executed general history will furnish a complete view of humanity, will be a fair specimen of the world, a knowledge of which would alone be sufficient to render one a sound practical historian. A man who, after having determined to write the history of Greece, Rome or England, should study to acquaint himself with human affairs generally, with the influence of laws and institutions, of industry, social habits and popular belief in other nations, and then should bring this large acquaintance with human nature, in all its social relations, to aid him in the study and comprehension of the particular subject he had chosen, would, beyond all question, be able to throw a broader light upon almost every theme of historical interest. Not that different nations, in pursuing the course predestined by Providence, all have the same experience, though they have much more in common than is sometimes supposed; but that history is best understood when, in connection with the representation of a period as it is in itself, and as it would appear to one who knew no other, all the estimates and judgments passed by the author upon the great questions of social interest are conformed to a fixed historical standard. This standard can be nothing else than the results to which man, with the accumulated knowledge of all past ages, have come in respect to political and moral science. In estimating the character and institutions of the republics of Greece, it would be necessary to refer to some principles unknown in that age, but developed since, and thus their history would be instructive to us, not only in regard to what they were, but equally so in regard to what they were not. The necessity of moral principle to the stability of government, may be taught negatively in the history of the last years of the republic of Athens, or positively in that of the old Roman republic. The connection of general intelligence with civil and religious liberty, is illustrated as much by the history of the Middle Ages as by the modern history of England. In respect to political insti-

tutions, Mitford's history of Greece is founded upon a right theory, that of comparing ancient and modern democracy. His fault consists not in being a modern statesman,—indeed no other could write a good history of Greece,—but in acting the partisan.

There are, indeed, certain historical subjects which are better adapted than others to answer the general purposes of history; and the selection of such is one of the surest indications of a great historian. Besides the entire history of a civilized nation, there are certain great epochs with their antecedents and consequents, which furnish a perfect historical theme. Such was the decline of the Roman republic and the origin of the monarchy, the Papacy from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII, the German empire under the Hohenstaufens, the age of the emperor Charles V., the English, the French, and the American revolutions.

In regard to what is termed the philosophical treatment of history, many questions arise which can be properly solved only by using the nicest discrimination. A mere narration of facts without regard to principles would admit of no true system or order, and would no more constitute history than a pile of timbers or stones would constitute a palace. Otherwise, it were better to go back to the old chroniclers as our masters. The nature of an historical subject ought to be studied, a sound induction drawn from the sum of the leading results, then a new survey of the details in the light of the whole, and thus an organization effected, dictated by the materials themselves and not by any arbitrary method. Furthermore, human actions should be referred as far as possible to their causes, or, what is the same thing, events should be viewed in their real connections. These connections are manifold,—with the course of Providence, with human nature, and with special external influences. The more completely the entire web of these influences is given, if correctly given, the more perfect is the performance. Indeed, the value of history depends not on a knowledge of the events in themselves, but on a correct apprehension of the practical principles which they teach and illustrate. When these are falsely explained, then we attach little importance to the author's philosophy, and confine our attention to his facts; and in all cases, the historian can but aid us in our reflections; he cannot think for us.

We are aware that in advocating the claims of philosophical history, we are exposing ourselves to misapprehension. Our position is not, that philosophical history, as the term is often employed, must be insisted on, notwithstanding the evils inseparably

connected with it, but that history becomes truly philosophical only by avoiding these evils. What is sometimes termed *pragmatical* history is defective on account of its overlooking them. It often mistakes an occasion for a cause, and errs in attaching undue importance to external influences. It often converts the actors themselves into philosophers, and represents them all as acting from nice calculation and upon logical grounds. Not only does it ascribe to men many motives and reasons to which they were utter strangers, but it attempts, by a shallow philosophy, to solve the mysteries of Providence. This is the chief fault of the otherwise excellent historians, Pölitz and Planck. But a truly philosophical historian will be careful not to explain too much; he will be on his guard against referring to a subordinate cause that which more truly springs from a higher cause, and against explaining on any one principle that which is the result of many. Nor will he forget that there are some things which no mortal could ever comprehend, and others which will ever remain obscure, because those memorials which alone could furnish the key to their explanation, have perished.

There is another kind of history, called philosophical, which is now taking the place of the more antiquated pragmatical method. It is that by which an abstract philosophy attempts to discover the theory of the universe, and then to investigate and construct history accordingly. This method would meet with nothing but contempt, beyond the precincts of a certain school of speculative philosophy, were it not that men of splendid talents and astonishing research have recommended a bad method by a masterly execution. Germany itself, however, is becoming wearied with such vagaries, and such profane attempts to scale the heavens in order to look down upon the earth like gods. The wing of time will soon sweep all this mist away. Philosophy is modest just in proportion as it is sound; and this remark applies equally to philosophical history.

Still it may be deserving of serious inquiry, how far the historian should show himself in the character of interpreter. Here there are two extremes, equally to be guarded against, the one that of the chronicler, the other that of the theorist. If an author has studied his subject as profoundly as he ought in order to be justified in assuming the office of historian, long intimacy with his theme will have forced many reflections upon his mind. He will have a truer insight into the nature of that subject than others can be supposed to have. On what principle of safety or of

economy, then, can it be maintained that he ought to withhold those reflections? How can he do justice to his undertaking, or his duty to his readers, if he do not set forth the subject in as luminous a way as possible? It is not, however, so much the extent as the truthfulness of his reflections that will give the needful aid. A simple statement that will shine by its own light, when once communicated,—a hint that will give a right direction to a reader's thoughts, is, in most instances, especially if the plan and narration be philosophical and clear, all that is requisite. Historical theories, with the study and selection of facts to support them, even if conducted with candor and impartiality, have this disadvantage, that they make the reader the disciple of a particular man, rather than the disciple of divine Providence. For those who prefer such a teacher, and who are content to observe the course of human affairs on so narrow a scale, it may be well enough for men to speculate on history and publish their speculations. But what most men desire, and what all need, is select and connected portions of history,—as much as men will have time and ability to study and comprehend,—in which God, as the director of human affairs, teaches the principles by which they are regulated in his own way, and the author is the humble, but faithful interpreter. The interpreter best performs his task when, after having taken the necessary pains to learn what can be known of his theme, he sets it forth in its true character, preceded by such introductory views as shall put the reader in possession of what is indispensable to a comprehension of the general subject, and accompanied by explanatory observations, and by such summaries, comparisons and contrasts, at suitable intervals, as shall enable the reader to perceive its relations to other analogous subjects as well as the connection of its parts. Reflections much beyond these limits, though true in themselves and important in their place, do not properly belong to history. Certainly the historian should be the servant of history, not history the servant of the historian.

Not the least difficult part of the historian's task relates to the imagination. It is his business, from the multitude of disconnected facts which his industry has collected, to call up to life an age that is long gone by. A panoramic view of the living scene, either with his own eyes or with the eyes of another, is denied him. What others have related in different connections, what he himself has brought together in a laborious way from various and distinct sources, must be wrought into one grand picture. It

cannot, of course, be precisely identical with any one scene in the life and circumstances of the people at a particular moment; but it must nevertheless truly represent their general life, in a given period, and the outline, moreover, must be filled up by well ascertained facts. The very highest effort of the poet, that of forming an ideal, and giving it reality, is requisite in the historian, with this difference that the former may elevate himself above the actual world and construct his ideals from the choicest specimens of whatever has been observed, while the latter must keep on an exact level with the state of society which he would represent, and employ only the specific materials before him. The historian's ideal must be the nearest possible approach to a resuscitation. In order to this, he will endeavor to insinuate himself by sympathy into the very souls of the people, and then, by the aid of a well stored memory, to bring around him, in his fancied position, all the results of his previous inquiries, arrange them in their proper places, and then breathe into them the breath of life. The same penetrating and absorbing process by which Shakespeare possessed himself of his historical characters, is of the highest importance to the historian, only he must maintain the identity as well as the consistency of their actions and passions. Let any one compare, in this particular, a Goldsmith with a Keightly, and he will readily perceive why the former is read and the latter only praised. At the present day, the French historians, are, perhaps, cultivating the imagination the most successfully, but their pictures are too gaudy, the coloring too high. Besides, the imagination plays altogether too important a part with them. With the best of them, the situations are too interesting, there is too much of the buskin. Even D'Aubigné, with all his accurate research, and general sobriety, accumulates upon the leading characters more than belongs to them, makes them the authors of much which was accomplished by others, or which was the common property of the age.

It is as yet an unsettled question, how far the taste for what is picturesque or scenic ought to be indulged in history. When it is entirely wanting, histories will lie unread; and so far as dryness results from giving mere facts without those passions and aims with which the bosoms of the original actors swelled, it is as false to history as it is fatal to interest. Still when everything is made to turn on dramatic representation, when costume is so profuse as to withdraw the attention from the person, when the description of manners obtrudes itself everywhere, the whole

thing becomes a mere show. We find moderation in nature itself. The course of life, public and private, as it appears to the living generation concerned in it, is neither all dry and prosy, nor all striking or tragical. Why should not the same moderation be observed, and the same due mixture prevail in works of history? When Ranke is pronounced a dull historian, as he has been by some, it is to be expected that Thiers and Michelet will be, by the same individuals, unduly praised. The former lays out his story as a work of art; but the art is Grecian, with a *ne quid nimis* at every turn. He paints with a skilful, but, at the same time with a sparing hand, and, for the taste of many, too much in the style of a Raphael. But what historian of the nineteenth century gives better specimens of accurate, substantial, profound and yet attractive history? In respect to this combination of sterling qualities he is not excelled, nor equalled by Hallam, Mill, Thirwall, Tytler, Turner, Mahon, Palgrave, Napier, nor Arnold. Guizot, though of a somewhat different character, in which genius preponderates, is his only rival. These two men stand at the head of the two great schools of living historians, and are a half a century in advance of the modern English school. The latter seem hardly able to rise above their national prejudices, or above the method of their predecessors. The imagination with them is more rhetorical than philosophical. Those expansive views which take the grand march of modern civilization within their scope, seem to be wanting. The reason may be, that the minds of great men in that country are not so much turned to these subjects as the minds of continental scholars.

It will, we fear, be of little avail to add anything, in commendation, of these studies. It is, probably, too much to expect, that any who have not a natural love for them will be induced by motives of utility to give them much attention. To such, however, as are already disposed to prosecute them, some considerations, adapted to confirm their purpose, may not be useless.

Few subjects can be invested with greater interest to a man of reflection, than that of the history of his species. It is only when an exclusive claim is set up for the study of history, that men are moved to call in question its justness. It were, indeed, absurd to set forth history as the rival of other liberal studies. The latter sustain to the former rather the relation of means to an end. As all branches of knowledge stand immediately connected with the pursuits of men, and as the more liberal portion of them are indispensable to a comprehension of the interests of



society, the historian cannot neglect the study of them without thereby disqualifying himself for his chosen occupation. If history be not itself the highest and crowning study of the man of general culture, it certainly verges very closely upon that universal philosophy which is so.

In many instances, travel is resorted to as a means of perfecting an education which was commenced in the schools. Its object is to bring a larger, a complex, and a living world before a mind that has long been given mostly to abstract subjects. History is but the extension of travel. As life is short, and its duties rapidly accumulate upon one as he approaches his maturity, it becomes necessary for him to resort to books as a substitute for travel. It must not be forgotten, in the mean time, that if a scholar could command all the wealth and the leisure he might desire, and were willing to sacrifice the pleasures and duties of home to the acquisition of a more extensive knowledge of mankind, still he could not travel out of his generation and observe the state of society in past ages. For this, which always forms the greater part of what ought to be known of a country, he is dependent on history. Besides, not even the present can be understood, with all the aids of observation, except as it is explained by a knowledge of the past. In fact, the chief benefit of visiting a particular country with which one is desirous to become acquainted, arises from the interest which is thereby awakened in its history, and the ability which is acquired to read and comprehend with facility its literary productions. He who, for example, makes the customary tour of Europe, without thereby originating a series of inquiries to be prosecuted for life, may be amused, but hardly instructed by what he sees. The history of a people, as has been already intimated, lies, in great measure, in its language and literature. Not merely nor chiefly its kings and their battles constitute its true history, but the life, character and condition of the mass of the population. When one's curiosity has been awakened in the manner above indicated, it is surprising to see with what vigor it acts in every direction. Early history will be eagerly read as a key to that which follows. Languages and dialects will be studied as the means of understanding historical documents. A knowledge of the former will lead to a love of the old literature, and of the latter to the study of the laws, usages and religious belief of the early inhabitants of the land. Thus the study of history will give an impulse to the study of language and literature, and will be their best interpreter, and

these in turn will reflect a new and brighter light upon history. The connection existing between them is like that of the nervous system; the excitement of one part kindles the whole into the intensest activity.

We forbear to illustrate particularly so obvious a point as that of the interest which attaches to the history of mankind. If we wish to contemplate man as a social being, where can we better follow him in his aims and struggles than in the path of history? If the works and ways of God justly attract our eye, we cannot direct it amiss. If it fall upon man in his activity, as the occupant and subjugator of the world we inhabit, the philosophic interest will be no less than if it fell upon any other part of the visible creation. History, no less than the sublimest of the sciences, has its wonders and mysteries. All alike are, as to their ultimate principles, lost in their wonderful connections with the mysterious Being who gave them their existence, and imposed the laws by which they are regulated. Christianity, in any of its aspects, is a subject of profoundest interest to man. If it is great and divine in its documents, it is scarcely less so in its history.

For a man who is concerned in the affairs of public life, the practical principles by which he is to be guided are much safer when drawn from extensive observation and from the facts of history, than when drawn from an abstract theory. There is not a more impracticable class of men, one who commit greater blunders, than those who make a great parade about principles, while they mistake an abstraction for a principle. The error is nearly allied to that of the scholastic philosophers, who reasoned from definitions which were often nonentities, instead of reasoning from facts. It must be borne in mind that the greatest discoverers in science regard their logical deductions, when they are purely of an abstract character, as problematical, till they can succeed in verifying them by experiment. These hints will suggest some of the reasons why men of the closet so often fail in the cabinet, why a mere theorist is so useless a man in time of need.

It is scarcely better when men of such intellectual habits, seeing the absurdity of the above-mentioned course, go but half way in avoiding it. This takes place when the facts which have come under observation, cover but a part of the ground, and yet a problem is wrought out from them as though they were all-sufficient for the purpose. The more precise the calculation in

such a case, the more certain the blunder. The whole difficulty lies in the defective character of the premises, or in reasoning from a part of what belongs to a subject as though it were the whole. A mind that has become skilled in taking a round about view in a complicated case, after obtaining a distinct outline of it, is more likely to come out right than one that enters into a nice examination of particulars, and yet fails to go through them all. Nothing, like a practical knowledge of the world, growing out of a familiarity with facts, formed by observation, as far as may be, and by reading and tracing out analogies, far beyond that point, will protect a man in practical life against the false deductions and mistakes of a theorizer. We do not overlook the circumstance, that the historian may be a mere man of books. But that is not the character which it has been our aim to set forth. He who would understand the world on a large scale, must have an intimate personal knowledge of it on a smaller scale. The practical man and the scholar must be united in the same person in order to constitute a good historian.

In an age like the present, when so many men are directing their attention and their efforts to the improvement of society, a correct historical view of the present state of society and of the causes which have led to it, is of incalculable importance. Inasmuch as the present is the offspring of the past, the whole course of previous events, so far as connected with it, must be studied by him who would comprehend it. Only as a period is thus viewed, and its tendencies accurately marked, can one reasonably hope to lay any plans of successful action in respect to it. We will draw an illustration from the method pursued by Divine Providence in establishing Christianity. There was a "fulness of time," a completion of the period preparatory to its introduction. It might have been introduced by Almighty power either before or after that juncture. But God, in his wisdom, though not from necessity, has regard to adaptations, which is no obscure intimation of the course which we ought to pursue. The unsuccessful experiments of the ancient pagan world, in respect to morality, philosophy and social organizations, had, by their very failures, prepared the way for a new religion which should renovate society and be a guide to mankind. Judaism, too, had accomplished its object, and reached its natural termination. When, in a historical point of view, all things were ready, Christianity was ushered in. The wise man will aim at imitating this procedure. He will find a necessity for it in his own im-

potency and in the power of what is sometimes called destiny. Almost every change in the world is according to the established order and tendencies of nature, and the weakness of man is never more obvious than when he is found struggling against these. We almost always err, when we ascribe great events to the agency of great men as the chief cause. The greatness of man consists rather in discovering and employing an agency far higher than his own. It is the study of the course of human affairs in their philosophical connections, the previous series of events, the present posture of things, the influences that are now at work, and the results, which according to historical laws, must follow,—it is this that prepares a man to act on society with effect. However patriotic the desire of Brutus to see the old forms of the Roman republic restored, the voice of history, could it have been listened to, would have pronounced the attempt as vain, and as contrary to the established course of things, as it would have been to undertake in autumn to produce the buds and blossoms of spring. Just as useless were all the efforts of the old *regime* to perpetuate itself at the beginning of the French revolution. The old monarchies in Europe are, not a few of them, laboring to bring back the feudal age. It is a vain attempt. The streams of civilization, once scattered and small, have at length mingled together and formed a mighty current, which cannot be turned backward, nor very far from its natural course. The inventions of the last half century have put different parts of the world in new relations to each other, and he who disregards this fact in his projects for usefulness, will be likely to labor in vain. Where the character and habits of a people depended in past times on their seclusion, great changes are now unavoidable. The intelligent Christian will not attempt to alter these new social relations, as a means of restoring ancient simplicity. He might as well attempt to discover the Garden of Eden, and put himself and others into the primitive state of mankind. That which is historically the result of former times, is an essential part of our present condition. Like hereditary peculiarities in our physical constitution, they cannot be put away from us. It is not hereby meant that one must resort to history to learn from events the rules of morality, but to learn lessons of wisdom as to the manner of carrying out the invariable principles of right. And he who will doggedly refuse to heed the former, and boast of his false reliance on the latter, may escape being branded as a knave, but he will be lucky indeed if he is not set down as a fool. It is

just as necessary for a man to find the place which he and others with whom he lives, occupy on the chart of history, and to make that the point of departure in his calculations, as it is for him to know the hemisphere to which he belongs, or the particular country of which he is an inhabitant. There is a momentum acquired by the course of events, as certain in its effects as that of moving bodies. We come into being and into connection with these events, in the midst of the series, while the process is going on, and there can be no more fatal mistake than to suppose, that we are concerned only with those causes which began to act when we commenced our action. We are thrown, at the commencement of our existence upon a mighty current, and our first business is to learn to calculate its forces. Though we may seem to be on *terra firma* and to be ourselves the cause of all the motion we are subject to, we are perpetually in the whirl of an unperceived movement, as certain as that of the earth's diurnal or annual revolution.

There is another point of view, in which a knowledge of our relative position in the history of the world will appear to be of special importance. A principal fault in our countrymen who are seeking, on a large scale, to promote the interests of mankind, and particularly of other nations, is a narrowness of views in respect to our intellectual and moral condition. We often fancy ourselves as sustaining a relation to the old world, very different from that which would be assigned to us by the true historian. Before judging of our own national character, and of the inherent excellence of our peculiar institutions, we must obtain some universal standard which is above us and entirely independent of us. By this true standard an impartial estimate should be made of what is good or evil, right or wrong, first in our own nation and then in others, and after that, if impartiality be strictly maintained, a just comparison can be drawn. Simple and self-evident as this statement is, it is one of the greatest and rarest of virtues to carry out the principle. In addition to high moral integrity, such as few possess, an enlarged view of the social nature and relations of man, a view which philosophy itself cannot give without the aid of history, is indispensable. Some of the peculiarities of our national character were the result of external circumstances and accidental influences, both of which are beginning already to pass away. Some of our boasted security lay neither in our character nor in our institutions, but in the mere accident of our position, a security like that of the

monk whose only guard against licentiousness was a residence in the desert. The philosophic historian would inquire not what a people is in its infancy, and in its wide dispersion over a new country, and in its seclusion from other nations, but what it will be, according to the course of nature, when these temporary circumstances shall have passed away, and when the crowded city shall have taken the place of the hamlet, and wealth and luxury the place of poverty and simplicity.

It may be very natural for the reader to apprehend, that he is expected to devote a greater amount of time and labor to the study of history, than it is possible for any one to bestow who is not a historian by profession. We have already more than once hinted at the manner in which this study should be prosecuted; but, in order to remove all grounds of apprehension like that just mentioned, we will be more particular in our specifications. It is, indeed, true that an immensely wide territory is spread out before us for occupancy. But it is also true that any part of it, however small, may be cultivated by itself. Let each one undertake only so much as is consistent with his other engagements; let him select that which stands immediately connected with them, the history, if he please, of his own profession or of whatever branch of study or of industry he has chosen for himself, and let him go out from that as from a centre in any direction and to any extent which his tastes and his circumstances may dictate. It makes but little difference what part of history is selected for study, provided it be adapted to the individual's wants. As a traveller goes abroad from his own home, and observes whatever comes before him comparatively, referring it always to what he has been accustomed to in his own country, as a sort of standard or measure by which to form all his judgments, so the student of history should constantly refer to his own stock of knowledge as the means of estimating whatever is brought before him by his reading. . As in the former case various individuals might visit the same places, and observe the same things, and yet adjust their observations by very different standards, and apply them to very different purposes; so in the latter, history, in itself common to all, may be variously apprehended by different individuals each in his own way, and for his own peculiar ends.

It is not to be supposed that numerous large works on history must invariably all be read through in course. On the contrary, a man of sense, will ordinarily select a particular subject, and

after having ascertained the range of topics which it embraces, will proceed to the thorough investigation of each of those topics in their order. Instead of reading one book on many topics, he will read many books or parts of books on one topic. Having learned the opinions of one author on the point in question, he will need to turn to another of a somewhat different character and aim, in order to contemplate it under its different aspects, and obtain broader and clearer views on the whole subject. One's own curiosity will be the best guide here. No matter at how many points his course is arrested, and he is obliged to seek other helps to clear up difficulties. It is sometimes well for the reader to give way entirely to his feelings when a new interest is awakened on a subordinate inquiry, and prosecute it with all the ardor which is thus kindled up; and when these incidental questions shall have been solved and the interest in them begins to abate, then it is that nature bids him return from his digressions. A capital point secured by these indulgences of a natural curiosity, is a fresh and ever-growing interest in the subject. And nothing is of more importance than that the mind be set on fire by its own investigations. This one point gained, all the rest follows almost as a matter of course. Let no one be alarmed with the apprehension that there will be a loss on the score of order in reading. Order must come from within; the way from the known to the unknown, which is different in different individuals, can hardly be wrong. A historian can guide the reflections only of a passive reader. Every active mind will often be like a restive steed, and refuse to submit to the harness that is laid upon him, and to follow patiently the beaten track of the dray-horse. In the study of history especially, the spirit of inquiry, like a stream of water, ought to be left to seek its own course. Not only will the mind in this way work with more power, but it will leave behind it, as it proceeds, nothing but a conquered territory. When voluminous authors are read through in course, the memory is abused and rendered nearly useless. Errors will be treasured up for years, and be half forgotten before they are corrected, and thus leave the mind in confusion. It is not the succession of events as they happen to be recorded in any one narration, but rather the parts of a subject which are fully and perfectly treated by no single writer, but which must be ascertained by comparing what has been said on it by different authors,—it is this that ought to be fully adjusted at the outset and fixed in the mind by the laws of association. We must therefore read other works for

the purpose of enlarging or correcting our ideas, while the first is fresh in our memory, so that any modifications which are necessary, may be introduced at the proper time and place.

The suggestions here made will serve to meet another objection that may arise, namely, that it is unreasonable to expect that the common reader will become a critic. We say unhesitatingly, that only so far as he becomes a historical critic will his reading be worth anything to him. But if he study a subject and read several authors on it simultaneously and thoughtfully, he cannot avoid being a critic. He will necessarily judge for himself on many points, and learn gradually to form a correct estimate of the several books he consults. The process is one in which the intellect of the reader is necessarily less passive, than when he resigns himself to a single writer. Inquiries multiply in his mind, as he proceeds. He is perpetually pausing to clear up obscurities, to reconcile apparent contradictions, to correct false statements and false impressions, and he almost unconsciously becomes an earnest, and careful investigator, searching eagerly for truth, and never satisfied till he arrives at it.

In reading the history of a period, its thousand aspects should be successively viewed. It may be profitably read many times, with different objects in view. Its physical, political, military, social, moral, ecclesiastical, municipal, biographical history,—the history of education, of the arts, of literature, of amusements, of superstitions, are all subjects of deep interest and of rational inquiry. Besides works of a professedly historical character, the philosophical, poetical, oratorical, epistolary products of a nation, need to be read and studied. Such works though ordinarily excluded from historical studies, constitute by the far the most instructive part of them. It is comparatively of little consequence what monarchs reigned, what generals fought, what ministers intrigued, what prelates ruled over the church. It is the pulsation of the body politic, the throbbings, the strivings, and the doings of the people that we are interested in. We need to see them in all their states; in their sufferings and in their gay moods, in their labors and in their pleasures. In this respect, we fear, the history of mankind must be written anew. We need to have inquiries instituted in regard to subjects, on which former ages were nearly indifferent, but on which we cannot be so. In attempting to satisfy this want, now almost universally felt, the reader of history though limited in the subject of his inquiry, must go beyond his text-books, and must read—everything, and judge ultimately on all points for himself.



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ARTICLE I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM.

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IN a former Article, of which the present is a continuation, I endeavoured to bring out fully and clearly the testimony of Josephus respecting several points in the ancient topography of the Holy City. These were, particularly, the position of the hills Akra and Bezetha, the valley of the Tyropoeon, the true place of the gate Gennath, and the course of the ancient second wall; all which have a special importance at the present time, from their connection with and bearing upon the question as to the intrinsic authority of ecclesiastical and monastic tradition. I now proceed in like manner to adduce the testimony of the Jewish historian, and such further evidence as may exist, relative to some other points in the antiquities of the Holy City; which, although they may not possess the same degree of temporary interest, are yet in themselves of high archaeological importance.

V.

*The southern portion of the present Haram-area formed part and parcel of the ancient Temple-enclosure; and was not first built up at a later period.*

So far as I am aware, no doubt as to the fact here affirmed has ever been suggested, except by the English writer so often re-

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ferred to; who chooses to assign this part of the area to the time of Justinian.<sup>1</sup> The German author nowhere alludes to the topic, nor in general to the southern part of the area in any way; but the view he takes respecting the position of the fortress Antonia within the northern portion of the same enclosure,<sup>2</sup> necessarily implies that he adopts the affirmative of the present proposition. It may nevertheless not be inappropriate, here to bring together the facts and testimony which bear upon the question.

I. On viewing the exterior of the elevated Haram-area, courses of immense stones near the ground immediately arrest the attention of the beholder, which are obviously the remains of the substructions of the ancient temple-enclosure. "The lower courses of the masonry of ancient walls exist on the east, south and west sides of the great enclosure, for nearly its whole length and breadth."<sup>3</sup> According to the English writer himself, these courses of "large stones at the exterior of the eastern wall of the enclosure above the valley of Jehoshaphat," not improbably "form part of one of those stupendous foundations [of the temple] mentioned with so much admiration by the Jewish historian."<sup>4</sup> The immense blocks of the same character at and near the southeast corner, are to him "an angle of the first (and oldest) wall" of the city.<sup>5</sup> The similar stones and wall at the point known as the Jews' Wailing-place, on the west side, he likewise regards as having belonged to the ancient temple.<sup>6</sup>

Now it is perfectly obvious on the slightest inspection, that the whole line of these immense ancient stones, whether on the eastern or western side, between the southern extremity and a point further north than the grand mosk, is of one and the same epoch, and formed part originally of one and the same wall, uninterrupted and unbroken. There is not, either upon the east side or the west, the slightest trace of any termination of a distinct temple-wall, nor of the junction of any city or other wall. If the huge stones on the east, opposite to the mosk, belonged to the temple, so did those at the south-east corner. If the wall at the Jews' Wailing-place was part of the ancient temple, so was that at the south-west corner, including the fragment of the immense arch existing at that point.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the conclusion is inevitable, that

<sup>1</sup> Holy City, p. 329 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, etc. p. 160. Ed. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Holy City, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 330, 331.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 347, 348.

<sup>7</sup> See Bibl. Researches, I. p. 424 sq. The matter is well put by Mr. Bartlett, Walks, etc. Ed. 2. App. p. 249: "It is clear that we are in this dilemma;

if the southern part of the present enclosure be the work of a later age, then is the whole a work of the same late age; and no traces of the ancient temple-walls remain.

. According to the English chaplain, "the conclusion is unavoidable," that the "ancient fragment" of immense stones forming the south-east corner of the present area, "is an angle of the first (or old) wall" of the city.<sup>1</sup> Here again it is entirely obvious, that if this south-east "angle" formed of huge stones be ancient, then too the line of the same masonry running from it northwards in like manner ancient; as is indeed admitted. And further, the line of similar immense stones extending from it westwards,—that is to say, *the whole southern side of the present area*,—must in like manner be regarded as ancient. The character of the huge blocks and of the masonry is everywhere one<sup>1</sup> and the same. But if the courses of this southern side be ancient, then this could only have been the southern limit of the ancient temple-area; for to refer this also to a city wall is not attempted, and would be absurd.<sup>2</sup>

II. Josephus, in speaking of the lofty portico along the southern wall of the temple-area,<sup>3</sup> describes it as "continued from the eastern valley to the western; for it could not possibly be extended further;" and he also affirms, that "if from its roof one attempted to look down into the gulf below, his eyes became dark and dizzy before they could penetrate to the immense depth." Two circumstances are here specified, viz. that the portico (and of course the southern wall) could not have been prolonged further towards the east; and, that from the roof of the *southern* portico one looked down into the valley beneath. In both these circumstances the southern wall of the present area tallies precisely with the description; while they

—if the fragment of the wall at the Place of Wailing is of Jewish origin, so is the remaining portion, as far as the S. W. corner, including the bridge; but if this latter be a Byzantine arch, then must the wall it mitres into be also Byzantine, and as a matter of course the Wailing Place too. Whichever alternative is adopted, is fatal to the theory."

<sup>1</sup> Holy City, p. 330, 331.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, *ib.* "Had it been the *temple-wall* which made its angle here, it is evident that the *first or old wall* must have joined the *south* portico of the temple, not the *east*, as Josephus expressly affirms." But the eastern portico was doubtless extended to the south-east corner, where it was connected with the southern portico. At any rate, it may not be easy to see how the difficulty (if any exists) would be removed, by supposing the junction to be made under exactly the same circumstances at a point 500 feet farther north, as there proposed.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Ant. XV. 11. 5.

would not be true of a parallel wall at a point much further north. The present south-east corner is on the very brink of the steep declivity, hardly admitting even a footpath between; while more to the north a strip of level ground intervenes sufficiently broad to be occupied as a cemetery. Just at this corner, too, the valley of Jehoshaphat bends round for a moment to the south-west; so that the eastern part of the southern wall impends over it; which likewise could not be the case with any wall at a more northern point.

III. Josephus further relates,<sup>1</sup> that the southern front of the temple-precincts "had also gates about the middle (*τὸ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον*)."<sup>2</sup> The easy and natural explanation of this language is, that here was a *double* gateway in the southern wall, in the manner of the Golden gateway on the eastern side of the area. Accordingly, the grand subterranean gateway, still existing beneath the mosk el-Aksa, first explored by Mr. Catherwood and since visited and described by Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, is a double gateway, with two arches and a middle row of columns extending up through the whole passage.<sup>3</sup> The coincidence with the notice of Josephus is here too exact and striking, to be the result of accidental circumstances after an interval of more than five centuries.<sup>3</sup>

IV. The existence of spacious vaults beneath the southern portion of the present Haram-area, is now well known.<sup>4</sup> It is urged, that an "objection to the Jewish origin of these substructures is found in the silence of the Jewish historian."<sup>5</sup> If, however, I read aright, the Jewish historian is not altogether thus silent; but does make direct allusion to these spacious crypts. After the investment of the city by Titus, a tumult arose in the temple during the festival of unleavened bread. The party of the tyrant John got possession by

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Catherwood in the Bibl. Researches, I. p. 450. Wolcott in Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, No. I. p. 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 335: "If Josephus is to be our guide, then this would not be the gate which he mentions; because this is so far from being 'in the middle of the southern side,' as that was, that it is almost one third nearer to its western than to its eastern extremity." As if the *κατὰ μέσον* of Josephus was intended to specify the exact middle point, and no other! The same author refers the gateway of course to Justinian; and speaks of Procopius, as describing it; p. 336. This, though not improbable in itself, is yet very doubtful. Procopius did not write as an eye-witness; and his account bears marks of the confusion and exaggeration of popular report, "bordering somewhat on the fabulous." See the original of Procopius as quoted, H. City, App. p. 496; and compare Mr. Williams' professed paraphrase of it, p. 332 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See Bibl. Res. I. p. 246 seq.

<sup>5</sup> H. City, p. 339.

stratagem of the fane (ὁ ναός) or holy house itself; and, in the confusion which ensued, many "leaping down from the battlements took refuge in the subterranean vaults of the temple-area (εἰς τοὺς ὑποκόμους τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατέφυγον)."¹ In like manner, after the capture of the city, the tyrant Simon, who with others endeavoured to make his escape by subterranean passages from Zion, being foiled in the attempt, suddenly appeared from the ground arrayed in white, on the place where the temple had stood, in the vain hope of terrifying the guards.² This account implies, at least, that there were here vaults and passages under ground; indeed, their existence must have been well and widely known; for there is nothing else to which can be referred the "*cavati sub terra montes*" of the Roman historian.³

V. Josephus expressly informs us, that after Titus had got full possession of the temple and its precincts, desiring to hold a parley with the Jews on Zion, he "placed himself on the west side of the outer temple or temple-area (κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσειν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ); for here were gates over to the Xystus, and a bridge joining the upper city to the temple (καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα ἐφ' ἱερῷ τῇν ἄνω πόλιν)."⁴ Now in exact accordance with this specification, we find at the present day in the western wall of the Haram-area, near the south-west corner, the remains of an immense arch springing out of the wall, and once evidently spanning the valley towards the opposite and precipitous rock of Zion on the west. The fragment begins thirty-nine feet distant from the said corner, and extends fifty-one feet along the wall. The three courses which remain are each about five feet thick; and are composed of huge blocks, measuring some of them twenty and twenty-four feet in length.⁵ Comparing now these massive remains with the above narrative of Josephus, we may adopt the appropriate language of Mr. Bartlett, and say with him:⁶ "Nothing can square more exactly with this [narrative] than the position of the arch; which is precisely in that place, and in no oth-

¹ Jos. B. J. V. 3. 1. It may be noted, that these crypts are here said to belong, not to the ναός or holy house, but to the ἱερόν or sacred enclosure.

² Ib. VII. c. 2.

³ Tacitus, Hist. V. 12: "Templum in modum arcis,—fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus."

⁴ Jos. B. J. VI. 6. 2. The same bridge is also mentioned by Josephus in four other passages, viz. B. J. I. 7. 2. II. 16. 3. VI. 8. 1. Antt. XIV. 4. 2.

⁵ See a more particular description of these remains, Bibl. Res. I. p. 424—426.

⁶ Walks, etc. Ed. 2. p. 139, 140. n.

er, where we should have looked for it, viz. on the west side of the temple-area, at the *nearest point to the steep cliffs of Zion*. Had no account of it existed in Josephus, we should still have inferred its obvious purport from the nature of the ground. What, in fact, could it have been, if not a viaduct? and if not *here*, where *could* have been that described by Josephus? In view of these considerations, the same writer might well say: "It seems surprising, that any dispute should arise as to the import of this fragment." In like manner Mr. Catherwood, though unacquainted at the time with the testimony of Josephus, writes to the same effect:<sup>1</sup> "I had no doubt, from the moment I saw it [the arch], that it had formed part of a viaduct and aqueduct; but I was totally ignorant of its historical importance."

The existence of these remains of the ancient bridge at once settles the question as to the antiquity not only of this part of the western wall of the present Haram-area, but also of the southern portion of the area itself. The proof is indeed so overwhelming, that it can neither be resisted nor evaded, except by denying the connection of these remains with the bridge mentioned by Josephus. This the English writer has ventured to do. Without bringing forward a single tenable ground why this massive fragment should not have belonged to the bridge,<sup>2</sup> or affording the

<sup>1</sup> See in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1844, No. IV. p. 797.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, pp. 337, 338. The main and indeed only objection here urged by this writer against the connection of this arch with the bridge, "amounting in his mind to an absolute impossibility," is thus stated: "This ruin is nearly, if not quite, level with the present bed of the Tyropoeon, on the east side of the valley; on the west side of which rises 'the precipitous natural rock of Zion, from twenty to thirty feet high,' the present base of which stands on a steep ridge of at least an equal height above the bed of the valley." Again, p. 338, note: "I feel confident, that the top of the perpendicular rock of Zion, on the west, can be little short of eighty feet higher than the spring-course of the arch on the east." Now so far is the fragment in question from being on a level with the bed of the valley, that the height of the concave surface of the upper course above the ground is about twelve feet by measure (*Bibl. Res.* I. p. 425); and the wall of the Haram rises still above this from forty-five to fifty feet; the whole altitude being here the same with that of the southern wall, or about sixty feet; *ibid.* p. 421. The elevation of the bridge was naturally not much less. On the west, this writer first makes the height of Zion to be at most from forty to sixty feet, or at any rate not greater than that of the Haram-wall; and then in the next breath he says, it can be little short of eighty feet above the spring-course of the arch! Yet in the same moment he appeals to Mr. Bartlett's sketch (*Walks*, Ed. 2. p. 136), as "giving a very good idea of their relative height;" and this sketch represents the Haram-wall and Zion as of

slightest explanation of so remarkable a phenomenon in such a position,<sup>1</sup> he yet everywhere refers the language of Josephus respecting the bridge, to the *mound of earth* further north, on which both the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools and the street from the Yâfa gate are now carried from the base of Zion across the low ground to the Haram.<sup>2</sup>

To this latter hypothesis the following considerations seem to present insuperable objections.

1. The Greek word *γέφυρα*, although in the Homeric and early poetic usage it is sometimes employed in speaking of a *causeway*, signifies nevertheless in the Attic and later prose-usage always and only a *bridge*.<sup>3</sup>

2. The causeway in question, at the foot of the street leading down from the Yâfa gate, runs to the gate of the Haram merely from the *base* of Zion as it there exists, and never had a connection with the brow or summit of that hill. The length of the causeway between these two points, is nearly or quite double the distance between the fragment of the arch and the opposite

equal altitude. It probably never occurred to any one else, to reduce the level of the whole bridge to that of the present fragment.

<sup>1</sup> He does indeed make one suggestion, of which he shall have the benefit. Speaking of the vaults under the southern part of the Haram-area as probably extending to the western wall, he adds: "I take liberty to join another arcade at the western extremity in order to bring in that arch;" H. City, p. 339. He is here insisting that the vaults in question were *cisterns*; he compares them with other cisterns at Constantinople (p. 340), and affirms that the said vaults and this external arch have "all one date and one general plan." It follows, that this external arch once went to form a *huge covered cistern* above ground!! *Credat Judæus*. But the writer forgets to tell us why it is, when all the interior vaults begin at the southern wall and run northwards indefinitely, that this external "arcade," which is far more massive, commences at thirty-nine feet from that wall, and extends northwards only fifty-one feet. Further, although there may be cisterns adjacent to the western wall, as reported, yet all the vaults yet known are towards the eastern side, and certainly were never cisterns. The arches and aisles seen and described by Mr. Wolcott (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, pp. 19, 20) were those of the great southern entrance under the *mosk el-Aksa*; which even Mr. Williams, had he reflected but a moment, would hardly have turned into cisterns. Those described by Mr. Catherwood (*Bibl. Res.* 1. pp. 448—450) lie still further east. The floor of them is earth, into which the olive-tress from above have shot down their roots; and the ground rises rapidly towards the north, being indeed apparently the acclivity of the hill. These circumstances are conclusive to show that *these* vaults (and these are the only ones yet explored) were never used nor intended to be used as cisterns.

<sup>2</sup> H. City pp. 343—346.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Lexicons* of Passow, of Liddell and Scott, etc.

cliff of Zion. It is a low mound, apparently raised mainly for the purpose of introducing the aqueduct into the Haram, after it has been carried for some distance along or through the steep face of Zion towards the north-west, in order to maintain the proper level.<sup>1</sup> The street just mentioned likewise crosses the valley upon the mound.<sup>2</sup>

3. When Pompey had got possession of the lower city and of Zion, the insurgents "withdrew [from Zion] into the temple; and cutting off the bridge which joined it to the city (*καὶ τὴν συνάψουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες*), they prepared to hold out to the last."<sup>3</sup> But to have thus cut off the present low mound, or any other like causeway, for such a purpose and with any such expectation, could only have been preposterous. In the same connection Josephus speaks further of the bridge as "being subverted or broken down (*τῆς γεφύρας ἀναιρεσθαιμένης*);" which expression is applicable only to an actual bridge, and not to a mound.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The aqueduct was traced by Mr. Wolcott; see *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> This "causeway" the English writer holds to be the same spoken of in 1 Chron. 26: 16, 18; and the latter again, he thinks "could be no other than that mentioned among the great works of Solomon, as the 'ascent by which he went up to the house of the Lord,' 1 K. 10: 5. 2 Chron. 9: 4;" see *Holy City* p. 274. The author quotes Lightfoot as authority for this "causeway;" in respect to which, however, that profound scholar seems to have been in error, as he was in regard to the position of Zion; *Descr. Templi Hieros.* c. V. in *Opp. ed. Leusd.* I. p. 559. The ascent which the queen of Sheba admired (1 K. 10: 5. 2 Chron. 9: 4) is expressed in the Hebrew by *סִלְעֵי* and *סִלְעֵי*, signifying strictly a *step, stair*, and collectively a *staircase*, as in Ezek. 40: 26; and the true rendering of the Hebrew would therefore be: "the stairs (or staircase) which went up to the house of the Lord." Again, the word rendered "causeway" in 1 Chron. 26: 16, 18, is *רָחֵן*, strictly a *raised way, highway*; but it is also put to denote a *staircase, stairs*. Thus it is related in 2 Chron. 9: 11, that Solomon made of the almug-trees brought from Ophir, certainly not 'causeways' nor 'terraces,' but "staircases (*סִלְעֵי*) to the house of the Lord and to the king's house, and harps and psalteries for singers." Here there is evidently a reference to the *סִלְעֵי* (staircase) already mentioned in v. 4 of the same chapter. In all the three passages therefore, the allusion is to the beauty and costliness of the *stairs or staircases* in and around the temple and palace. Hence the whole argument thus attempted to be founded on a supposed ancient "causeway" falls to the ground.

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. B. J. I.* 7. 2. *Antt.* XIV. 4. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Jos. Antt.* XIV. 4. 2.—The attempt of the English writer to avoid the difficulty thus presented, is very lame; *H. City*, p. 346: "I consider it much more likely that there was no literal bridge at all, but that the communication was cut off or interrupted for the occasion by a detachment of Jewish engineers!"—The passage of Josephus most relied upon to show the existence of a causeway



4. At the east end of the bridge, the tyrant John, who held the temple, built a tower of defence against Simon, who had possession of Zion. In like manner, at the west end, Simon erected a tower against John.<sup>1</sup> Such a proceeding in reference to the present or any other like mound or causeway, would have been utterly absurd.

If now, in conclusion, we give to all the preceding considerations their due weight, and especially to the remains of the massive arch, they seem to be decisive as to the point they were brought forward to sustain,—the antiquity of the southern portion of the area,—and to sweep away the baseless fabric of mere opposite hypothesis. Still more will every one, who has himself looked upon those vast and wonderful remains, be convinced, that at least, all those which have here been drawn into consideration, belonged to one and the same structure,—to that temple where our Lord taught, and which Josephus has described.

A few words as to the antiquity of these immense remains, may not be out of place. I have elsewhere remarked,<sup>2</sup> that they are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to the days of Herod; inasmuch as the magnitude of the stones, and the workmanship as compared with other remaining monuments of Herod, seem to point to an earlier origin. . . . There seems therefore little room for hesitation, in referring them back to the days of Solomon

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instead of a bridge, is Antt. XV. 11. 5; which the same writer thus states, p. 345: "The passage from the southern part of the temple to the palace on Zion, was formed by the filling up of the valley between (*τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης*), or by the causeway, as it is called in Scripture. . . . Therefore the bridge and causeway are identical." Now it so happens, that Josephus's own expression makes no allusion whatever to a filling up of the valley; the participle *ἀπειλημμένης* (from *ἀπολαμβάνω*) signifying simply: *being taken off, separated, intercepted*; so that the true sense is: "the valley being intercepted for a passage," i. e. divided or interrupted by the bridge.—The author says further (p. 343), that Josephus "having in that passage explained what kind of a bridge it was, he used the best word he could find to describe it in other passages where he had occasion to speak of it." But it so happens again, that of the five passages where Josephus speaks directly of the bridge (*γέφυρα*), four are in the Jewish Wars, his earliest work, and only one in the Antiquities (XIV. 4. 2); so that the passage here under consideration (Antt. XV. 11. 5) is the latest allusion of all to the bridge. Hence the author's principle, whether correct in itself or not, works against himself; and we must explain, not the earlier passages by this later one, but this last by the earlier; or, what is better, not the clear passages by the more doubtful one, but the one doubtful phrase by the five clear and explicit ones.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 3. 2. ib. VI. 8. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 427.

or rather of his successors; who according to Josephus built up here immense walls "immovable for all time (*ἀκινήτους τῷ παντί χρόνῳ*)."<sup>1</sup> The historian relates also, that "long ages were consumed in these works (*εἰς ὃ μακροὶ μὲν ἐξατηλίδησαν αἰῶνες αἰ- τοῖς*);"<sup>2</sup> and his language strongly implies, that the substructions of which he was there speaking,—those existing in his day and which he himself beheld with so much admiration,—were the same that had been built up during those long ages after Solomon. The area thus formed around the first temple, Josephus describes as a square of four stadia in circuit, or one stadium on each side.<sup>3</sup> In narrating elsewhere the rebuilding of the temple by Herod, he states that Herod "walled in a space around it twice as great as the former one (*καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν ναὸν χώραν τῆς οὐσης διπλασί- ας*);"<sup>4</sup> that he rebuilt with great expense and splendour the fortress on the north, which he called Antonia;<sup>5</sup> and that the whole circuit of the porticos of the temple, Antonia being also included (*περιλαμβομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας*), was now six stadia.<sup>6</sup> As this last specification of six stadia including Antonia, is just double the former one of four stadia for the earlier temple-area alone, (that is, two square stadia instead of one,) the enlargement of this area by Herod seems necessarily to refer to the wall by which he included Antonia in the precincts of the temple. There is no other intimation in the various accounts of Josephus, that this monarch had anything to do with the vast substructions laid in the "long ages" after Solomon. Indeed, the language of the historian, expressing his own admiration of those immense ancient works, implies the contrary.<sup>7</sup>

Still, if it be a fact, that the use of the *arch* cannot be referred back to so high an antiquity as the days of the successors of Solomon,—a position which, though often asserted, has not yet (I believe) been proved except as to Greek and Roman, and

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 3. B. J. V. 5. 1.      <sup>2</sup> B. J. V. 5. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 3. So too the Talmud; see Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. 1. p. 554.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 21. 1. Antt. XV. 11. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 4. B. J. I. 21. 1.      <sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Josephus does indeed speak in one place (Antt. XV. 11. 3) of Herod as "removing the old foundations, and laying down new;" but here it is expressly said that these were the foundations of the *ναός* or *fane* itself. In another place (B. J. V. 5. 1) he speaks of those who followed Solomon, as having "broken through the northern wall" and taken in more space. But this again refers to the building up of the square court of the first temple, and has nothing to do with Herod's labours.

perhaps Egyptian architecture,—then it might certainly be conceded, that Herod may at least have rebuilt these vaults and substructions *upon more ancient foundations*. In this way, if necessary, all the present appearances might doubtless be satisfactorily accounted for. The opinion of Messrs. Bonomi and Catherwood, who visited the interior of the vaults, refers them to the time of Herod.<sup>1</sup> The bridge between the temple and Zion is first mentioned during the siege by Pompey, twenty years or more before Herod was made king.<sup>2</sup>

In respect to the huge *bevelled* stones, which are seen in the most antique parts of these temple-substructions, as also in the massive ancient chambers adjacent to the Damascus gate, I have elsewhere ventured to ascribe to them a Jewish origin, and to regard them as exhibiting a peculiar style of Jewish architecture.<sup>3</sup> The same feature is very strikingly displayed in the walls of the great Haram at Hebron.<sup>4</sup> Bevelled stones of the like character have since been discovered in the most ancient portions of the ruins of Ba'albek; in the earliest substructions of the great fortresses of Baniās, Hünin, and esh-Shükf; and also in the antique remains at Jebeil and on the island Ruad, the ancient Aradus.<sup>5</sup> All these circumstances go to show, that this was a feature of architecture common in those ages throughout Palestine and Phenicia; but which (so far as appears) has never yet been found in any country west of Palestine, nor elsewhere in any connection with the early architecture of Egypt, Greece, or Rome.<sup>6</sup> It may have been Phenician in its origin, and introduced among the Jews by Hiram or other architects from Tyre; but that it was a *peculiarity* in the architecture of the country, there would seem

<sup>1</sup> Bonomi as quoted in Bibl. Res. I. p. 447. Catherwood in Bartlett's *Walks*, etc. Ed. 2. p. 163, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 7. 2. Antt. XIV. 4. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. Res. II. p. 434.

<sup>5</sup> For Ba'albek and Jebeil, see Rev. S. Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, pp. 84, 85. For the other places, see Rev. W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1846, pp. 193, 202, 207; comp. p. 213. In Tyre and Sidon no examination is known to have been made; nor do they probably contain many traces of ancient substructions of any kind. It would be a matter of some interest to ascertain, whether any traces of this style are extant among the remains of Carthage, the daughter of Tyre.

<sup>6</sup> Something of a similar kind, indeed, but differing in character, is found in after centuries in the *rustic* architecture under the later Roman emperors. It is an exaggeration of the *bevelled* style; and may possibly have been borrowed from the east. See Hirt's *Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten*, Berlin 1809. fol. p. 152. Pl. XXXI.

little reason to doubt. It therefore may have its appropriate place, in estimating the age and character of ancient remains.

## VI.

*The fortress Antonia appears to have occupied the whole northern portion of the present Haram-area.*

According to Josephus, Antonia was the fortress of the temple, as the temple was that of the city.<sup>1</sup> It stood upon the north side of the temple-area (τῇ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκείμενον);<sup>2</sup> was of a quadrangular form, with towers at the four corners;<sup>3</sup> and having been first erected by the Maccabees under the name Baris, was rebuilt by Herod with great strength and splendour.<sup>4</sup> A more specific description places it, or rather its main citadel (ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος),<sup>5</sup> upon a rock at the northwest corner of the temple-area, fifty cubits high. Within, the fortress had all the extent and arrangements of a palace; being divided up into apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos (περίστοα), and baths, and also broad open places for encampments (στρατοπέδων ἀνὰ πλατείας);<sup>6</sup> so that, as having everything necessary within itself it seemed a city, while in its magnificence it was a palace. Where the fortress joined upon the northern and western porticos of the temple, it had flights of stairs descending to both. We have already seen,<sup>7</sup> that Antonia was separated from Bezetha on the north by a deep artificial trench, lest it should be approachable from that hill; and the depth of the trench added greatly to the elevation of the towers.

Along with this description of Antonia, it is to be borne in mind, that the original area of Solomon's temple was a square of a stadium on each side or *four* stadia in circuit; which circuit was enlarged by Herod to *six* stadia including Antonia; thus enclosing double the former area.<sup>8</sup> From this statement it would strictly follow, that Antonia was also a square of a stadium on each side; but as Josephus was writing at Rome, without actual measurements and after many years absence from Jerusalem, the statement can be regarded only as a general estimate expressed in a popular form. It may also be kept in mind, that the present

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 5. 4. I. 21. 1. Antt. XV. 11. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 21. 1. Antt. XV. 11. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8; comp. Antt. XV. 11. 4. See Bibl. Res. I. pp. 431, 432.

<sup>6</sup> If any one here prefers to render στρατοπέδων by *hosts, armies, or even by troops*, I do not object.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2. V. 5. 8. Translated above, pp. 438, 439.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 3. B. J. V. 5. 2. See above, p. 614.

Haram-area is 1525 feet in length from south to north, by about 925 feet in breadth; thus leaving on the north an extension of about *six hundred feet* more than a square. The problem is, to find for Antonia a place on the north of the mosk of Omar, where the preceding description of Josephus shall accord with the actual physical features.

I. The fortress obviously could not have been situated on the north, or outside of the present northern wall, of the Haram-area. To suppose this, we must first (and without adequate reason) reject the testimony of Josephus and the Talmud as to the square form of the temple-area proper; and must also disregard the statement of the former as to the extent of Antonia. If Antonia was north of the present wall, and the temple-area was a square; then, instead of the former being joined to the latter, a space of some 600 feet lay between them.<sup>1</sup> Again; if with Mr. Catherwood we assume Antonia as situated between the present northern wall and the *Via dolorosa*, and as extending from the northwest corner to near the reservoir further east,—an area of about 550 feet in length by an average of 130 feet in breadth,—we are still left to inquire, how this can well accord with the “apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos, and baths, and broad open places for encampments,” and the *city-like* character of the whole fortress; and still more, how this area could ever be reckoned to that of the temple, so as to be said to form one with it and to increase the latter by a space equal or half equal to itself.<sup>2</sup>—Or, further, if with Raumer<sup>3</sup> we place Antonia on the northwest of the present area, having its eastern side on a line with the western wall of the same, then the like difficulties, and especially, the want of room, bears upon us in a still greater degree. Even according to this view, each side of Antonia measured not less than half a stadium or about

<sup>1</sup> This particular difficulty of course does not exist to those, who regard the temple-area as having at all events extended to the present northern wall; whether for this they reject the testimony of Josephus like Mr. Catherwood, or cut off the southern portion of the present area like Mr. Williams.

<sup>2</sup> In assuming this position for Antonia, Mr. Catherwood expressly rejects the testimony of Josephus as to the square form of the temple-area; and also overlooks his statements respecting the extent of the fortress; see in Bartlett's *Walks*, Ed. 2. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Raumer's *Palaestina*, Plan.—So too on the Plan in Olshausen's *Topographie des alten Jerusalems*. But this writer no longer holds the same view; see his article on the Biblical Researches in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1842, Bd. 98. S. 139.

300 feet; and this extent would carry it westward quite beyond the street and valley running parallel to the Haram. So that in this case the fortress of the temple, having its acropolis on a rock fifty cubits high, was in fact situated in a valley lower than the temple. Nor does it help the matter, in any degree, to throw out an imaginary Antonia still further towards the west, north, and east, as is done by Mr. Williams.<sup>1</sup> In this way one part of the fortress must still extend across the whole valley; while another part occupies the hill Bezetha, instead of being separated from it by a trench. This trench too was cut through the rock; and if one so deep as that described by Josephus had ever existed on the north of the *Via dolorosa*, some traces of it must have remained visible to this day.<sup>2</sup>

II. The fortress Antonia was in such a way connected with the temple, and was so included in its precincts, that it came to be regarded as an integral part of the same, and was often comprehended under the general term τὸ ἱερόν, the temple. This is implied in its being called "The fortress of the temple, as the temple was that of the city;"<sup>3</sup> and still more from the circumstance, that the circuit of the porticos *including Antonia* is given at six stadia. It is further implied, and that yet more strongly, in the historian's accounts of the several sieges of the temple by Pompey, Herod, and Cestius.

Pompey advancing upon the Holy City found it strongly fortified on all sides except the north;<sup>4</sup> for "a deep and broad valley encompasses the city, comprehending within it the temple, which was strongly fortified with a wall of stone (τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ κατεργασὲς πάντῃ τετεικισμένον)." The Romans having got possession of the city, the insurgents retired from Zion into the temple; and having cut off the bridge, they prepared to hold out till the last. Pompey now encamped on the north of the temple, where it was assailable (ἐπίμαχον). Here were great towers; and a trench (τάφρος) had been dug; and it (the temple) was encompassed by a deep valley (φάραγξ); for the part towards the city was likewise precipitous (ἀπερρώγει), the bridge being broken down. The Romans cut down all the trees round about,

<sup>1</sup> Holy City, p. 324, Plan.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 355: "With regard to the fosse, I fear that cannot be discovered." Certainly not on the north of the *Via dolorosa*, where most obviously none ever existed.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8. See above, p. 616.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Antt. XIV. 4. 1, 2, 3. Comp. B. J. I. 7. 2, 3, 4.

to fill the trench; but this was accomplished with great difficulty because of its infinite depth (*μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βέ-  
δος ἀπειρος*).<sup>1</sup> The engines were at length brought up, and the temple carried by storm. Now all this took place nearly eighty years after the fortress Baris had been built by the Maccabees on the north of the temple.<sup>2</sup> To this fortress belonged doubtless the great towers on this side; for there is no mention nor trace of any towers in connection with the wall of the temple proper. The fortress then was in existence; and must have been on the south side of the deep trench described. It follows, that the Baris was already regarded as an integral part of the temple-precincts; for in this way only can the silence of the historian respecting it in this connection, be satisfactorily accounted for.

In like manner, when Herod some twenty years later took the city and stormed the temple,<sup>3</sup> no mention is made of any separate fortress; though then too the Baris was standing; and was afterwards rebuilt, strengthened, and transformed by Herod himself into Antonia. Still further, when about A. D. 65 Cestius laid siege to the temple, not a word is said of Antonia;<sup>4</sup> although it had now been for three quarters of a century the fortress of the sacred precincts. It was reckoned as part and parcel of the same; and therefore in common parlance no distinct mention of it was required.<sup>5</sup>

Not less strongly is the same *oneness* of the fortress and temple implied in the historian's application of the celebrated oracle; that "the city and temple would be captured when the temple should become four-square."<sup>6</sup> He asserts that "the Jews, after

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XIV. 4. 2.—In the parallel passage, B. J. I. 7. 3, the *φάραξ valley*, stands in immediate connection with the *τάφρος trench*, as follows: *τὴν τε τάφρον ἔχον καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν*, he filled in also the trench and the whole valley. In the Antiquities, written later, the two are separated, as in the text; thus showing that the "valley filled in" was probably that on the west of the temple, where Pompey may have made some of his approaches.

<sup>2</sup> Simon destroyed the fortress Akra on the hill Akra about B. C. 140, and appears to have erected the Baris not long after; see NOTE in the text further on. The date of Pompey's siege of the temple is about B. C. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 18. 2. Antt. XIV. 15. 14. XIV. 16. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. II. 19. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Antonia, as the fortress of the temple, is distinguished by Josephus from the temple, where he narrates the projected assault of Florus (B. J. II. 15. 5, 6), and also usually in his account of the siege by Titus. The reason may be, that these generals directed their assaults more particularly upon Antonia, in order to get possession of the temple through the fortress.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 5. 4. See more further on, under IV.

[by] the destruction of Antonia, made the temple four-square;" and thus the oracle received its accomplishment. Previously, then, the temple (*ἱερόν*) was *not* a square; because it comprised Antonia as a part of itself.

III. The Antonia on the rock at the northwest corner of the temple-area, was apparently a main acropolis or citadel, within a larger walled fortress bearing the same general name. Indeed, it is expressly called an *acropolis* (*ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος*), situated at this very point.<sup>1</sup> At this point, too, it is once mentioned as a *tower* (*πύργος*).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Antonia as a whole is never called a tower; but is spoken of only as a *fortress* or *castle* (*φρούριον*), presenting, as is once said, a 'tower-like' appearance (*πυργοειδής*).<sup>3</sup> The rock on which the acropolis stood, is described as fifty cubits high; a statement which can be regarded only as a loose estimate of the historian, after years of absence; and which, judging from the high ground now on the north, must be taken with considerable allowance.<sup>4</sup> This rock could not have had a very great lateral extent; for it was covered over from the base to the top with hewn stones, both for ornament and to render the ascent more difficult to assailants. Upon this rock above was situated the acropolis, which would thus itself be "tower-like," but could hardly be expected to have other towers at the four corners still fifty and seventy cubits high, nor to comprise within itself "broad open places for encampments."<sup>5</sup> Again, Titus, in his siege of Antonia, by the power of his engines made a breach in the wall; but the ardour of his troops was dampened by the sight of another wall which the Jews built up within.<sup>6</sup> Not one of all these circumstances is applicable to the acropolis on the rock. And further, when the Roman army, after seven days of labour, had razed the very foundations of the acropolis, and so formed a broad approach against the temple, Titus is still repre-

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 4. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8 *πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομῆσεως*.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 5. 4. I. 21. 1. Antt. XVIII. 4. 3, etc.—B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Josephus was naturally tempted to exaggerate in all that related to his own countrymen; and also in respect to the strength of fortifications which Roman valour had overcome. How very easily even an impartial witness may be misled in a case of this kind, appears from the example of the cautious Niebuhr; who estimates from recollection the general depth of the valley of Jehoshaphat, opposite the city, at not over 40 or 50 feet, while it is in fact from 100 to 150 feet deep in that part. Niebuhr Reisebeschr. III. p. 54. Bibl. Res. I. p. 400. n.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 1. 3, 4.



sented as taking his station in Antonia, in order to overlook the assaults and direct the further efforts of his troops.<sup>1</sup>

All these considerations necessarily imply a distinction between the whole fortress Antonia and its main acropolis. The latter was at the northwest corner; and there would appear to have been a considerable interval between it and the northern wall or northern portico of the temple-area proper. The Romans, as we have seen, razed the foundations of the acropolis, in order to obtain more space on which to erect their mounds against the temple; whereas, had this rock of the fortress been immediately contiguous to the temple-wall, it would itself have been the best possible mound. Further, when the Romans had surprised the acropolis by night, many of the Jews, in fleeing away to the temple, fell into a mine that had been dug by the tyrant John. The Romans likewise rushed forward, and strove to enter the temple-area; but were repulsed after many hours of hard fighting. This combat Titus looked down upon from the acropolis.<sup>2</sup>

The manner in which this acropolis Antonia was connected with the northern and western portions of the temple, is not very clearly described. In speaking of the abortive attempt of Florus to get possession of the temple through Antonia, Josephus relates,<sup>3</sup> that the Jews "went up and themselves cut off the porticos which connected the temple with Antonia (τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀ. δύνουσαν);" and Florus learning that the porticos were thus broken off (ὡς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ στοαί), gave up his attempt. Now it is difficult to see, how the mere destruction of a portico belonging to and within the proper temple-area, could render this latter less approachable from Antonia; and it seems therefore necessarily to follow, that the porticos thus cut off must have been on the north of the proper temple-enclosure or wall, and have in some way connected this with the acropolis. Antonia had its own courts with porticos (περίστωα), as we know;<sup>4</sup> and some of these were not improbably connected with the porticos of the temple. That this is here the true view, is also manifest from the subsequent allusion made by Agrippa to this very disruption, when censuring the insurgents:<sup>5</sup> "Ye paid no tribute to Caesar, and ye cut off the porticos of Antonia (καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπέκοψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας)."—It is likewise difficult to see, further,

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 2. 1, 7.—Ibid. VI. 4. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 1. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> B. J. II. 15. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 616.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. II. 16. 5.

how even the interruption of *such* a portico could render the temple less assailable from Antonia, unless we suppose it to have been in the nature of a gallery, leading from the acropolis on the rock to the upper part of the temple-wall, and thence by stairs down into the portico of the temple proper. The breaking down of such a gallery, would of course be an obvious means of defence against an enemy in the acropolis.

With some such view as this, seem also to tally several circumstances connected with the siege by Titus.<sup>1</sup> The Romans having possession of Antonia, and having been repulsed in an attempt to force their way into the temple-area, the Jews themselves now "set fire to the connection of the northern and western porticos with Antonia (τῆς βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχὲς πρὸς τὴν Ἀ. ἐμπησάμεντες), and then broke off about twenty cubits; thus commencing with their own hands to burn the sacred precincts." Two days afterwards the Romans set fire to the adjacent portico; and the fire having advanced fifteen cubits, the Jews in like manner "cut off the roof, thus destroying whatever connected them with Antonia (καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀ. συναφὲς αὐτῶν διαρροῦντες)."—That the portions thus destroyed were not within the temple-area proper, and that they were probably also in the nature of a gallery, is apparent from the further fact,<sup>2</sup> that afterwards the Jews having filled the northern end of the western portico of the temple-area with combustibles, and then feigning flight, the Romans from Antonia followed hard after them and *ascended into that portico by ladders*; where the combustibles being now kindled, they were surrounded by the flames, and those who escaped, leaped down some into the city, some into the temple-area among the Jews, and some into the area of Antonia among their own comrades.<sup>3</sup>

IV. From all these various considerations, it is at least not a *hasty* conclusion to infer, as was done conjecturally in the *Biblical Researches*,<sup>4</sup> that the fortress Antonia probably occupied the

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 2. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. VI. 3. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Whether the hypothesis of a gallery from the acropolis of Antonia to the upper part of the temple-wall be correct or not, there was no doubt a communication through the wall below between the temple-area and that of Antonia. At the capture of Antonia by Titus, the Jews in fleeing away to the temple, fell into a mine; and the whole account of the conflict at that time, including the exploits and death of Julian the centurion, obviously implies such a communication; see Jos. B. J. VI. 1. 7, 8.—The Apostle Paul was carried into Antonia, not directly from the temple, but apparently from the city; having been first dragged out of the temple-area and the gates shut; Acts 21: 30—35. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 432 sq.

whole northern part of the present Haram-area, that is to say, the tract on the north of the proper temple-square, being about 600 feet from south to north, and about 925 feet from west to east; and that the acropolis was in the north-west part upon a projection of rock extending from Bezetha into the said area, and separated from the said hill by a deep trench; which rock has since been cut away. Such a site accords well with the description and various notices of Josephus; and enables us to understand and apply all his specifications in a natural manner and without any violence. It affords ample space for all the "apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos, and baths, and broad open places for encampments;" and also for the city-like character of the whole fortress.<sup>1</sup> It leaves room for the square form of the temple-area proper, as specified by Josephus and the Talmud;<sup>2</sup> and although we do not now find the whole area, inclusive of Antonia, to be full six stadia in circuit, yet the actual difference is not greater than might be anticipated in the case of a merely popular estimate. And further, this view enables us to account for the very remarkable excavation on the north of the present area, still more than *seventy-five* feet in depth; which tallies so strikingly with the fosse mentioned by Josephus on the north of the temple and Antonia, and described by him as of "infinite depth (*βάθος ἀνεύρου*)."<sup>3</sup> This is probably, even now, the deepest excavation of the kind known. If it be said, that this very depth militates against the idea of its having been intended for defence, and that therefore it was probably at first a mere reservoir for water; then the reply is, that on this latter supposition the great depth is still more anomalous and inexplicable. As a military fosse, we have the direct testimony of Josephus that its depth was "infinite;" and he says expressly, too, that between Antonia and Bezetha there was "a deep trench (*ὄρυγμα βαθύ*), which added very greatly to the elevation of the towers."<sup>4</sup> It is not indeed necessary to suppose, that the trench was carried through the rock of Bezetha at the same depth or of the same width, as is now found in the still remaining portion. This eastern part may not improbably have been thus widened and enlarged, and possibly deepened, for the very purpose of converting it into a vast reservoir for water; for which it has evidently been used in former times.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 3. Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. l. p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 7. 3. Antt. XIV. 4. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Bibl. Res. I. pp. 434, 489 sq.

The same general position of Antonia in relation to the temple, is implied by several other circumstances.

One of these is the fact, that Josephus, in describing the gates leading from the temple to the city and suburb, speaks only of the four upon the west and one in the southern side; affording the strong implication, that there were none upon the north.<sup>1</sup> Or, at least, if there were gates upon the north, issuing directly upon the hill and quarter Bezetha,<sup>2</sup> it is difficult to conceive a reason why the historian did not enumerate them with the rest; while on the other hand, if Antonia lay along upon the whole of this northern side, we have at once a sufficient explanation of his silence.

Another circumstance is the easy explanation thus afforded of the Rabbinic statement, that the holy house itself stood in the north-western part of the temple-area or outer court. According to the Talmud: "The greatest space was on the south; the next on the east; the next on the north; and the least on the west."<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the building was in the north-western part; but the length of it being from west to east, the space left next the western wall or portico was less than that on the north. The like position seems to be implied in the account given by Josephus, that Titus cast up one of his mounds and brought forward his engines "over against the northwest corner of the inner temple;"<sup>4</sup> it being obvious that the Romans made their assaults upon the wall of the temple-area, whether from Antonia or from the city, at or near the north-western corner. If therefore the rock now beneath the mosk of Omar, which the Jews in the fourth century were accustomed to wail over as marking the site of their former temple, does thus mark some point in the true site; which I am not disposed to call in question;<sup>5</sup> then the position thus indicated accords well with that above described, provided the temple-area was in popular language a square, and the space further north was occupied by Antonia.

In the same way, Josephus obviously regards and applies the famous oracle already alluded to, as having received its fulfilment.<sup>6</sup> The temple and Antonia together formed a parallelo-

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 5.—There were none upon the east also; for, as we shall see, the Golden gate probably belonged to Antonia.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the "Holy City" assumes such gates; p. 402. n.

<sup>3</sup> See Lightfoot, Descript. Templi Hieros. c. III. p. 556. ed. Leusd.

<sup>4</sup> B. J. VI. 2. 7. VI. 4. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Bibl. Res. I. p. 444.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 619.

gram; which, by the destruction of the latter, was reduced to a square.<sup>1</sup>

More weighty perhaps than all these is the circumstance, that the present eastern wall of the Haram-area exhibits in its northern portion, as compared with all the southern part, traces of a difference of architecture, and probably of era. Adjacent to the north-eastern corner, the ancient massive stones in the eastern wall, for the length of about eighty-four feet, project several feet beyond the usual line of the Haram-wall. The stones too on the north side adjacent to the same corner, are of the like age and size.<sup>2</sup> Such a projection indicates, that this part of the wall is not of the same original erection as the ancient portion in the south; and that here was probably a corner tower of the fortress Antonia, not unlike Hippicus.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of this projection is so striking, that (as I am informed) it was to the mind of an intelligent English artist, a decisive corroboration of the theory, that the fortress was coëxtensive in width with the temple-area.

Further than this, there now lies before me another measurement of the whole eastern wall of the Haram-area, taken with care by the Rev. Eli Smith early in A. D. 1844. From this it appears, that beginning at the extreme south-east corner and proceeding northwards, there is at the distance of 963½ feet *another projection*, less prominent than the one above described, which continues for an extent of about 174 feet, and there terminates. From this last point, the usual line of the Haram-wall continues for 303½ feet, where it meets the former projection, 93½ feet distant from the north-east corner. Here then we have a second, though less imposing projection, affording further striking coincidences with the description and notices of Josephus. The 963½ feet of wall towards the south, constituted of course the

<sup>1</sup> See also Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2. App. p. 250.—The author of the "Holy City" naively alludes to this account of the oracle by Josephus; which, he says, "is to me wholly unintelligible on every hypothesis, but which, I dare say, has some satisfactory meaning;" p. 355. I have referred to it in the text, simply as a part of Josephus' testimony in regard to the form of the temple-area and Antonia. In this light it is decisive. What he meant in saying this oracle was *ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς λογίοις*, is more doubtful. B. J. VI. 5. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. S. Wolcott, in Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> One side of Hippicus measures 70½ feet. Bibl. Res. I. p. 456.—If I may trust to my own impressions after so long an interval, I think it will be found, that the stones in this part, though large, are yet less smoothly hewn within the bevel than those in the southern portions of both the eastern and western walls; resembling in this respect also the antique courses in Hippicus. See Bibl. Res. I. p. 456.

length of the ancient temple-area on this side, the breadth of which may be taken at an average of 925 feet;<sup>1</sup> thus not forming indeed a mathematical square, but yet having the sides so nearly equal, that in popular language it would always be so called. The northern line thus indicated would fall some distance north of the present mosk. This second projection itself, then, was at the south-east corner of Antonia; where, as we know from Josephus, there was a tower seventy cubits high, the most elevated of all those connected with that fortress.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to suppose, that this tower extended over the whole projection. Again, nearly in the middle of this same projection, we find the famous Golden Gate, so called, fifty five feet in breadth, and itself projecting six feet beyond the adjacent wall.<sup>3</sup> All the above circumstances go to show, that this gate led out from Antonia into the country at this sheltered spot, where no enemy could assail it. The projection in which it is found, probably had some relation originally to the position and construction of the gate itself; which is usually referred by architects to the time of Herod.<sup>4</sup>

At what time or in what way the ancient precincts of the temple assumed the form and extent of the present Haram-area, is unknown. Titus left the whole a mass of scorched and smoking ruins. Half a century later Adrian rebuilt the city; and apparently gave to its walls their present course and circuit. At the same time he erected a temple to Jupiter on the site of the former Jewish temple; and decorated the area with statues of himself, one of them equestrian; which last was standing in the days of Jerome, late in the fourth century.<sup>5</sup> Since that time, there is no reason

<sup>1</sup> There are at least four different measurements of the south wall of the Haram, or (what is the same thing) of the Haram-area. The first lays claim to no minute accuracy. They are as follows:

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 1. My own in 1838; see Bibl. Res. I. p. 431, . . . . .                               | 955 feet. |
| 2. Mr. Catherwood's in 1833, from his notes, . . . . .                               | 932 "     |
| 3. That of Wolcott and Tipping in 1842; see Biblioth. Sac.<br>1843, p. 23, . . . . . | 915 "     |
| 4. Rev. E. Smith's in 1844, . . . . .  | 906½ "    |

In the text I have assumed 925 feet as an average near enough for all practical purposes.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 6. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The more exact position and measurement of the Golden Gate, is as follows: From the south side of the projection to the Golden Gate, 51 feet. Breadth of the Golden Gate, 55 feet. Thence to the north side of the projection, 68½ feet. In all 174½ feet.

<sup>4</sup> Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2. pp. 158, 159, 161.

<sup>5</sup> See Bibl. Res. I. pp. 437, 438.

to suppose that any important change has taken place in the extent or limits of the area; and its present form therefore may be referred back in all probability to Adrian. The rock on which the acropolis stood, was apparently cut away, at least in part, by the Romans, when they "razed the foundations of Antonia."<sup>1</sup> Adrian may have completed the work; and the rocky surface in the northwestern corner of the area still testifies, that this portion has been artificially levelled.<sup>2</sup> In this process the western part of the adjacent trench would naturally be filled up; and the Roman arches extending westward from the present reservoir may not improbably be reckoned among the labours of Adrian. All these great works would readily connect themselves with the rebuilding of the city and the erection of splendid temples.

**OBJECTION.** To the preceding view of the position and extent of Antonia, exception has been taken, so far as I know, only in a single instance. The English author, so often mentioned, asserts, that there is "one insuperable objection at least to this theory, . . . it being obvious from numerous passages, that *the whole* of the north wall of the temple was *not covered* by the fortress in question."<sup>3</sup> These "numerous passages" as given by the author, consist in a reference to the three sieges of the temple by Pompey, Cestius and Titus. The account of Pompey's siege, in which the Romans made their approaches from the north, we have already considered;<sup>4</sup> and have seen, that at that time the fortress Baris occupied the ground on the north of the temple proper, and was so included in the sacred precincts as to be reckoned to the temple. It was therefore, in fact, this fortress Baris, that Pompey thus assailed from the north. At a later period, Herod likewise made preparation to attack the temple (Baris) in the same quarter; but gave up the attempt, and afterwards made his assault from the lower city.<sup>5</sup>

Many years later, it is urged, Cestius also made an attack upon the temple on its northern part (*κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτηον κλίμα*); but being repulsed from the portico (*στοά*), the Romans undermined the wall, and prepared to set fire to the gate of the temple.<sup>6</sup> From this language there follows, it is said, not only the above inference, that the whole of the north wall of the temple was not

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2. p. 143. Catherwood *ibid.* p. 162

<sup>3</sup> H. City, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 618.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. Antt. XIV. 15. 14. XIV. 16. 1, 2. B. J. I. 18. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. II. 19. 5.

covered by Antonia, but also further that there was here a gate on the north, leading out from the temple to Bezetha.<sup>1</sup> But, in the first place, the Jews are said to have driven back the Romans from the portico (*ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς εἰσγόν*); and next, the Romans continued their attacks and undermined the wall. Now both these circumstances are inconsistent with the idea of an assault from the north; where, as we know, there was a very deep trench. A gate on that side could have been approached only by a narrow bridge or passage over the fosse; affording no opportunity either for scaling the portico or of undermining the adjacent wall. We are therefore driven to the conclusion, that the spot where Cestius made his attack, was on the northern part of the western wall of the temple; where, as we know, there was no trench, and where too there were gates. In the very same way the soldiers of Titus are said to have "undermined the northern gate;"<sup>2</sup> this being, as the whole context shows, the northernmost of the gates on the west side, where the assault was made.<sup>3</sup>

One other passage in Josephus is referred to in support of the same objection. When Titus laid siege to the city, the Jews were divided into two factions; one of which, under Simon, had possession of the upper and lower city; while the other, under John, held "the temple and the tract around it to a great extent," including of course Bezetha.<sup>4</sup> After taking the outer wall, Titus pitched his camp within it in the northwest part of the new city, and pressed the attack on the second wall. The Jews, being still separated into two factions, bravely repelled the Romans from this wall; "those with John fighting from Antonia and the northern portico of the temple, and also before the monument of king Alexander."<sup>5</sup> Here now all depends on what is implied in the statement, that John's party "fought from the northern portico of the temple." If it be meant, that they directly assailed the enemy from that portico, as the latter approached from the north; then it might seem to follow, that the whole of this portico was not covered by Antonia. This is the conclusion insisted on by the objector. But if nothing more be intended, than that the

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 402; comp. p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. IV. 4. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to this is the language of Josephus, on another occasion; where, having spoken of the mounds raised by Titus against the northern wall of Zion, at the pool Amygdalon and the monument of John (B. J. V. 11. 4), he afterwards describes these same works as being "on the western quarter of the city (*κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως*), over against the royal palace;" B. J. VI. 8. 1.. See above p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 6. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3.



Jews of John's party, after being driven in from the third wall, now made Antonia and this northern portico *their head-quarters* from which to conduct their defence of the second wall; then no such inference can be drawn. That such an interpretation is both possible and admissible, none will deny; that it is here the probable and necessary one, follows from all the facts and arguments above adduced, which militate so strongly against the other interpretation and the inference drawn from it. Indeed, it is this other mode of interpretation alone, that affords any plausible ground of objection to the view above presented as to the extent and position of Antonia.<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—It may not be out of place to subjoin here a few remarks upon the supposed identity or connection of the fortress Baris with the *Akra* or castle of Antiochus Epiphanes, which gave name to the hill sustaining the lower city. Such a connection is assumed on the alleged ground, that the *Akra* of Antiochus is said in the first book of Maccabees to have stood "on the hill of the temple."<sup>2</sup> But the language of that book asserts no such thing; as we shall see presently. We shall also see, I think, that there exists good ground for supposing, that the two fortresses were not situated upon one and the same hill, nor in the same quarter of the city.

It is related in the first book of Maccabees, that the Syrians under Antiochus Epiphanes "builded the *city of David* with a great and strong wall, with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold (*εἰς ἄσφαρον*) for them. . . . For it was a place to lie in wait (*εἰς ἐρεθρον*) against the sanctuary."<sup>3</sup> When Judas Maccabeus was employed in restoring the temple, he "appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary."<sup>4</sup> After several vain attempts on the part of the Jews to subdue this strong hold, the garrison straitened by hunger at length surrendered to Simon; who removed the foreign troops, "cleansed the fortress from pollutions," and "ordained that that day should be kept every year with gladness.

<sup>1</sup> Schultz suggests two solutions of the language of Josephus, p. 69; either as referring to the defence of the temple from one post to another, in which case the northern portico would be the last station; or else as signifying, "the portico which ran northwards," i. e. the eastern portico, from which the defence would naturally be conducted against the troops on the Mount of Olives. Neither of these suggestions strikes me as satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> H. City, p. 351, 352. See 1 Macc. 13: 52.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 1: 33—36.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 4: 41.

Moreover, the hill of the temple that was by the fortress (*παρὰ τὴν ἀκρὰν*), he made stronger than before (*προσχυρώσει*); and dwelt there himself and those with him."<sup>1</sup> It is further said in the commemorative tablet publicly consecrated to Simon,<sup>2</sup> that in his time "the heathen were taken out of the country, and they also that were in the *city of David*, in Jerusalem [were taken away], who had made themselves a strong hold (*ἀκρὰ*), out of which they issued and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place; but he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city."

Josephus, a much later writer, narrates, that Antiochus erected *in the lower city* an *Akra* (*ἀκρὰ*) or fortress, which was lofty and overlooked the temple (*ὑπερχεμένη τὸ ἱερόν*);<sup>3</sup> so that Judas, when he restored and cleansed the temple and built a wall around it, had to set chosen men to repel the attacks of the garrison.<sup>4</sup> This fortress was at length taken and destroyed by Simon; who also lowered the hill on which it stood, and cast the earth into the valley between it and the temple.<sup>5</sup> The same historian further informs us, that the fortress Baris on the north of the temple, occupying as its acropolis doubtless the rock so often mentioned, was built by the Maccabees; but he specifies no particular individual as its founder.<sup>6</sup> It may have been the work of several successive leaders.

The preceding are two parallel narratives, by different historians, relating to the origin and later history of this *Akra* of the Syrians, from which the Jews and their temple suffered for so long a time. Intermediate notices are given by both writers; which, however, it is not necessary to cite here, inasmuch as they have no special bearing upon the question at issue.<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of the two accounts presents several points of coincidence and mutual elucidation, which serve to bring out and establish the non-identity of this *Akra* with the Baris on the north of the temple.

1. Both accounts agree in representing the fortress (*ἀκρὰ*) in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 13: 49—52.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 14: 27, 43; see vv. 35, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Antt. XII. 5. 4. XII. 9. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Antt. XII. 7. 6. B. J. I. 1. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. Antt. XIII. 6. 6. B. J. I. 2. 2. V. 4. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Compare 1 Macc. 2: 31, with Jos. Antt. XII. 6. 2.—1 Macc. 6: 18, with Antt. XII. 9. 3.—1 Macc. 7: 32, with Antt. XII. 10. 4.—1 Macc. 9: 53. 10: 9, with Antt. XIII. 1. 3.—1 Macc. 10: 32, with Antt. XIII. 2. 3.—1 Macc. 11: 20 sq. with Antt. XIII. 4. 9.—1 Macc. 11: 41, with Antt. XIII. 5. 2.—1 Macc. 12: 36, with Antt. XIII. 5. 11.—1 Macc. 13: 21, with Antt. XIII. 6. 5.—See generally Raumer's *Palaestina*, Ed. 2. p. 446.

question, as near to the temple and commanding it. The one says it was a place to waylay the sanctuary (*εἰς ἐνεδρον τῷ ἁγιάσματι*); the other that it overlooked the temple (*ὑπερχεμένη τὸ ἱερόν*). Both relate that Judas Maccabaeus stationed soldiers to protect the workmen on the temple-precincts from the attacks of the garrison. Indeed the fortress was so near the temple, that according to Josephus the troops in it could, and sometimes did, sally out upon those going up to worship in the sanctuary and slay them;<sup>1</sup> and with all this accords the statement of the other writer as above cited, that "they polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place."

2. From both accounts it appears, that the fortress in question was not upon Mount Zion. Josephus asserts expressly, that it was in the lower city;<sup>2</sup> and the position ascribed to it relatively to the temple by the other writer, is wholly inconsistent with a site upon any part of Zion.

3. The fortress in question was not situated on any part of the temple-mount; nor was it connected with the temple-precincts. According to the historian of the Maccabees, as above quoted, Simon having captured this *Akra*, "strengthened still more the hill of the temple that was near by the fortress (*παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν*);" of course the two were distinct.<sup>3</sup> Josephus likewise is very explicit, that the hill of the *Akra* or fortress was distinct from that of the temple; they having been separated by a ravine (*φάραγξ*), which was afterwards partly filled up.<sup>4</sup>

4. It follows that the *Akra* of Antiochus had no identity nor connection with the later Baris or Antonia. The latter fortress was not, like that *Akra*, separated from the temple by a valley. The *Akra* too was said to overlook or overhang the temple, as above; which is never affirmed of Baris or Antonia. Besides, when the *Akra* was demolished, the hill on which it stood was dug away, and the earth cast into the adjacent valley; but in the later Antonia we find the acropolis still occupying a rock fifty cubits high; an elevation certainly not less than that of the northern hill.<sup>5</sup> It follows further, that the Baris which Josephus says the Maccabaeans erected, was probably identical with the "temple-hill" which Simon fortified more strongly and dwelt

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Antt. XII. 9. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Antt. XII. 5. 4. B. J. I. 1. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 13: 52.—Yet the author of the "Holy City" writes: "This tower [fortress] is expressly said to have stood upon the *hill of the temple*!" p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 1. See the translation and discussion above, p. 417 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 620.

therein. The form of expression (*προσωχέρωσε*) implies that there was already a fortification on the spot. This may well have been, as is suggested by Gesenius, the fortified *palace* (*בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ*) mentioned by Nehemiah as "appertaining to the house," meaning the house of God or the temple;<sup>1</sup> and in this Hebrew word (*בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ*) we have probably the origin of the Greek name *Baris* (*Βάρις*). Not improbably it may have been rebuilt or repaired first by Judas Maccabaeus, when he restored and cleansed the temple, and built a wall around it.<sup>2</sup>

Thus far in both these writers all is coincident and plain. The result is, that the Akra of Antiochus stood upon the high rocky point of the hill or ridge over against the temple on the west; which rock was afterwards cut away, while the hill itself continued to bear the name of Akra. It is the same position, which we have found at the outset to belong to the hill Akra of Josephus.<sup>3</sup>

But notwithstanding this general and striking coincidence in the accounts of the two writers, there are nevertheless two points of apparent discrepancy between them, which deserve a moment's consideration.

*First.* The writer of the first book of Maccabees relates in one place, that Simon having subdued the fortress of Antiochus, cleansed it from pollutions, and then "strengthened still more the hill of the temple that was near by the fortress, and dwelt therein."<sup>4</sup> In another passage the same writer affirms, that Simon having captured the Akra, "fortified it for the safety of the country and city."<sup>5</sup> Josephus, on the other hand, asserts repeatedly, that Simon razed the fortress and dug away the hill on which it stood.<sup>6</sup> Here it is obvious, that between Josephus and the first allegation of the other writer, there is not necessarily any discrepancy. Indeed the fact stated by the historian of the Maccabees, that Simon built another fortress and dwelt in it, would rather imply that the Akra had been afterwards abandoned; and so far this statement goes to confirm that of Josephus. But the second allegation of the same writer, that Simon fortified the Akra, is certainly *prima facie* at direct variance with Josephus; and perhaps partially so with himself. Yet we cannot well call the fact itself in question; since it is professedly copied from a commem-

<sup>1</sup> Neh. 2: 8. See Gesenius Heb. Lex. art. *בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ*. Jos. Antt. XV. 11. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 1. 4. Compare Jos. Antt. XII. 7. 6, 7. 1 Macc. 4: 60; in which latter passage Mount Zion is put for the whole city.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 417 sq.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. 13: 50, 52.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 14: 36, 37.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. I. 2. V. 4. 1. Antt. XIII. 6. 6.

orative tablet publicly consecrated to Simon by his grateful countrymen in the third year of his high-priesthood.<sup>1</sup> Neither is there any valid ground on which to discredit the testimony of Josephus, repeated as it is on various occasions. Perhaps the following considerations may serve to remove the apparent difficulty. Simon succeeded his brother Jonathan, and held the station of high-priest about eight years.<sup>2</sup> The Akra was subdued apparently in his second year; and the public tablet was consecrated in his third year.<sup>3</sup> Now it is very possible, that Simon at first was led to retain and strengthen the Akra as a defence for the temple and city; and this fact was so inscribed on the public tablet of the next year; but that afterwards, finding the fortress better adapted to command and overawe the temple than to protect it, he determined to raze both it and the rock on which it stood, and rebuild another on the north of the temple. For all this there was ample time during the five years of his life *after* the date of the tablet. In this way the second allegation of the writer of the first book of Maccabees may be laid out of view, as referring only to an earlier date; and then the statement of Josephus is left to stand along with the first allegation of that writer; in which case, as we have seen, there is no necessary discrepancy between them.<sup>4</sup>

*Secondly.* Josephus places the Akra of Antiochus in the *lower city*; while the historian of the Maccabees describes it as situated in the *city of David*, by which is usually understood the upper city or Zion.<sup>5</sup>

This difficulty and its solution depend upon the extent of signification given to the term "city of David." That this name originally and in the earlier books of Scripture was specifically applied to the particular hill Zion, there can be no doubt.<sup>6</sup> But afterwards the name Zion itself came by synecdoche to be very commonly employed for the whole city, including the temple, so as to be used as synonymous with Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> The question

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. 14: 27, 48.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. 13: 8, 41; 16: 14. •

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 13: 51; 14: 27.

<sup>4</sup> I have dwelt the longer on this point; because I have formerly expressed doubt as to the correctness of Josephus' statement; see Bibl. Res. I. p. 410, n. 2. I was there misled by relying upon the authority of others; but having given the subject further consideration, I see no valid ground for doubt in respect to either writer.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 629, 630.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. 5: 7, 9. 1 Chron. 11: 5, 7.—1 K. 8: 1. 2 Chron. 5: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. 48: 12. Is. 8: 18. 59: 20. Jer. 3: 14. Zech. 9: 4. Rev. 14: 1; and often. So too in 1 Macc. 4: 37, 60. 5: 54. 6: 48, 62. 7: 33.—In respect to these passages

therefore naturally arises, whether the term "city of David" may not in process of time have been similarly extended? If so, the apparent discrepancy now under consideration disappears.

Some traces of such a usage are found apparently in the prophet Isaiah; who, writing in the time of Hezekiah, says: "Ye have seen the breaches of the city of David, that they are many: . . . and ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem." Here the city of David and Jerusalem are in parallelism and apparently synonymous; just as the same prophet in another place exclaims: "Wo to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt;" meaning Jerusalem. Still stronger are passages in the first book of Maccabees; where the writer uses the two names in apposition, and of course as identical.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, and perhaps mainly, Josephus relates, that "David having driven the Jebusites out of the citadel, himself rebuilt Jerusalem and called it *the city of David* (*καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτῇ Δαυίδου προσήγορεν*);"<sup>4</sup> and this remark the historian repeats a second time. It would seem to follow, that in Josephus's day the specific application of the term "city of David" to Zion alone, was no longer in vogue; and that he understood by it the whole city.

We are therefore authorized to assume, that in other passages also of the first book of Maccabees, the name "city of David" is to be taken as synonymous with Jerusalem;<sup>5</sup> and thus the alleged difficulty is removed.

## VII.

*The fountain GICHON was on the west of the present city, probably in the upper part of the valley of Hinnom.*

All we know of this fountain is from the Old Testament; since Josephus merely names it and that but once.<sup>6</sup> The place or region where it lay was outside of the city; for Solomon was brought thither from the city to be anointed.<sup>7</sup> Of Hezekiah it is

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in the first book of Maccabees, the author of the "Holy City" remarks, p. 352: "It is manifest that the temple-mountain is perpetually called Mount Zion." Now if there be here an "error," it belongs to this author; for not one of these passages relates to the temple-mountain, as such; but all of them to the whole city, as usually called Mount Zion.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 22: 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 29: 1.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Macc. 2: 31 ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόλει Δαυίδ. 14: 36 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυίδ τοὺς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Antt. VII. 3. 2 init. Repeated in the middle of the same paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. 1: 33. 7: 32. Compare ib. 13: 49. 14: 36.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. Antt. VII. 14. 5.

<sup>7</sup> 1 K. 1: 33, 38

said, that "he stopped the upper water-course of Gihon," or, literally, the upper out-flow (אֲרִיֶּז) of the waters of Gihon, "and brought it down to the west side of the city of David."<sup>1</sup> It is further said of the same king, that "he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city;—and there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"<sup>2</sup> In the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus also we are told, that "Hezekiah strengthened his city, and brought in water into the midst of it; he dug with iron into the rock, and built fountains for the waters."<sup>3</sup>

From all these passages it is certainly the obvious conclusion, that there existed anciently a fountain Gihon on the *west* of the city; which was "stopped," or covered over, by Hezekiah, and its waters brought down by subterranean channels into the city. Before that time they would naturally have flowed off through the valley of Hinnom; and may thus have formed the "brook," which was stopped at the same time.<sup>4</sup>

The probability of this view is evinced by the analogy of the Pools of Solomon, so called, beyond Bethlehem. Those three immense reservoirs lie one below another in a small valley; and are partially fed from a fountain about forty rods distant from the upper one. This fountain springs up in subterranean chambers, to which the only access is by a narrow well twelve feet deep; and from thence the water is carried by a channel under ground to the reservoirs.<sup>5</sup> In some such way, Hezekiah may easily have concealed the fountain Gihon on the west of the city. Further down in the same basin and valley of Hinnom, the great reservoirs of the Upper and Lower Pool may in time of peace have been fed from it; while in time of war its waters would be withdrawn from the enemy and distributed in the city by subterranean channels to various reservoirs and fountains. The pool of Hezekiah, now so called, the Amygdalon of Josephus, was probably one; and the fountain under or near the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. 32: 30. See also 2 Chron. 33: 14.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. 32: 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. 48: 17 [19], Cod. Alexandr.

<sup>4</sup> If we may suppose that the fountain Gihon, lying in the basin which forms the head of the valley of Hinnom, gave its name to that basin generally, then we can see why Solomon is said to have been brought *down* from Zion to Gihon.

<sup>5</sup> See Bibl. Res. II. p. 104—107.

Haram may have been another.<sup>1</sup> Josephus likewise speaks of the gate by which water was brought in (*εἰσῆλκτο led in*) for the tower Hippicus; and of an aqueduct (*εὐρυπρος*) connected with Herod's palace on Zion.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, no running water could have been introduced upon Zion, except from a fountain or reservoir on the west side of the city; and this fountain was Gihon.

Such is the view respecting Gihon, which I have elsewhere taken,<sup>3</sup> and the general correctness of it has since been singularly attested by the actual discovery of an "immense conduit" beneath the surface of the ground on Zion, brought to light in digging for the foundations of the Anglican church. This edifice is situated near the northern brow of Zion, a short distance east of Hippicus; and it therefore occupies in part the site of the palace of Herod, with which, as we have seen, an aqueduct was connected. On sinking a shaft, the workmen at the depth of more than twenty feet came upon the roof of a vaulted chamber of fine masonry and in perfect repair, resting upon the rock. Within were steps leading down to a solid mass of stone-work, covering a channel the bottom of which was lower than the floor of the chamber; and this proved to be "an immense conduit, partly hewn out of the solid rock, and when this was not the case it was solidly built in even courses, and cemented on the face with a hard coating of cement, about one inch thick, and was covered over with large stones. . . . The direction of this aqueduct was east and west." Mr. Johns, the architect of the church, to whom we are indebted for this account, traced it eastward for more than two hundred feet. He says further: "The question naturally arises, what could this chamber and aqueduct have been for? There is no doubt on my own mind, that they have been used for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with pure water; and this is proved by there being several apertures opening from the streets at distant intervals. The aqueduct was nearly level, the fall being so slight as to allow the water to remain level; so that by means of a line and bucket water could at any time be procured. The chamber was evidently a reservoir, to which, at some period, access was had by a flight of steps. . . . The aqueduct bears incontestible proof of far greater antiquity than the vaulted chamber."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 487 sq. See above, p. 448.—Bibl. Res. I. p. 508 sq. Bibl. Res. I. p. 508 sq. Bibl. Res. I. p. 508 sq. Bibl. Res. I. p. 508 sq. Bibl. Res. I. p. 508 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3. See above, pp. 447, 449.—Jos. B. J. II. 17. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Res. I. p. 512 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Johns in Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2. pp. 82—84. See also "The Angli-



That this subterranean channel was indeed an aqueduct, as the architect supposes, is obvious from the preceding description. The cutting into the rock, the cement upon the other portions, the occasional apertures above, as well as the vaulted chamber with steps, all show it to have been constructed for the transmission of living water.<sup>1</sup> As an aqueduct, it could have been supplied only from a source on the west of the city. Assuming, then, that such was the position of Gihon, we find the language of the Old Testament respecting Hezekiah's works as above quoted, and likewise the notice of Josephus, exactly borne out by the ancient remains still extant. Hezekiah, it is said, "made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city;" and also "he stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." Josephus mentions too the existence of an aqueduct on Zion, precisely where one is now found; and his pool Amygdalon is that usually and with good reason regarded as Hezekiah's.<sup>2</sup>

In opposition to this series of clear and connected testimony, it is now proposed to transfer the fountain of Gihon and the upper pool to "the north side of the city, not far from the tombs of the Kings."<sup>3</sup> Of all the points of evidence advanced in support of this view, only one is tenable; and even that has no bearing on the question. I refer to the "common report among the natives, that there is a spot near the Damascus gate, without the city, where, in a still time, by putting the ear near to the ground, the trickling or murmur of a subterranean water-course can be heard; but only at night."<sup>4</sup> Let it now be true, that such a water-course does actually exist; this does not show it to be Gihon nor to come from Gihon. The other points brought forward are mere

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can Cathedral Church on Mount Zion, by J. W. Johns, Architect." pp. 9, 10.

<sup>1</sup> Yet the author of the "Holy City" speaks of it slightly as "a sewer, which traverses the whole of Zion;" p. 276. As an aqueduct, it is greatly in the way of his speculations.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, No. I. p. 200, I remarked, that the bringing of water by an aqueduct from the west upon Mount Zion "involves a physical impossibility, unless by a lofty aqueduct or arches." This had reference, of course, to a channel along the surface of the ground. But a subterranean channel, like that since discovered, lying about twenty-five feet below the present level of the ground on Zion, certainly involves no such impossibility. At that time no one suspected the existence of such a channel.

<sup>3</sup> *Holy City*, p. 400. The *Memoir of Schultz* places Gihon in the basin west of the city; p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 28. *H. City*, p. 390.

assumptions in respect to the position of the Fuller's field and the camp of the Assyrians; the former of which is without a shadow of proof, and the latter contrary to the testimony of Josephus.<sup>1</sup> The character of the ground too is at variance with any such theory; and one statement of the writer of the Chronicles is absolutely fatal to it, namely, that Hezekiah brought the water of Gihon "down to the *west* side of the city of David." From the vicinity of the tombs of the Kings so called, water could be brought (if at all) only to the *north* side of the Holy City; not even according to the distorted Plan of the author in question.<sup>2</sup>

### VIII.

*The earliest GATE OF ST. STEPHEN was the present DAMASCUS GATE; which was so called from the tradition as to the place of Stephen's martyrdom on the north of the city.*

The gate of St. Stephen is mentioned as on the north of the city, and in a position corresponding to the present Damascus gate, by all writers down to the middle of the fourteenth century. The earliest is Adamnanus, who records the information received by him from Arculfus, about A. D. 697; he enumerates in all six gates, beginning with that of David or the Yafa gate, and naming St. Stephen's as the *third*.<sup>3</sup> Then follow the notices of the

<sup>1</sup> H. City, pp. 392, 393.—Jos. B. J. V. 12. 2.—See more further on.

<sup>2</sup> On his Plan Mr. Williams represents the *second* wall of Josephus as making on the north of the Damascus gate a narrow *horn-like* circuit or projection, in order to take in the hill of the grotto of Jeremiah, so called. It is apparently on the strength of this, that he seems to reckon the Damascus gate as on the *west* side of the ancient city! H. City, Plan; comp. p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Adamn. l. 1, "Portas his ternas, quarum per circuitum civitatis ordo sic ponitur: 1. Porta David ad occidentalem partem montis Sion. 2. Porta villae Fullonis. 3. Porta S. Stephani. 4. Porta Benjamin. 5. Portula, hoc est parvula porta; ab hac per gradus ad vallem Josaphat descenditur. 6. Porta Tecuitis." Here the "porta David" is unquestionably the present Yafa gate; and the next, "Porta villae Fullonis," was obviously so called from the "fuller's field" of Is. 7: 3, which was rightly held to lie on the west of the city; Brocardus c. VIII. fin. This gate therefore was on the northwest part of the present city; where Brocardus also says there was a gate in his day called "Porta judiciaria," over against the interior traditional gateway of that name, and leading to Shiloh (Neby Samwil) and Gibeon. Then follows the gate of St. Stephen, identical with the present Damascus gate. After this we have the "Porta Benjamin," now Herod's gate; and then the "Portula," or little gate, from which steps descended into the valley of Jehoshaphat. This again is from this circumstance a fixed point; and can only be the gate on the east, the modern St. Stephen's, which alone leads down into the valley. Reckoning therefore either way, the identity of the St. Stephen's gate of Arculfus with

historians of the crusades ; including the definite specification of Brocardus about A. D. 1283, who likewise sets the gate David first, and that of St. Stephen *third* in the series ; and so too the accounts of later travellers.<sup>1</sup> In all these the name of this gate stands in connection with the traditional place of Stephen's martyrdom ; which was early shown on the north of the city at the distance of a furlong from the present gate ;<sup>2</sup> where too stood a church dedicated to the martyr, with which also a monastery was connected.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Rudolf of Suchem (1336—50) these edifices had already disappeared<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, after the middle of the *fifteenth* century, all travellers with one accord speak of the name of St. Stephen as applied to the gate on the *east* side of the city, and to that only ; as is the case at the present day.<sup>5</sup> During the intervening century the tradition had undergone a change ; but in what way, or on what grounds, history is silent. It is a signal instance of such mutation ; and in so far serves, as we shall see, to awaken or confirm doubt as to the authority of other like examples.

The account of Stephen's death in the book of Acts affords no hint of the place of his martyrdom, except where it is said that they " cast him out of the city and stoned him."<sup>6</sup> The spot form-

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the Damascus gate, is evident.—The German writer denies this identity, apparently overlooking the testimony of Brocardus to a gate on the northwest, and also the steps leading down into the valley on the east ; and misled further by a fanciful etymology, by which he would regard the modern Arabic name of Herod's gate (*ez-Zahary, the flowery*) as a translation of the Greek name Stephen (*Στέφανος, a garland, crown*). In this way he admits *two* changes of the tradition. Schultz, pp. 51, 52, 118.

<sup>1</sup> Will. Tyr. VIII. 5, " porta quae hodie dicitur *Sancti Stephani*, quae ad Aquilonem respicit." VIII. 6. IX. 19. Gesta Dei, etc. 572. Brocardus c. VIII. fin. Marin. Sanut. III. 14. 8. Descr. of Jerusalem in 13th cent. in Schultz, pp. 111, 112, 113, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Tyr. VIII. 2. " a Septentrione ubi usque hodie locus in quo protomartyr Stephanus a Judæis lapidatus." Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572. Brocardus c. VIII. fin. " *porta S. Stephani*, qui extra eam lapidatus fuit." Rudolf of Suchem in Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 846.—Tillemont Mémoires pour servir, etc. II. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Gesta Dei, etc. p. 572. Jac. de Vitriac. 63. p. 1081.—Tillemont l. c. p. 24. See also for the monastery two documents of A. D. 1157 and 1162, cited by Schultz, App. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf of Suchem l. c. p. 846.

<sup>5</sup> So in the Journals of Steph. v. Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449 ; Tucher, A. D. 1479 ; Breydenbach and F. Fabri, A. D. 1483, etc. See Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 444, 665, 111, 252.—Sir John Maundeville about A. D. 1325, speaks already of a *church* of St. Stephen upon the east of the city, by the valley of Jehoshaphat ; p. 80. The tradition had begun to waver.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 7: 58.

erly pointed out, and decorated with a church and monastery, was beyond all doubt within the circuit of the third wall at the time of Stephen's death, and therefore within the city as described by Josephus. Of course, it was not the true spot, according to the testimony of Scripture. Yet there existed in behalf of it a traditional authority so strong, that it may not be inappropriate to dwell upon it for a moment, as illustrative of the nature and character of such tradition in general.

It is matter of more than mere tradition, that after three centuries of oblivion the burial-place of Stephen was held to be revealed, and his body recovered, at a village called Caphar-Gamala twenty miles from Jerusalem, in A. D. 415. On Friday the 3d day of December in that year, at evening, Lucian the priest of that place saw in a dream or vision an old man coming to him, who made himself known as the Gamaliel of the book of Acts, and informed him, that after Stephen had been stoned before the north gate of Jerusalem, and his body left for a day and night as a prey for beasts and birds, (though none touched it,) he himself, being at heart a Christian, had caused the corpse to be deposited in his own tomb at Caphar-Gamala, where the body now lay; as also the bodies of Nicodemus and of himself and son. All this Lucian was to make known to John, bishop of Jerusalem. On awaking, Lucian had doubts as to the vision; and betook himself to prayer and fasting. The result was, that on the two following Fridays the same vision was repeated. His doubts being now removed, Lucian repaired to the bishop; and received his orders to make the necessary search. This was done with the help of a further vision to another monk; and the bodies were found in the manner and form prescribed. On opening the sarcophagus containing the body of St. Stephen, there was an earthquake; an odour of extreme fragrance was diffused; and several sick persons were healed. A week later the bones of the martyr were transferred with great solemnity to Jerusalem, and deposited for the time being in the church on Zion. In the same hour there fell great rain, which put an end to the extreme drought. The bones of the saint were afterwards removed to a magnificent church on the north of the city, erected on the place of his martyrdom by the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius the younger; which was many years in building and was dedicated in A. D. 460. A monastery appears to have been connected with it. The empress resided long, and at length died, in Pales-

tine; and her body was deposited in a splendid tomb in the same church.<sup>1</sup>

The relation of the discovery and removal of the body of St. Stephen, from which the above account is extracted, was written by Lucian himself; and the authority of it is attested by St. Augustine, the great theologian of that and later ages, and also by Gennadius of Marseilles, a well known writer in the latter part of the same century, whose work was continued by Jerome.<sup>2</sup> Augustine likewise testifies largely to the many miracles wrought by relics of the saint, which were possessed by his own church at Hippo in Africa, and by the neighbouring churches at Calame and Uzal.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, this recovery of the body of the protomartyr, with the miracles that followed, was the great event of the fifth century. Sozomen, the cotemporary historian, speaks of it as most extraordinary and wholly divine.<sup>4</sup>

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumstances of this narrative, because they present many points of analogy, both in the alleged facts and in the testimony, with the accounts we have of the similar discovery of the Holy Cross and Holy Sepulchre in A. D. 325, less than a century earlier.<sup>5</sup> The finding of the body of Stephen claims to have been a matter of revelation. The transfer of his bones to Jerusalem was the occasion of seeking out and consecrating the place of his martyrdom, as the fitting site of his subsequent sepulture. Whether there existed previously a traditional knowledge of the spot on the north of the city, we are not informed; but the evidence and the probability on this point are at least as great as in the parallel case of the

<sup>1</sup> On the church built by the empress Eudocia, and the accompanying circumstances, see Tillemont *Mémoires pour servir*, etc. Tom. II. p. 24. Also his *Histoire des Empereurs*, Tom. VI. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> The tract of Lucian is found in Augustini Opera ed. Benedict. Tom. VII. Appendix. Prefixed to it are some of the testimonies of Augustine and that of Gennadius, as well as references to later writers. Augustine in one place, speaking of Stephen, says: "Hujus corpus ex illo usque ad ista tempora latuit; nuper autem apparuit, sicut solent apparere sanctorum corpora martyrum, revelatione Dei, quando placuit Creatori.—Verum autem revelatum fuit ei, qui res ipsas inventas monstravit." *Sermo* 318. no. 1. The words of Gennadius are as follows: "Lucianus presbyter, vir sanctus, cui revelavit Deus, temporibus Honorii et Theodosii Augustorum, locum sepulcri et reliquiarum corporis S. Stephani martyris primi, scripsit ipsam revelationem ad omnium ecclesiarum personas, Graeco sermone;" *de illustrib. Viris*. Only the Latin version is now extant in various recensions.

<sup>3</sup> Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. XXII. 10—22.

<sup>4</sup> Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. IV. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See in Bibl. Res. II. pp. 12—16.

Holy Sepulchre. It is not to be supposed, that the scene of an event so important to the whole church as the death of the first martyr, connected as it was so signally with the history of the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles, should in so short a time have been forgotten among the Christians of Jerusalem and those of the whole world who flocked thither as pilgrims. At any rate, the empress Eudocia, who lived for years in the Holy City, would not have lavished her treasures to erect a church upon a site, which she and her spiritual advisers did not know to be the true one. The people and the clergy residing on the spot must have known the place; at least they were much more likely to know it than those of the fifteenth century, or than any "partial witness of the nineteenth century."<sup>1</sup> For ten centuries, too, this was, and continued to be, the unanimous and unquestioned belief of laity and clergy, of bishops and councils and popes; yea, of the church universal. And yet, as we have seen, according to the testimony of Scripture, this venerated spot could not have been the true site of Stephen's martyrdom; and in the fifteenth century the whole church had abandoned the former belief, and transferred the place of martyrdom to the east side of the Holy City.

The question naturally arises, what element of testimony is wanting in this case, as compared with that of the Holy Sepulchre? What element is here less weighty and convincing? If in the one case there probably existed an earlier tradition as to the spot; just so likewise in the other. If the miracles wrought by the cross were of any avail; just so Lucian's thrice repeated vision and the miracles of healing, which are far more strongly attested than those of the cross. If a splendid church erected by an empress demonstrates the true site of the Sepulchre; so too here in like manner it marks the true place of martyrdom. If further the general consent and belief of the whole church avail anything in behalf of the one; still more must they avail in respect to the other; for in regard to the site of the Sepulchre doubts existed in every age,<sup>2</sup> while as to the spot of Stephen's sufferings no doubt was ever expressed. Yet after ten centuries the one tradition comes to an end; while the other still exists for five centuries more; and this fact of its continuance is now

<sup>1</sup> All these are main arguments in behalf of the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre. They apply here with at least equal force.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. II. p. 65. So too pope Gregory the Great (ob. 604) makes Jerusalem *transmigrate* in order to save the present site; Homil. in Evang. 39. init.

urged as its highest claim to be received with an undoubting faith. It might be hard to assign a reason, why a thousand years of universal undoubting faith should not afford an equal claim; or how five additional centuries can add strength to the evidence. Is the latter now better attested? is it more clear, more consistent, more convincing, than it was five hundred years ago?

A further question arises here, in respect to these two traditions of high and almost equal antiquity, attested in like manner by the acknowledgment of sovereigns and councils and the erection of churches, and both running on together with equal credit and like undoubting faith for more than a thousand years. Why should it be, that at the end of this period "the one should be taken and the other left?" Why should the one be discarded, and the other increase in strength and high pretension? I fear no satisfactory answer can be given to this inquiry; unless it is to be found in the different fortunes of the churches and convents connected with each spot. The church and convent of St. Stephen, which still existed in the time of the crusades, were on the north of the present city; were consequently exposed to the havoc and desolation of besieging Muhammedan armies; and had wholly disappeared early in the fourteenth century. The church and convents of the Holy Sepulchre have ever been in the midst of the city, and therefore less exposed to the same occasions of desolation; and although the church has been several times wantonly destroyed, yet there has ever existed for it so deep an interest throughout Christendom, as to render the immediate rebuilding of it a matter of no difficult accomplishment. Thus it has remained the central point, not only of intense affection on the part of those who put faith in its claims, but also of a mass of traditions, of legends, of rites, of ceremonies, of Greek fire, and the like. The same interest was not felt throughout Christendom to rebuild the edifices on the place of Stephen's martyrdom; and therefore, when those edifices had disappeared; when the splendour and the ceremonies and the monks were no more; *then* the tradition was forgotten. Had all these continued unto the present day, affording still to the tradition "a local habitation," there is little reason to doubt but that the gate of St. Stephen would even now be found, as of yore, upon the north of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Churches in honour of St. Stephen were frequent; there were not less than *nine* in Constantinople alone. An earlier church of St. Stephen is said to have existed in Jerusalem; Tillemont *Mémoires*, etc. II. p. 24. Others would

Here then we have two local and similar traditions, both resting upon like testimony and like authority, both received by the whole church with equal faith for a thousand years; when the one is silently dropped by the whole church, and the other continues still to be held fast by multitudes. When the former was laid aside, was not "the credit of the whole church for a thousand years in some measure involved in the question?"<sup>1</sup> Has any one therefore ever undertaken to overturn the topography of the Holy City, to remove mountains, to efface vallies, to run curves and sharp angles and zigzags in the ancient outer wall, in order to bring the spot of Stephen's martyrdom outside of the former city, and thus save the credit of the church? Has any one ever charged the monks and pilgrims of that day with being "partial witnesses of the fourteenth century?"<sup>2</sup> Have they ever been held up as "the unbelieving array,"<sup>3</sup> because they abandoned a tradition which the whole church had received? No such thing. Nowadays it is only "an *unhappy* circumstance that the site of the protomartyr's sufferings was found for many years without the Damascus gate; . . . and what is more *provoking* is, that the empress Eudocia erected a large church to the memory of this saint, at the supposed place of his martyrdom without the Damascus gate, as early as the fifth century!"<sup>4</sup>

Such is the consistency of Protestant writers at the present day, who gird themselves to do battle in behalf of the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre; while the existence of a like tradition as to the place of Stephen's martyrdom, equally received by the church for a thousand years and then dropped, is to them at most *unhappy* and *provoking*! Are they not aware, that in thus admitting the facts of the latter case, they destroy at once the whole foundation and fabric of their argument in the former?

Here then we find another striking example, illustrating the general principle which I have elsewhere laid down upon this subject, viz. "That all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine,

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naturally be built afterwards; and Sir John Maundeville in the beginning of the fourteenth century speaks of one such "anent" the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east of the city; Travels, p. 30. This church was probably the occasion of attracting thither the tradition as to the place of martyrdom, after the church on the north of the city was destroyed.

<sup>1</sup> H. City, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Pref. p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Pref. p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> H. City, p. 364. The writer pronounces it *unhappy*, "because, but for this fact, there would be little difficulty in fixing it [the place of martyrdom] to the neighbourhood of this [gate], which now bears his name!"



is of no value, except so far as it is supported by circumstances known to us from the Scriptures or from other contemporary testimony."<sup>1</sup>

## IX.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

The following remarks have reference to some other miscellaneous points of topography in and around the Holy City, as to which I may differ from the views expressed by one or the other of the two writers so often alluded to in the preceding pages. The reader will, of course, not understand me as assenting to various other positions taken in those volumes, merely because I do not deem it important to discuss them.

I. TOMB OF HELENA. I have elsewhere brought forward evidence to show, that the remarkable sepulchral excavation near Jerusalem, usually known as the Tombs of the Kings, is most probably the identical monument spoken of by ancient writers as the Tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene.<sup>2</sup> The main points of evidence are, that Josephus in one passage describes the tomb of Helena as constructed with three pyramids at the distance of three stadia from the city, and in another place speaks of it as overagainst the northern gate of the city where Titus approached to reconnoitre;<sup>3</sup> and that Eusebius also mentions the pyramids or cippi (*στῆλαι*), while Jerone relates of Paula that as she approached the city from the north the mausoleum of Helena lay upon the left or east.<sup>4</sup> Now as Paula came from Gibeah of Saul, the modern Tuleil el-Fûl, she could only have reached the city by the great northern road, which must always have occupied very nearly the same line as at present. These accounts then are exceedingly definite. The tomb of Helena was three stadia north of the third or outer wall of the city, on the east side of the road leading to Gibeah. Now this is precisely the position of the Tombs of the Kings so called, on the east of the great northern road, somewhat more than half an English mile or nearly five Roman stadia from the Damascus gate, anciently a gate of the second wall. The third wall ran, as we know, further towards the north; but of its exact course we are not informed. If then

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Res. i. p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. i. p. 536 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Antt. XX. 4. 3. B. J. V. 2. 2. Josephus mentions the same tomb in two other places; B. J. V. 3. 3. V. 4. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. Hist. Ecc. II. 12.—“Ad lævam mausoleo Helenae derelicto,—ingressa est Jerusalem urbem;” Hieron. Epit. Paulæ, Opp. T. IV. ii. p. 673. ed. Martianay.

this sepulchre is not that of Helena, still the latter must have been somewhere in the immediate vicinity. But the Greek writer Pausanias describes the mausoleum of Helena as one of the most remarkable in the world, especially on account of the mechanism of its doors.<sup>1</sup> All this again is applicable to nothing around Jerusalem, except the sepulchral monument in question and its former sculptured doors, now broken down. This circumstance likewise goes to establish the identity of this mausoleum with that of Helena.

This result is not acceded to by the German writer, who supposes himself to have discovered the sepulchre of Helena on the northwest of the present city, at some distance beyond the site of the ancient tower Psephinos.<sup>2</sup> "Here are two large sepulchres hewn in the rock; and three heaps of ruins, which may possibly (*möglicher Weise*) come from the three pyramids which marked the sepulchre." He does not further describe the tombs. But it seems obvious, that they do not in any degree correspond to the account of Pausanias; while such a position is wholly at variance with the express testimony of Jerome, that the tomb of Helena was on the east of the great northern road.

The three pyramids or *stelae* were probably *cippi* of a slender pyramidal form, erected on the level ground over the portal, not unlike to those surmounting one of the rock-hewn tombs at Petra.<sup>3</sup>

II. THE FULLER'S FIELD. This spot is mentioned in the Old Testament on two occasions; once where Isaiah is directed to go forth to meet Ahaz "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field;"<sup>4</sup> and again when Rabshakeh and his companions "stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field."<sup>5</sup> Until recently this field has always and justly been held to lie upon the west side of the city, where there still exists an "upper pool" of high antiquity, from which water is even now brought into the city by a conduit; and where too, as we know, there was "an upper water-course of Gihon," which Hezekiah brought "straight down to the west side of the city of David."<sup>6</sup> Near this pool or conduit the fullers (strictly *washers* or *cleansers* of woollen garments)<sup>7</sup> apparently

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Græciæ Descr. VIII. 16. See Bibl. Res. I. pp. 537, 569.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Res. II. p. 515; comp. p. 510.

<sup>4</sup> Is. 7: 3.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings 18: 17. Is. 36: 2.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Chr. 32: 30. See above, p. 637.

<sup>7</sup> See Mark 8: 3. Winer Realw. art. *Walker*.

plied their trade, and spread out the garments thus cleansed to dry upon the ground, near by the great road leading from the western gate to Joppa. Something of the same kind may be said to exist at the present day.<sup>1</sup>

The next notice of the spot is by Eusebius and Jerome, who merely say that it was seen in their day in the suburbs of the city.<sup>2</sup> In Adamnanus, A. D. 697, we find mention of the *Porta Villae Fullonis* in the west wall of the city, so named obviously in reference to this field; which Brocardus in the thirteenth century expressly places on the west, outside of the gate leading to Hebron and Joppa.<sup>3</sup> Now since it appears from the Scriptural passages quoted, that this field was on the west of the city; and Adamnanus at the close of the seventh century, and Brocardus in the thirteenth, both recognize it as in the same quarter; we may infer with tolerable certainty, that such was also the position in which Eusebius and Jerome knew it in the fourth century. We thus obtain a series of testimony, coincident with that of Scripture, down through many later centuries.

The only possible ground for attempting to transfer the site of this field to the north of the city, as has been done of late, is the suggestion of a connection between it and the Fuller's monument, which stood at the extreme north-east corner of the new city, where the third or outer wall came down to the valley of the Kidron.<sup>4</sup> We are told that "it seems natural to connect the Fuller's monument with the Fuller's field."<sup>5</sup> It may "seem natural;" but it is just as natural not thus to connect them, nor is it in the slightest degree necessary; especially when this must have the further effect of transferring from the west to the north, not only the Fuller's field, but likewise the fountain Gihon and the upper pool with its conduit; contrary to the facts of history, to the remains of antiquity, and to the nature of the ground.<sup>6</sup>

III. CAMP OF THE ASSYRIANS. This is twice mentioned by Josephus, and only by him, as the place where Titus pitched his

<sup>1</sup> In 1838 we saw persons washing garments at the upper pool, and the ground for some distance around was covered with the clothes spread out. The same was the case, once at least, at the fountain of Siloam; and also at the well near the Tombs of the Kings.

<sup>2</sup> Onomast. art. *Ager Fullonis*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 638. n. 3. Brocardus, c. VIII. fin.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 5. 2.

<sup>5</sup> H. City, p. 392. So too Hitzig, in his Comm. on Is. 7: 3.—Schultz connects the *Porta Villae Fullonis* with the Fuller's monument; but places the Fuller's field rightly on the west; pp. 51/84.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 637, 638.

own camp within the new city, after having broken through the third or outer wall, and before making his assault on the second wall.<sup>1</sup> The spot is sometimes assumed as identical with that where Rabshakeh and the Assyrian host sent by Sennacherib are supposed to have "stood," while he communed with the messengers of Hezekiah, viz. "by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field."<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this view, the German writer fixes the camp of the Assyrians at the north-west corner of the present city, in the vicinity of the Latin convent.<sup>3</sup> This assumed identity, however, is merely conjectural. Against it we have, on the one hand, the fact, that the city was more than once invested by an Assyrian host; and there is therefore no reason why this should be taken as the camp of Sennacherib's army, rather than of another.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, even if the camp be assumed as that of Sennacherib's host, still the Scriptural account goes only to show, that the *colloquy* between the Assyrian general and Hezekiah's messengers took place at the spot described; and not that the troops were encamped there. In seeking therefore for the true site of the camp in question, we must be governed solely by the language of Josephus.

Titus, on approaching with his legions from the north, encamped first on Scopus;<sup>5</sup> and from thence levelled the ground before the walls of the city, cutting down the fruit-trees and groves, demolishing the walls and hedges, filling up the hollows and chasms, and cutting away the ledges of rock.<sup>6</sup> He then removed, and with one division of his troops encamped before the corner, two stadia from the wall, over against the tower Psephinos, "where the circuit of the northern wall bent round upon the west side."<sup>7</sup> The other division extended itself over against Hippicus, in like manner two stadia distant from the city; probably on the level ground south of the upper part or basin of the valley of Hinnom.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3. V. 12. 2.      <sup>2</sup> 2 K. 18: 17. Is. 36: 2. See above, p. 646.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, p. 85; comp. p. 68. The author of the "Holy City" places the camp of the Assyrians on the north-east corner of the new city, at the Fuller's monument, near the Kidron; p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, where Manasseh is taken prisoner by the Assyrians, and carried away to Babylon; 2 Chron. 33: 11. It may be that "Assyrians" is here a more general word for the "Chaldeans" of Babylon; since this use of the name is not infrequent in the later books; see 2 K. 23: 29. Jer. 2: 18. So too Nebuchadnezzar is called king of the Assyrians, Judith 1: 7, 11. 2: 1. 4: 1. 5: 1, etc. Hence, the camp of the Assyrians at Jerusalem might with equal propriety be regarded as the camp of Nebuchadnezzar's or any other Assyrian or Chaldean army.

<sup>5</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 2. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 3. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 3. 5.

After breaking through the outer wall into the new city, Titus transferred his head-quarters to the camp of the Assyrians within the same, "having first taken possession of the whole intervening tract (*ἡπὶ τὸν πᾶν τὸ μεταξύ*) quite to the Kidron, and being still out of the reach of weapons from the second wall."<sup>1</sup> This language would seem to imply, that the spot in question must have been in the western part of the new city. To the same effect is another passage, where it is said of Titus, that having begun his own wall "from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own troops now lay, he carried it down upon the lower new city (*ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καιρόπολιν ἦγε*), and thence through the Kidron to the mount of Olives."<sup>2</sup> From all these notices it seems clear, that the camp of the Assyrians, so called, must have been upon the eastern declivity below the tower Psephinos; and far enough towards the north to be out of the reach of weapons from the second wall; which, as we have seen, probably did not vary much from the line of the present northern wall.<sup>3</sup> Here, in the north-western quarter, the new city was apparently not fully built up; and thus Titus found space along the declivity for the encampment of his troops within the city.

IV. COURSES OF VARIOUS WALLS. The specifications of the German writer in regard to the courses of some of the walls, seem to admit of further investigation.

1. *Third or outer Wall.* The general course of this wall is rightly given upon the new Plan of Kiepert, so far as the ancient traces of it extend on the east of the corner tower Psephinos. Beyond this point the Plan represents it as carried northwards quite to the valley of Jehoshaphat, where the latter runs east; and then as following the brow of this valley down to the city; thus taking in the Tombs of the Kings so called, and the other similar sepulchres in that quarter.<sup>4</sup> This course is laid down by the German writer mainly on the presumption, that he has discovered the sepulchre of Helena in another spot, on the north-west of the city.<sup>5</sup> But—to say nothing of the improbability that the Tombs of the Kings and the adjacent sepulchres should all have been within the city—so long as the strong proof above adduced exists to show that the main sepulchre in question is identical with the mausoleum of Helena, it is certain that the third wall could not have made so great a circuit towards the north.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 7. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 12. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> See Bibl. Res. I. p. 534.

<sup>5</sup> Schultz, p. 62 sq. See above, p. 645, 646.

Josephus describes its course from Psephinos as follows :<sup>1</sup> "Thence it was carried along (*καθ' ἑκαστον*) over against the tomb of Helena ; and being prolonged through the royal caves, it turned by the corner tower at the Fuller's monument so called, and, joining the old enclosure, terminated at the valley of the Kidron." This language necessarily implies, that the third wall left the tomb of Helena at some distance on the outside.

2. *Second Wall.* From the ancient gate now that of Damascus to Antonia, the second wall, according to the German writer, followed the course of the present wall ; that is, it ran along the northern brow of the hill Bezetha, as understood both by this writer and myself.<sup>2</sup> But, according to Josephus, Bezetha lay outside of the second wall and lower city ; and was first taken in when the third wall was built.<sup>3</sup>

3. *Wall of Titus.* After Titus had taken the second wall, and made several unsuccessful assaults upon Antonia and the upper city, he went to work more cautiously, and built a new wall around the whole city so far as it was not yet subdued, in order to prevent all egress and hope of escape to the Jews.<sup>4</sup> "Beginning at the camp of the Assyrians within the third wall, where Titus himself was now encamped, he carried the wall down upon the lower new city ; thence through the Kidron to the mount of Olives ; there turning it took in the mount as far as to the rock called *Peristereon* (*Περιστερεών*) and the next hill, which lies over the valley at Siloam ; thence turning west it went down into the valley of the fountain ; beyond which ascending by the tomb of the high-priest Ananus, and taking through (*διαλαβών*) the hill where Pompey encamped, it turned northwards, and going on as far as to a certain village called Chickpea-house (*Ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος*) and beyond this including the monument of Herod, it joined again towards the east upon his own camp, where it had begun." The length of the whole wall was thirty-nine stadia ; and it was completed by the whole army in three days.

The camp of the Assyrians, as we have seen,<sup>5</sup> was probably on the declivity below the tower of Psephinos, some distance further north than the place assigned to it upon Kiepert's Plan. This position at once saves what appears upon the Plan as a very awkward angle in a wall of this description. My purpose here, however, is mainly to call the reader's attention for a moment to

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, p. 62 ; comp. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2. See above, p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 12. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 647, 648.

one or two other points in connection with the wall. We may, I think, take it for granted, that the Romans would not make the wall *longer*, or give it a larger circuit, than was necessary for their purpose; they did not introduce into it curves or angles where a straighter line would answer as well. On the east and south the wall would naturally be carried along the side of the mount of Olives and of the southern hill, on a line not higher up than was absolutely necessary to render the wall defensible and secure against the efforts of the Jews. This then is all that can well be meant, when it is said of the wall, that it "took in the mount of Olives." The meaning cannot be, that it took in the *whole* mount, either as far as to Bethany or even to the summit; for why should the Romans subject themselves to all the trouble and toil of dragging their materials up hill, and of lengthening the wall by at least half a mile, without the slightest necessity? I cannot but think, therefore, that the "rock called Peristereon and the next hill lying over the valley at Siloam," were points on the western declivity not much above the valley, and are mentioned here simply to mark out more exactly the course of the wall.

The German author, however, carries the wall nearly to the summit of the mount of Olives, in order to take in the Tombs of the Prophets so called; which, led away by a fanciful analogy, he holds to be the Peristereon of Josephus.<sup>1</sup> In like manner he makes the wall run high up towards the summit of the southern hill, where he assumes that Pompey first encamped on his arrival from Jericho.<sup>2</sup> This seems to me to be without good reason, and against all probability. A far more probable position both for Pompey's camp and for the course of the wall, would be the

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, p. 72. The manner in which this author connects the two together, is an instance of the haste with which he sometimes jumps at a conclusion. He says: "Peristereon (περιστερεών) means *Columbarium*, which signifies not only *dove-cote*, but also 'a sepulchre with many niches.' Therefore it is here a name for the tombs of the Prophets, in which are many niches." Now both the Greek and this Latin word were certainly figuratively applied to things having resemblance to a dove-cote; the former being used as the name of a kind of weed, and the latter as the name of the hole for an oar and other like apertures in walls, etc. But no classic author ever employed either word to denote "a sepulchre with many niches." Honest Sandys, indeed, by way of *comparison*, once speaks of the large room in the tombs of the Judges as being "cut full of holes in manner of a dove-house;" Trav. p. 136.—For a full account of the tombs of the Prophets, by Rev. S. Wolcott, see Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus says not a word of Pompey's encampment on his arrival from Jericho; but only speaks of his encamping afterwards on the north of the temple; Antt. XIV. 3. 4, comp. 4. 2. B. J. I. 6. 6, comp. 7. 3.

less elevated ground on the west of the valley of Hinnom over against Zion. To this quarter indeed the language of Josephus seems rather to point; and here one portion of the troops of Titus afterwards encamped, as did likewise in later ages a division of the army of the crusaders.<sup>1</sup>

V. VIA DOLOROSA. I have formerly made the remark, that "the *Via dolorosa* seems to have been first got up during or after the times of the crusades;" and that "the earliest allusion I had been able to find to it, is in Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century."<sup>2</sup> The opinion thus advanced, I am happy to find, is most fully confirmed by the description of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, to which allusion has already been made.<sup>3</sup> From that work it appears conclusively, (what indeed might be inferred from the silence of Brocardus,) that in the thirteenth century no such name of a street existed in Jerusalem. The one now so called then bore two names in different parts. West of the street leading south from the Damascus gate, it was called the street of the Sepulchre (*la rue du Sepulcre*); while east of the same, quite to the gate at the valley of Jehoshaphat, it was known as the street of Jehoshaphat (*la rue de Josaphat*).<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, we may perhaps discover the immediate occasion of the subsequent name *Via dolorosa*, as applied to this street. In the highest part of the said street of Jehoshaphat was a gateway (*porte*) over against the temple, which was called *Portes doulereuses*.<sup>5</sup> This was doubtless the present arch or gallery *Ecce Homo*; but no reason is assigned why it was then so called.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. B. J. V. 3. 5; see above p. 648. Will. Tyr. VIII. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Res. I. pp. 344, 372. Marin. Sanut. III. 14. 10.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 459, n. 2. First published by BEUGNOT, *Assises de Jerusalem*, Paris 1843, fol. Tom. II. p. 531 sq. Extracts in Schultz, App. p. 107 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Descript. of Jerus. in Schultz App. pp. 112, 113, 114; comp. pp. 119, 120.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Schultz, p. 114.



## ARTICLE II.

## THE TRUE DATE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

From the German of Wieseler: Continued from Bib. Sac. No. IX. p. 184. By Rev. George E. Day, Marlborough, Mass.

OF the four data for calculating the year of Christ's birth, with which we are furnished in the gospels, two have already been considered, viz. the reign of Herod the Great and the appearance of the star in the east. We now proceed to the

**THIRD DATUM.** *The census instituted by Augustus Caesar, in consequence of which the parents of Jesus journeyed from Nazareth to Bethlehem and during the taking of which he was born.* Luke 2: 1—7. To the credibility of Luke's narrative in respect to this census, five objections have been brought. It is said that during the entire reign of Augustus, history informs us of nothing beyond the censuses of single provinces; that admitting a general census of the empire to have occurred, it could not have been taken in Judea at the time Jesus was born, because Judea during the reign of Herod was not a Roman province; that if such a census were taken in Judea, by the Romans, they would not have obliged Joseph to travel to the city of his ancestors, because their rule was to take the census in the place of actual residence; that the journeying of Mary to be enrolled, considering her situation, is doubtful; and that, even if a census was taken at about the time Christ was born, Luke in affirming that it occurred during the procuratorship of Quirinus under whom a census was actually taken ten years later, has at least confounded the two.

1. In regard to the occurrence of a general census of the Roman empire, at about the time Jesus was born, the difficulty has been exaggerated both by friends and enemies. Admitting that the phrase *πάντα ἡ οἰκουμένη* does not admit of being confined to Judea, but must be understood according to the *usus loquendi* of the age, as designating the Roman empire, the existing *orbis terrarum*, we think it can be conclusively shown that such a census was taken. We think it can be proved that Augustus did institute a *general census of the provinces*, and that the edict to this effect was issued before the year 750 U. C.

For, aside from the testimony of Luke we have the witness of  
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two other writers, Casiodorus and Suidas.<sup>1</sup> Both indeed were Christians and lived in a later age. Still, from the fact that Casiodorus mentions the *survey* of the empire in addition to the census, and that Suidas relates the appointment of twenty men to take it, and comments upon the wisdom of Augustus in respect to it, it is evident that they must have obtained this information from other sources than Luke's gospel.

It is true, that with the *exception* of Luke no contemporaneous writer has expressly mentioned this census. But whom should we expect to do so? And what would be the consequence of denying credit to a historian, merely from the silence of others? As Huschke has well observed: We know of the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, which were quite as important in respect to the early period of Roman history, as the census of the empire was in respect to a later period, not from the *historical* works of Livy, Dionysius or Polybius; but from a legal work, the institutes of Caius. In like manner had the works of Paullus or Ulpian *de censibus* come down to us perfect, and were no mention made in them of the census of Augustus, we should deem it strange; while it would be no matter of surprise whatever, that in the ordinary histories of that age it should be passed over in silence. If Suetonius in his life of Augustus does not mention this census, neither does Spartian in his life of Hadrian devote a single syllable to the *edictum perpetuum* by means of which, in later times the memory of Hadrian has chiefly been respected. The annals of Tacitus begin with Tiberius. The fifty-fifth book of the Roman history of Dion Cassius, in which the period between the years 745 and 761 is treated of, has come down to us only in an epitome, and even this leaves extensive gaps between the years 748—752, exactly the period in which Christ must have been born. If we consider then, on the one hand, that the institution of the imperial census only had regard to the provinces, and on the other, that the edict respecting it was not carried into execution, in all parts of the empire at the same time, and of course would attract less attention, the silence of history respecting it will not surprise us. All that can justly be expected is that the statement of Luke, together with the confirmatory notices of later writers, should be shown to be in harmony with the known condition of the Roman empire at that time.

Now at the commencement of the imperial government, it is evident that a marked tendency towards centralization existed.

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<sup>1</sup> See the passage in Bib. Sac. No. III. p. 463.

In 726, the supreme authority was vested in Augustus. Till that time, the taking of the census had been intrusted to the governors of the several provinces, but in the year 731 U. C. Augustus subjected *all* the procurators of the empire, to his own supervision as proconsul. Ought it to occasion any surprise that, in consequence of this, one general census should be undertaken, even though carried into effect in the different provinces and divisions of this great empire in different years, and with the utmost regard, so far as circumstances would allow, to provincial and national peculiarities? Of no little weight also in confirmation of what has been advanced is the *general survey of the empire* or *descriptio orbis*, mentioned by Frontinus,<sup>1</sup> which although made somewhat earlier, was a measure kindred to the census and equally comprehensive. Finally, a *rationarium* or *breviarium totius imperii*, in the words of Suetonius was instituted by Augustus, the contents of which is thus described by Tacitus:<sup>2</sup> *Opes publicae continebantur: quantum civium Sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones.* So much did Augustus prize this catalogue, that he copied it off with his own hand, and ordered it in his will to be publicly read in the senate. It should be observed also that the *Socii* and *regna* had their places in it.

From all this external and internal, direct and indirect evidence, the statement of Luke, in regard to the institution of a general census by Augustus, is placed beyond doubt. The *time* also at which he relates the edict to have been issued, shortly before 750 U. C., agrees with the testimony of history. Augustus was then at the summit of his power. At the same time, nearly the whole empire was enjoying profound peace. On this account the order was issued in the year 747 to shut the temple of Janus, although in consequence of disturbances in Dacia it was not executed till the year 752. What more favorable period for attending to works of peace and securing a firm internal organization for the great Roman empire?

2. In respect to the objection that a Roman census in Judea could not have been taken till Judea was reduced to a Roman province, which did not occur till the year 759, it may be answered, that the impossibility affirmed, is a mere assumption. We admit that in the kingdoms of allies, a milder and in some instances a very mild form of taking it was observed. Especially would this be

<sup>1</sup> De Coloniis: in Rei agrar. Auct. ed. Goes, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. I, 11. Comp. Sueton. Aug. 28. 101. Dio 53, 30. 56, 33.

the case in the census of Palestine under Herod, and with a people so much inclined to revolt as the Jews. Probably the execution of it was entrusted, as much as possible to Herod and his officers. The character of Herod as a *rex Socius* presents no difficulty. The Clitae although governed by their own princes, were still included in the Roman census. Besides, the relation of Herod to Rome leaves scarcely room for a doubt in respect to the possibility of a Roman census in his kingdom. Pompey had already levied a tribute upon the Jews. Two edicts of Julius Caesar in respect to taxation are also preserved by Josephus, Antt. 14, 10. 5, 6. The latter of these is generally misunderstood. It clearly speaks of a *double* tax; the first, a *yearly* one, the amount of which is not given, and which not improbably may have been a *poll tax*; the other a land tax, as appears from the requirement of a fourth part of what was sown. Further, Antony according to Appian<sup>1</sup> appointed Herod king of Idumea and Samaria *ἐν φόρῳ τεταγμένους*, that is, on condition of establishing the same or a similar tax with that imposed on Judea from the time of Julius Caesar. The same writer relates that the poll tax upon the Jews was very high, and that the oftener they rebelled the more oppressive it became.<sup>2</sup> The assessment of this poll tax, therefore, rendered it advisable to take a census. The position of Herod made it impossible for him to offer any resistance to the plans of the Roman emperor. A tributary king, holding his throne at the hands of Rome, hated by the Jews and dependent upon the grace of Augustus, his independence was only apparent. Without the permission of Rome he could neither wage war, conclude peace, nor appoint his successor. Towards the end of Herod's life, the supervision of Augustus over Palestine appears to have been more carefully exercised, Antt. 16, 9. 3; and there are circumstances which render it not improbable that he may have contemplated the reduction of Judea, on the decease of Herod, into a Roman province. All this confirms the testimony of Luke in respect to a census of Palestine under Herod.

But why is it not mentioned by Josephus, especially since he has given an account of the census under Quirinus, and the history of the latter shows that the Jews would not be likely in the time of Herod to endure quietly a Roman census? The answer is, that there was a great dissimilarity between these two censuses. Both indeed, in the last instance, were set on foot by Au-

<sup>1</sup> De Bell. civil. 5, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. 50.

gustus Caesar. But the former, aside from its probably milder form, was taken under the direction of Herod, while the latter was taken under the direct supervision of the Roman officer, Quirinus. The former appeared to guarantee the relative independence of Judea; while the latter was connected with the subjugation of Judea to the immediate government of Rome. The importance of these two censuses in respect to the political state of Judea, was therefore widely different; and hence Josephus might very properly mention the more important one under Quirinus, and take no notice of the one under Herod. Besides this there is in Josephus a visible avoiding, as far as possible, of whatever might render the Roman authorities suspicious of the permanent obedience of his countrymen. Hence his fragmentary account of their expectations in respect to the Messiah, and the manifold effects of these expectations upon the nation. In the same category belongs also the mention of the views entertained by many of the Jews in respect to the Roman census and the disturbances to which they already had given, and might give, rise. His dread of exciting Roman suspicion is further evident from the manner and brevity of his account of Judas the Galilean and his party, Antt. 18, 1. 6. In accordance with this character of Josephus, as a historian, we should not expect to find in his writings a distinct account of Herod's census and the excesses it occasioned, in case they occurred; but rather a concealed allusion to them, which readers accustomed to his style would easily understand. This trait has been recognized by men of learning, from Wernsdorff and Kepler down to Huschke, in respect to the refusal of the six thousand Pharisees, in the time of the Syrian procurator, Saturninus, to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor as well as to Herod, Antt. 17, 2. 4. The requiring of such an oath is to be regarded as preparatory to the further measure of taking a census. And in fact Josephus relates that a short time before the death of Herod, a wide-spread insurrection broke out among the Jewish zealots, which he may well suppose to have been occasioned by the abhorred census, Antt. 17, 6. 2—4. As instigators of that insurrection, Matthias, the son of Margalothus, and Judas, the son of Sariphaeus, are mentioned. While Herod was suffering under a terrible disease, they began to stir up the people against him, representing his misfortunes, and especially this disease, as a punishment from God on account of his violation of the law. Josephus then mysteriously adds: *ἦν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ τινὲς ἀπραγματευθέντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αἱ δὲ ἐπικάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν.*

Of the *certain* unlawful things, however, he proceeds only to mention the erection of a large golden eagle over the great gate of the temple. Upon the premature report of the death of Herod, the insurgents rushed in crowds to the temple, in order first of all to destroy the Roman eagle, the hated symbol of Roman authority. While they were engaged in tearing down the image, the king's captain appeared with his troops, and apprehended about forty of them, including the leaders, Matthias and Judas. The high-priest Matthias, who is represented by Josephus as strikingly faithful to the ancient customs, was implicated in this revolt and displaced. In his stead Joazar, the son of Boethus, was appointed high-priest, and this, on the ground that he was devoted to the Roman government and perhaps had advised the Jews to submit quietly to the census then taking. At least the adherents of the rebel Matthias demanded of Archelaus his removal, Antt. 17, 9. 1; and it is expressly mentioned, Antt. 18, 1. 1, that he was an advocate of the *census* under Quirinus. In addition to this, it appears to me not a little remarkable, that among the grievances presented by the Jews to Archelaus after the death of his father, the most prominent is that which refers to the *annual tax*, Antt. 17, 8. 4, and probably also to a census which was shortly before taken for the purpose of raising it.

A further confirmation of the view here presented in respect to the insurrection of Matthias presents itself to my own mind, in the speech of Gamaliel before the Jewish sanhedrim, Acts 5: 36, in which he speaks of a certain Theudas, who found some adherents, but whose party was destroyed on the death of their leader. This Theudas, I do not doubt, in opposition to the views of Olshausen, Tholuck and others, who hold that Josephus has not referred to him, is the same person with that Matthias, who about the close of Herod's life, caused the Roman eagle in the temple to be torn down. All the marks given by Luke are found in this Matthias, even as far as the *name*; for מַתְּתִיָּה is only the Hebrew expression for Θεόδωρος = Θεωδᾶς, and the change of the Hebrew into the Greek form is as easily explained as the change of Κηφᾶς into Πέτρος in the New Testament. This too explains why Gamaliel mentions the insurrection under Theudas in connection with that under Judas the Galilean. They both occurred upon the taking of a census, although the latter census under Quirinus, being the best known and most hated of the two, is distinguished by him from the other by calling it *the census*. On these grounds therefore, the narrative of Luke in respect to the

occurrence of a Roman census in the kingdom of Herod is shown not only to be not improbable in itself, but to be perfectly supported by the historical evidence in favor of the existence of such a census.

3. The objection that if a Roman census had been taken in Judea, Joseph and Mary would have been enrolled in Nazareth, the place of their residence, instead of Bethlehem, needs but a brief consideration. This was a *provincial* census, not a census of Roman citizens. And if Luke had described it as having been taken in the Roman manner, we should have had room for suspicion. But as his narrative reads, what can be more natural? Augustus respects as far as possible the Jewish nationality. One of its most prominent features, the ancient division according to *lineage* is made the basis on which it is executed. Then too, the nature of the case is to be regarded. If this was a *census capitum*, as is probable, taken with reference to the better raising of the poll tax, what easier or more effective mode of taking it, than through the connection of the public genealogical registers? That Joseph should journey to Bethlehem on such an occasion is, therefore, just what we should expect.

4. The objection based on the account of Luke, that Mary accompanied her husband to Bethlehem, is the most insignificant of all. Even admitting that no legal necessity compelled her to make the journey, who in our day is sufficiently well acquainted with her feelings and relations, to be sure it would not be made? It is at least as probable that Mary, in the excitement and disturbance attending a census, would rather prefer to be with her natural protector Joseph, than to remain at home. Besides it has been shown by Huschke that in certain cases, the wife would be obliged to be personally present on such an occasion.

5. We now pass to the objection that Luke by the expression ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου shows himself to have confounded the census which he affirms to have occurred under Herod, with that which was taken by Quirinus, in the year 759 U. C. or nine years later. We may safely assume at the outset that this is at least improbable. Luke everywhere shows himself a competent writer of history. His professed object is to write *with accuracy* (ἀκριβῶς). Is it credible that he did not know that the well known census of Quirinus, was contemporaneous with the reduction of Judea into a Roman province, and consequently could not have occurred in the closing part of the reign of Herod, in which he places the birth of Christ? The supposition is con-

tradicted by his own mention of the census of Quirinus (Acts 5: 37) and of particulars connected with it, perfectly agreeing with those given by Josephus. On the other hand, he gives a faithful and accurate description, as we have seen, of the census taken at the time of Christ's birth; so that we are almost forced to expect that he will distinguish in respect to time between the census under Herod and that of Quirinus. Let us examine the manuscripts and see whether they justify our expectation. Perhaps not only a more simple criticism, but a new solution may be the result.

The common text (Elzevir) of Luke 2: 2 reads thus: *Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου*. The collected variations, aside from the different spelling of the name Quirinus, relate either to the article *ἡ* which is sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted, or to the position of *πρώτη* and *ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη*. According to the larger edition of the New Testament by *Lachmann* (Berol. 1842), the manuscript *A* has the article *ἡ*, while it is omitted by *B, D*. He himself reads: *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίου*. Internal grounds also favor this reading. For, first, the insertion of the article by transcribers or readers can be easily explained, but not its omission. Misunderstanding the genuine Greek expression, *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο*, i. e. *that<sup>1</sup> became* (not, *was*; for *γίγνεσθαι* is not synonymous with *εἶναι*) *an ἀπογραφὴ*, or, 'in consequence of this an ἀπογ. was accomplished,' they connected *αὕτη* closely with *ἀπογ.* and of course naturally inserted the article. Secondly, the insertion of the article gives a wrong meaning, not only at variance with the facts of history, but with the intention of the evangelist. For the expression *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογ.*, *this census*, on account of its close connection with the words, *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκον. ἀπογράφεσθαι*, could only designate a *general census* of the Roman empire, occurring *simultaneously* in all the provinces, at the time of Christ's birth. But this is at variance with the testimony of history. It is also at variance with the meaning of the Evangelist. For he describes the census which occurred at the birth of Christ, on the one hand, in such a manner by connecting it with the time in which Quirinus governed the province of

<sup>1</sup> *Αὕτη* refers back to v. 1: "the circumstance that Augustus issued an edict, to take a census of the whole empire, issued in an ἀπογ." The feminine *αὕτη* is used instead of the neuter *τοῦτο*, because in Greek the pronoun takes the gender, *per attractionem*, of the following predicate. Luke 8: 11. 22: 53. Comp. Winer's Gram. § 63.



*Syria*, as to exhibit it as a particular census; and on the other hand, his description which follows, allows us only to think of a census taken in Palestine. It must certainly be regarded as singular that commentators have taken so little pains to inquire whether the *article* should be read or not, when the sense and construction of the verse are entirely dependent upon it.

What bearing, now, has this upon the explanation of the text? If we understand *πρώτη* in a *comparative sense* (nearly synonymous with *πρωτέρα*) and make the genitive *ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρίνου* dependent upon it, as is done by distinguished critics,<sup>1</sup> and as the syntax and the *usus loquendi* abundantly justify,<sup>2</sup> we shall find it much favored by this slight correction of the text; and the plain reading will be: the *ἀπογ.* occurred *as the first and before* Quirinus was governor of Syria, especially if *πρώτη* be placed immediately before the genitive it governs, as is done in several manuscripts. So far from falling into the error therefore of confounding these two censuses, it appears that Luke has *expressly distinguished* them from each other.

It now only remains to inquire at what *time* according to Luke, this census occurred. In general, we have found that it took place in the closing part of the reign of Herod the Great. We have obtained, however, a more specific date, if it is true that the insurrection of Matthias or Theudas was occasioned chiefly by a census then taken. Since he was put to death on the twelfth of March 750 U. C., the census must have been taken shortly before that date. Consequently Jesus if he was born, as the evangelist relates at the time of this census, must have been born in the winter of 749—50 U. C., and *at least before the twelfth of March 750*, the day on which Matthias was put to death.

FOURTH DATUM. This is furnished in the words *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ὡς ἐτῶν τετράκοντα* (Luke 3: 23), which define the age of Jesus at the time of his baptism, or the beginning of his public ministry. If this beginning can be accurately ascertained, we have only to subtract the *ὡς ἐτῶν τετράκοντα*, to obtain the year of Christ's birth. Should the preceding data, therefore, be imperfect or even prove nothing, this alone would be sufficient to establish the system we propose.

First of all, then, let us look at the passage in Luke 3: 23, and

<sup>1</sup> Clericus, Perizonius, Usher, Petavius, Noris, Ernesti, Tholuck, Huschke and others.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the superlative used in a comparative sense see, *Odys.* 11, 481, 482. 5, 105. *Herod.* 3, 119. *Thucyd.* 1, 1. *Aristot. de Sensu* c. 4.

determine its meaning. As it stands in the commonly received text, it reads thus: *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος*. The variation *ὥς* for *ὥσπερ* may be passed by as not affecting the sense, and the only question we have to decide is, whether *ἀρχόμενος* should be read *before or after ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*. According to Lachmann, three cdd. A, D, a (Verc.), agree with the *textus receptus* in respect to the position of *ἀρχόμενος*, while three other cdd. B, b (Veron.), c (Colbert.), have *ἀρχόμενος before ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκ.*; likewise the Vulgate, Origen, Irenaeus, (*quasi incipiens XXX annorum*). So important did this critic regard these authorities, that he did not venture to sanction decisively the usual position of the words, but placed the other beside it as being likewise authorized. In addition to this, we find in the New Testament of Schulz a multitude of manuscripts, which Lachmann, in consistency with the principle of criticism on which his recension of the text was made, could not employ, and nearly all authorizing (e. g. L. 1. 118. 131. 209. Germ. 1.) the placing of *ἀρχόμενος* first. On merely critical grounds, therefore, the reading *ἀρχόμενος ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα* may be the correct one.

This result of external criticism is moreover confirmed by the interpretation of the passage. For if we read *ἀρχόμενος after ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, to say nothing of the clumsy construction *ἀρχόμενος ὧν, ὥς ἐρομίζετο*, which Paulus proposes, we are obliged to choose between the two following explanations. First, we can make the genitive *ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα* dependent upon *ἀρχόμενος*, and with Meyer render the passage thus: "Jesus was in the beginning of about thirty years." To this however it has long since been well objected by Bengel: *Initium hoc loco innuitus non anni trigesimi, quod neque cardinalis numerus neque particula quasi ferebat*. Or we can take the other and more generally received explanation (Bengel, Grotius, Kunoel, de Wette, Olshausen, and others): And he was, namely Jesus, about thirty years old, when he began (to teach or exercise his Messianic office). Against the sense which this rendering gives, I have nothing to say; but how *ἀρχόμενος*, beginning, or in the beginning, can express this sense, in the place it usually occupies, without the addition of *διδάσκειν*, is more than I can discover. And then the clumsiness of the whole construction!

On the other hand, the declaration of the Evangelist is perfectly clear, if on the numerous and good authorities already cited, we read *ἀρχόμενος before ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, thus: *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὧν υἱὸς x. τ. λ., i. e.* "And

he was, namely Jesus, when he began—or as we should say, in the beginning—about thirty years of age, being a son, etc. This interpretation, aside from the untenableness of the other, has the following reasons in favor of its correctness: *first*, the immediate adjunct *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, as explanatory of the preceding *αὐτός*, is somewhat singular in the common reading, inasmuch as the verses just before (vv. 21, 22) leave no room for doubt that by *αὐτός*, Jesus is intended. According to our understanding of the passage, however, this adjunct is not only not superfluous, but is really necessary, since otherwise the reader would naturally have connected the *ἀρχόμενος* immediately with *ἦν* (*ἦν ἀρχόμενος = ἤρξατο*). Secondly, in Acts 1: 1, 2, Luke appears to confirm our explanation of the passage before us, for the words *ὡς ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας — ἀνελήφθη*, on account of the emphatic position of the *ἤρξατο* and its close connection with the succeeding words *ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας*, should be rendered “what in the beginning Jesus did and taught until the day in which he was taken up.” Thirdly, with this explanation, the aim and connection of the paragraph, Luke 3: 23—28 becomes perfectly plain. It is in fact a *parenthetical* paragraph, added to the narrative of the baptism of Jesus (vv. 21, 22) and containing a statement of his age at that time and of his Messianic genealogy. This is evident from the comment of the fourth chapter, in which the narrative is resumed with a reference to the baptism, and also from the form of v. 23—first, the copula, then the pronoun, then the *ἦν* belonging to it, etc.

We pass now to the chronologically important question, what the *ὥσεί* joined by Luke to the thirty years was intended to express. In opposition to Scaliger who regarded it as the so called *veritatis* of the Hebrews, i. e. as in fact superfluous, and to many other expositors who have attached to it an indefinite chronological character, we maintain that it must be taken in its literal and precise sense. In our view, what Luke intends to say is this: Jesus was, at his baptism, *ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, not however *just* thirty years old, but *ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*: and this can either signify that he was thirty years old and somewhat under, but not so much as to be only twenty-nine years old; or thirty years old and somewhat over, but not so much as to be thirty-one years of age—more probably the latter. In a different connection, the expression might indeed signify *some years* more or less than thirty, since thirty, including as it does the number ten, is often a round number. That it is not a round number here,

however, I infer not so much on the commonly assumed ground that the priests and Levites entered upon their office at the age of thirty, which must be received with very great limitations, as from the declared *design* of Luke in writing his gospel. This he affirms to be to state the facts relating to the history of Christ with accuracy and precision. Now if the public ministry of Christ continued only about three years, or as some think only one year, how would it be possible to define the age of Jesus at the *beginning* of his ministry, by a round number which might just as well designate his age at the *end*. On these grounds, I cannot permit myself to doubt that Luke means to tell us that Jesus, at the time of his baptism was somewhat over or under thirty years of age, though not so much as to be either thirty-one or twenty-nine.

The only question we have to settle then is this: *When did the baptism of Jesus take place?* The evangelist John, in Chap. 1: 31—34, Comp. 1: 26, where the baptism of Jesus is assumed to have already occurred, mentions a *passover* (2: 13) which Jesus observed at Jerusalem. If the date of this passover can be accurately ascertained, we shall have a *terminus ad quem*, before which the baptism of Jesus must have certainly occurred. Now this date is actually furnished us in the conversation between Jesus and the Jews at this very passover, in which they declare: forty and six years was this temple in building. The temple referred to—the so-called Herodian, as is indicated by the word *this*—was not fully completed, according to Josephus, Antt. 20, 9. 7, till a short time before the commencement of the Jewish war. If we add forty-six years then to the date at which Herod began to repair the second temple, we have the year in which this passover occurred. These repairs were begun in the eighteenth year of the reign of Herod, reckoning from the death of Antigonus or the third month of 717 U. C. which would give us from Nisan 734 to 735 U. C. There is every reason to believe that the corner stone was laid in the month of Kisleu 734 U. C. and probably on the appropriate festival of the dedication of the temple. For Josephus relates, Antt. 15, 11. 5 and 6, that the outer inclosures of the temple were built in eight years, and the interior, with which the priests alone were concerned, in a year and six months, making together a period of nine years and six months; and that then a thanksgiving festival was observed, which fell on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, i. e. in the third month or Sivan; comp. Bib. Sac. p. 169. Reckoning

now six months back from Sivan, we obtain Kislev as the month in which the repairs of Herod were begun. If this event, then, occurred in Kislev 734, and of course before the passover or the fifteenth of Nisan 735, (because the eighteenth year of the reign of Herod was completed before the first of Nisan 735,) the passover in John, between which and the beginning of Herod's temple, forty six years had elapsed, must have been the passover in the year 781.

We obtain the same date again, by comparing the time of this passover, with that of the last passover mentioned by John, during which Christ was crucified. For between these two, (if with the majority of expositors at the present day we regard the *ἑορτή* ε. 'Ιουδ. John 5: 1 as not a passover,) only one passover, John 6: 4, occurred. Consequently if the first passover occurred in 781, the last must be placed in the year 783. Now it is a striking fact, that the first day of the passover or the fifteenth of Nisan, (on which Jesus was crucified,) in the year 783 or A. D. 30, was exactly *Friday*, the very day of the week, on which the four evangelists unanimously affirm that he suffered. We must therefore regard it as fairly established, beyond all question, that the baptism of Jesus, according to the Apostle John, took place at least *before* the fifteenth of Nisan (March 30th) 781.

Reckoning then thirty years back from the close, or more probably, the summer of the year 780, at which time we may fairly place the baptism of Jesus, we obtain the summer of 750; and if we remember that Jesus was born, according to Luke, while Herod the Great was still living, and that this prince died in the early part of April, we see clearly that Luke by the *ώσεί* joined to the thirty years, intended to say, that Jesus at the time of his baptism was thirty years old and some months *over*, not under. The *ώσεί* from the summer of 750, however, cannot well extend beyond the *beginning* of the year, because if extended beyond that point, the evangelist would have been obliged to designate his age as about *thirty-one* instead of thirty.

Comparing, now, the result of our inquiry in respect to the year of Christ's birth, derived from the four chronological data with which we are furnished in the gospels, we find the following surprising coincidence. First: Since Jesus was born during *the life-time of Herod the Great*, his birth must have occurred before the month of April 750 U. C., in the early part of which Herod died. This is the farthest *terminus ad quem* of the birth of Jesus.

Secondly: The *Star* which brought the wise men from the East to Jerusalem, in search of the Messiah, appeared between February and April 750 U. C.

Thirdly: The *census*, in consequence of which Jesus was born in Bethlehem, must have occurred in the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great, and probably a short time before the twelfth of March 750, at which time, the rebel Matthias (the 'Thendas of the New Testament) was executed.

Fourthly: About *thirty years*, according to Luke 3: 23, from the *baptism of Jesus* (summer of 780) brings us in like manner to a date somewhat earlier than April 750, but hardly farther back than the *beginning* of the year.

These four chronological data unite in the *same year*, 750 U. C.; and what is more, the same part of this year, namely its *beginning*. Although it is not impossible that Jesus might have been born towards the *end* of the year 749 (B. C. 5), yet upon the grounds already surveyed, we hold it to be incomparably more probable that he was born in the *first month of the year* 750 (B. C. 4).

We pass now to the *second* inquiry proposed: In *what month* and on *what day* of the month was Jesus born? From the earliest ages of the church, this matter has been investigated again and again. The several opinions entertained in ancient times, especially in Egypt, where the study of astronomy prevailed, are given by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I. p. 339, 40. ed. Sylburg. Of these however only two have been extensively embraced: one which fixes upon the twenty-fifth of December, the other which assigns the sixth of January, the day of the festival of Epiphany. Are either or them historically correct?

Let us begin with the twenty-fifth of December. If we compare this with the dates of some of the principal festivals of the church, viz. the twenty-fifth of March as the day of the annunciation of the virgin Mary, the twenty-fourth of June as the birthday of John the Baptist, and the twenty-fourth of September as the day of the conception of Elizabeth, we can hardly avoid the suspicion at the outset, that these are not strictly historical dates. And our suspicion will be confirmed by noticing that these are exactly the four *cardinal points* of the year as corrected in the calendar of Julius Caesar; comp. Ideler II. 124. Undeniable as it may be, however, that these four data in the absence of a fixed historical basis, were skilfully selected, with a certain allegorical meaning,

we must beware on the other hand of regarding the *whole* as arbitrary. For instance, the interval between the birth of Jesus and that of John the Baptist, is evidently based upon the narrative of Luke (1: 26). Now since the four data we have considered, all give us the winter of 749—50 U. C., and each one confirms the correctness of the three others, it may be allowed that the twenty-fifth of December designates, though in a *very general manner*, the true date of Christ's birth. This supposition is confirmed by the second extensively received and perhaps more ancient opinion, which places the birth of Jesus at about the same time, namely on the eleventh of Tybi or the sixth of January.

With these views I must express my dissent from the somewhat widely received theory, propounded by Jablonsky and adopted by Creuzer and Ullmann, that the sixth of January as the birth-day of Jesus, was derived from the Egyptian festival, *inventio Osiridis*. Starting with the testimony of Clement, that the Basilidians in Egypt observed a festival in honor of the birth and baptism of Christ, on exactly that day, it assumes it as unquestionably true, that they borrowed this date from the *heathen* festival of the sun-god Osiris, as the Christians in Rome did theirs from the festival of *Sol invictus*; and that thus, from the heretical sect of the Basilidians, the observance of the day of the Epiphany passed over to the Eastern church. Now the basis of this whole theory is incorrect; for the festival *inventio Osiridis* was celebrated, as we learn from Plutarch, not on the sixth of January, but on the seventeenth or eighteenth of November. Besides there is no evidence of any kind in favor of the Egyptian origin of the festival of the Epiphany, except on grounds common at the same time, as Neander observes, to the Christians in Syria and Palestine; and it is altogether improbable, that a date of a Christian festival should be received by the church from the hated heretical sect of the Basilidians in Egypt.

Whether, therefore, the opinion that Jesus was born on the sixth of January, proceeded from tradition or calculation, it would well agree with the results at which we have thus far arrived. Still, inasmuch as traditions vary and calculations may be erroneous, the only decisive ground for a conclusion must be furnished in the canonical gospels.

By referring to them we find three separate data. The first is the statement of Luke, that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist belonged to the course of Abia, (Luke 1: 5,) the eighth

of the twenty-four divisions into which the priests were divided by David (1 Chron. 24: 4 sq.), and as a member of the same was offering sacrifice (Luke 1: 8, 9), when he received the promise of the birth of his son John. For since Elizabeth became pregnant shortly after (Luke 1: 24), and Mary in the sixth month afterward (Luke 1: 26), we have only to add about fifteen months to the period at which the ministration of the class Abia was finished, to obtain with considerable accuracy the date of Christ's birth.

This was first employed as the basis of a chronological calculation by the celebrated Scaliger. His result, however, was necessarily erroneous, both because he miscalculated the year of Christ's birth, (placing it in 751 U. C.,) and because he proceeded from no fixed *terminus a quo*. Reckoning from the restoration of the temple-service under Judas Maccabaeus on the twenty-fifth of Kisleu 165 B. C., and assuming that the *first* course of priests, that of Joiarib resumed the services, he calculates the twenty-eighth of July 750 as the day on which the course of Abia went out in the days of Zacharias. But this assumption that the temple-service was re-commenced by the *first* course of priests is mere *hypothesis*. It is, to say the least, quite as probable that the course next in order when the service was interrupted, would proceed with the service.

Solomon van Till and Bengel have adopted the correct method, at least so far as relates to the *terminus a quo* of the calculation, in making use of the tradition recorded in the Talmud, that the temple was destroyed by Titus on the ninth of Ab (A. D. 70), just as the *first* course, Joiarib, entered upon their duties. Although in itself it is not improbable that the Jews would prize the recollection of such a fact, pertaining as it does to a period never by them to be forgotten, yet fortunately for us this tradition does not stand alone. Josephus also has preserved the date at which the temple was destroyed, Bell. Jud. 6, 4. 5 and 8. According to him it was the tenth of Lous, the *same* month and day on which the temple of Solomon was destroyed by the Babylonians. But this took place according to 2 Kings 25: 8, on the seventh, according to Jer. 52: 12, on the tenth of Ab. Josephus and the Talmud then agree perfectly in respect to the month. Do they also in respect to the day? Josephus names the *tenth* of Lous or Ab, evidently with reference to Jer. 52: 12; the Talmud the ninth, at evening, which according to Jewish usage which reckoned the evening as the beginning of the succeeding day, would give us the eighth of Ab. In perfect accord-



ance with this Josephus relates, Bell. Jud. 6, 4. 1 and 2, that on the *eighth* of Lous (Ab), the temple was *first* set on fire; and though he mentions, farther on, the tenth of Lous, it is only to designate the *end* of the destruction of the temple, in order to make the parallel with Jer. 52: 12 as exact as possible. The credibility of the Talmud in this respect is still farther confirmed by the calendar of the Jewish festivals, in which the ninth of Ab is designated as a day of general fasting, in commemoration of the event; comp. Ideler I. 528, 567. There is still another proof. The first of Ab, A. D. 70, occurred on the twenty-eighth of July, at which time the new moon became visible. This was the Sabbath. Consequently, the eighth of Ab or the fourth of August would give us another Sabbath; and if the course of Joiarib began to minister on the ninth of Ab (Aug. 5) at evening, they began, according to our mode of reckoning time, on the fourth of August, (Josephus's eighth of Lous,) immediately upon the *close of the Sabbath*. This exactly accords with the fixed order of the *orbis hieraticus*, according to which each course of priests must actually enter upon its weekly service at the close of the *seventh* day or the Sabbath.

Assuming now, as we are justified in doing, that the course of Joiarib commenced its ministration on the fifth of August 823 U. C. or rather on the evening of the day preceeding, it follows that the ministration of the course of Abia, 74 years, 10 months and 2 days, or (reckoning 19 intercalary years) 27335 days = 162 hieratic circles; and 119 days earlier, fell between the third and ninth of October 748 U. C. Reckoning from the tenth of October, at which Zacharias could reach his house and allowing nine months for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, to which six months are to be added (Luke 1: 26), we have in the whole one year and three months, which gives us the tenth of January as the date of Christ's birth.

It is certainly remarkable that the Basilidians, according to Clement, fixed upon this tenth of January, although some of them preferred the sixth. The latter date appears to be only a modification of the former and perhaps arose from reckoning the nine months as lunar months which would give us just this result. In this ancient date of the Epiphany, therefore, we seem to possess a calculation of the day of Christ's birth based upon Luke's statement in regard to the course of Abia. Whether this be so or not, however, it is evident that that statement does not furnish us with the necessary grounds for *this degree* of definiteness; since it is by

no means certain that the conception of Elizabeth is to be reckoned from the day on which Zacharias returned home, and since the expression "in the sixth month" may not be intended to be pressed as far as possible. All that we can certainly infer, therefore, from this investigation, is that Jesus could hardly have been born *before* the early part of *January* 750 U. C. and that this event probably occurred somewhat later.

Secondly: We obtain a new basis for calculating the month of the nativity, by consulting the succession of events in the narrative relating to the infancy of Jesus. The time at which he was presented in the temple (Luke 2: 22 sq.), must have preceded, as I hope to show hereafter, the visit of the Magi. Now since Herod was living at the time, and also at the time of the flight into Egypt which immediately followed, and the almost simultaneous murder of the infants in Bethlehem; and since children must be presented according to the Mosaic law (Lev. 12: 2 sq.), forty days after birth, Jesus must have been born at least forty days and upwards before the death of Herod (April 750). This brings us to the month of *February* as the *latest* limit of the birth of Christ.

Thirdly: Inasmuch as our choice, upon these grounds, appears to be only between the months of January and February, we may perhaps arrive at a final decision by means of the statement of Luke, that shepherds with their herds were then spending the night in the open air (in huts). From this it has been inferred that the birth of Jesus could not have taken place in the winter months; and in support of this, the tradition in the Talmud has been cited (see Lightfoot on Luke 2: 8), that the herds were driven out to pasture in March and brought under shelter again in the beginning of November. But by this, it surely cannot be meant that herds might not have been driven out to pasture, in none of the many years in which the winter was especially favorable, and at no single place, and under no peculiar circumstances, before the month of March.<sup>1</sup> We are to consider also the great variations in temperature and the difference in this respect between the mountains and valleys in the same vicinity.<sup>2</sup> The re-

<sup>1</sup> On the temperature of *modern* Palestine, especially Jerusalem, have lately treated: *Schubert*, *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837*. III. 103 sq.; and *Robinson*, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrea; a journal of travels in the year 1838*, II. 96 sq. *Comp. Winter Art. Witterung*.

<sup>2</sup> *Schubert* says: "In the present state of science, we may well ask, where upon earth can we find equal height and depth so near to each other, as here

lation of the Talmud must therefore be received as only very general and vague, and in fact as stating little beyond the time of the early and latter rains, in connection with the pasturage of the herds. It is to be observed also that the evangelist does not affirm that the herds remained at pasture over night, *every year* at this season, or that at this time they were *every where* at pasture. In the great concourse of people with which Bethlehem was crowded while the census was taking, and the consequent want of room, which rendered it necessary to use the stalls of the cattle for lodging, as was done by the parents of Jesus, it is very conceivable that the shepherds of Bethlehem, the weather permitting just then, should have driven their herds into one of the warm valleys in the neighborhood. On these grounds therefore, we are relieved from the necessity of placing the birth of Christ, according to this statement of the Talmud, in the month of March, which would not agree with the results already obtained.

On account of the climate of Palestine, however, it appears decidedly probable that the herds could not have been driven out to pasture before the month of *February*. For, first, even *at present* in Palestine, there are signs of spring as early as February, while January is the depth of winter, and during the preceding months, November and December, long and violent rain-storms prevail. Schubert, after observing that the heat is for the most part, very great in the autumnal months, goes on to say: "And even after the early rain, which falls between the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice, about seven weeks before Christmas, has revived the thirsty land, such mild days are brought back by the southwest winds, that Christmas is often! the most lovely season of

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(in Jerusalem), where in a course of seven hours, are found a depression below the level of the sea, of *at least six hundred feet*, and an elevation more than four times as high." Robinson remarks: "The barley harvest precedes the wheat harvest by a week or fortnight. On the fourth and fifth of June, the people of Hebron were just beginning to gather their wheat: on the eleventh and twelfth, the threshing-floors on the Mount of Olives were in full operation. We had already seen the harvest in the same stage of progress on the plains of Gaza on the nineteenth of May; while at Jericho, on the twelfth of May, the threshing-floors had nearly completed their work." Josephus observes of Jericho and the vicinity, de bell. Jud. 4, 8, 3, "the atmosphere is so mild that the inhabitants are clad in linen, while the rest of Judea is covered with snow."

<sup>1</sup> Schubert restricts this observation with reference to Christmas, by adding in a note "but not always." With this compare Robinson II. 97: "The autumnal rains, the early rains of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October or beginning of November, not suddenly but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husbandman to sow his fields of wheat and barley.

the whole year. In general, the cold weather begins to be more settled about the middle of January, and it *sometimes* freezes as late as February. The first tree which buds, is the almond-tree. It blossoms in the deep valleys even before the entrance of the cold days of February. The vicinity of Bethlehem and Hebron we found adorned in March with blooming fruit trees, among which were the apricot, apple, and pear." Still, as both of the authors just cited confess, our knowledge of the climate and temperature is not entirely perfect. Schubert has promised to treat more at large upon the natural history of Palestine, but has not as yet done so, so far as is known.

Secondly: the climate of Palestine must have somewhat changed in the course of centuries, so that cold weather must now extend farther into spring, than it did in the age of Christ. This phenomenon appears nearly universal in lands which gradually sink into barbarism, and where the mind and hand of man cease to struggle with nature. This has been often maintained in respect to Palestine; to me it appears to be placed beyond doubt, by the following considerations. According to the law, the beginning of the *harvest* fell upon the 16th of Nisan, which not unfrequently was one of the last days of our March. According to Robinson, II. 97, the settled limits of the early and latter rains are now lost. Several kinds of trees, e. g. the palm, which need a milder climate, have, as Schubert expressly mentions, almost wholly disappeared. Comparing too the time of harvest in several parts of Palestine, already given on p. 671, it is evident that the grain at the present day becomes ripe later than formerly; for in the age of Christ, the harvest must all be gathered in, according to the law, at the commencement of Pentecost or fifty days after the 16th of Nisan. Finally, several passages in Josephus confirm this view; for instance, that in which he relates, Antt. 14. 15, 14. de bell. Jud. 1, 17: 8, that Herod, in order to besiege

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The rains come mostly from the west or south-west, continuing for two or three days at a time, and falling especially during the nights. Then the wind chops round to the north or east, and several days of fine weather succeed. During the months of November and December the rains continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return only at longer intervals and are less heavy; but at no period during the winter do they entirely cease to occur. Snow often falls in Jerusalem in January and February to the depth of a foot or more, but does not usually lie long. The ground never freezes; but Mr. Whiting had seen the pool back of his house (Hezekiah's) covered with thin ice for one or two days. Rain continues to fall more or less through the month of March, but is rare after that period. During the present season, there had been little or none in March, and indeed the whole quantity of rain had been less than usual."

Jerusalem, broke up his winter quarters before the end of winter. For since he took that city in Sivan, the third Jewish month (our June) after he had besieged it *five* months, the end of winter at that time must have occurred at about the beginning of our February.

In respect therefore to the month and day of Christ's birth, we are brought to the conclusion that the *day* must be left undecided; and that of the *months*, the *close of December* together with *January and February* should be taken into consideration, of which, however, *December has the least, January a greater, and February decidedly the greatest probability in its favor.*

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### ARTICLE III.

#### A PHENOMENON IN CHURCH HISTORY.

By Rev. Leonard Withington, Newbury, Mass.

*Sapientia praeedit; religio sequitur.*—Lactantius, Lib. IV. c. 4.

IN order to understand the spirit of antiquity, it seems necessary for us, not only to receive single customs and insulated impressions, but to trace their associated ideas as they are connected in the whole mental chain. This is very difficult; and here is the source of our inevitable ignorance. We are told by Niebuhr, in his prelections on Roman history, that "as there is nothing the Asiatics find it harder to conceive than the idea of a republican constitution, as the Hindoos are utterly unable to look upon the India-Company as an association of proprietors, as in any other light than princes, so it fares with the acutest of the moderns in the history of antiquity, unless by critical and philological studies they have stripped themselves of their habitual associations.—P. 20, Introd., ed. 1835, Philadelphia. This is true in insulated cases. But this is not all. Though our moral ideas are far more permanent than the impression of material objects, and an ancient description of the one more easily comprehended than that of the other, yet our moral conceptions are linked in a chain; they reflect each other's hue and color, and we must almost comprehend the whole spirit of a given age to understand fully any single term presented to our contemplation.

Take the words for example: *virtue, patriotism, slavery, for-*

nication, marriage; and who would suppose at first sight that ancient manners could form any connection between them that should modify our ideas of the merit or delinquency expressed? Yet so it is. The ancients, like all other men, received their ideas and painted them from their own condition and circumstances. The world, in the primitive ages of dawning civilization, was divided into a number of small States; in Greece, into free cities and commonwealths, often at war with each other, and struggling with a self-denying energy for their own existence. In such a state of society, every man was necessitated to feel a strong love for his country; to lose his benevolence in his patriotism; and to feel, and applaud himself in feeling, an attachment to the little section of humanity which demanded all his efforts to shield it from destruction. To an Athenian, a citizen of Sparta was an object of terror; he met him often on the field of battle; and he was frequently alarmed lest by his luck or valor, he should overthrow his own city. But Athens, on the other hand, his own beloved Athens, was the citadel of his pride and the source of his protection. Its roofs sheltered him; its walls defended him; its laws regulated his public conduct, and the morals of its teachers ruled him in private life. Hence we see that everything tended to narrow down the love of man to a love of a small portion of man, that is to a love of country. The image of their country was not a political abstraction, as is often the case with us, but it was a tangible and visible form, always near, always conceivable, always felt, seen in the temples and towers, courts and citadels and deliberative assemblies of a single city. Patriotism was the absorbing virtue. A man was obliged, in proportion as he loved his country, to hate her enemies; and hence courage became the chief ingredient in their notions of virtue.

It has often been remarked that the word *virtue* in the ancient language means *courage*. It is not exactly true; or at least the naked remark does not give a full representation of the case. Virtue then meant, as now, a disposition to do good and doing good from the disposition. But a great part of doing good was then (at least in common apprehension), from the very circumstances of the time, *defending one's country*. Hence the strong affinity between the names. As we call the seven united provinces Holland, from one of the largest ones in the collection, so virtue was denominated thus from its most striking component. When enemies were all around them, when every year presented their forces, wasting their fields, surrounding their walls and

shouting at their gates, what was it that made a man an available citizen? It was certainly his courage. By this he hazarded his life and defended his country and preserved his wife and children:

Οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθέιμην,  
 Οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς, οὔτε παλαισμοσύνης,  
 Οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθός τε βίην τε,  
 Νικίῃ δὲ θεῶν Θρηϊκίον βορέην.  
 Οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φνὴν χαρίεστος εἶη,  
 Πλουτοίῃ δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω βάθιον,  
 Οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἶη,  
 Γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μελιχόγγρον ἔχοι.  
 Οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν, πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

Tyrtæus, Elegy, III.

Qualities are valued in proportion as they are demanded; and, as in that day, they knew little about immortality, as worth was not measured by its self-denying march to the mansions of future glory, it was estimated by its visible effects in this temporal state, and as he was constantly called to defend his country and as the option was between freedom on one side, and death and slavery on the other; hence arose the idea—*vir-tue*; manfulness, policy, resolution, courage.<sup>1</sup> It was the quality which, judging from their scale, was most frequently demanded and therefore the brightest ornament of human nature.

In Gospel times, when a future state became a positive conception and had a decided influence, we find different views prevailing. People enlarged their conceptions of virtue as they contemplated its growing rewards. A soldier was the realization of the first idea, a monk of the second; and both, though partially false, exceedingly natural.

To this we may add, that a certain kind of courage is necessary for the opening of a scope to the exercise of all the virtues. To be fearless of man is often necessary in order to obey God. Even Christ taught it; even the martyrs walked calmly to the stake.

With these views their ideas of slavery were closely connected. As it was necessary to defend one's country at the expense of life, and as it was very disgraceful to survive its overthrow, the man who had submitted to this disgrace had forever, as they conceived,

<sup>1</sup> Atqui vide, ne, cum omnes rectae animi affectiones, virtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium: sed ab ea, quae una caeteris excellabat, omnes nominatae sint, appellata est enim ex viro virtus.—*Tusc. Quaest. Lib. 11. s. 18.*

forfeited his claims to the reputation of virtue. He was no longer a man. He was degraded from his rank; and held his life at the will of a valiant master. A slave, in that day, was not a foreign victim, imported from a distant coast, whom nature had thrown into a degraded class, and on whom a tropical sun had imprinted a flatter nose and a darker skin. He was a captive taken in war; he was a poltroon who had not courage enough to defend his country, or resolution enough not to survive its fall. Slaves were guilty men, according to their code of morals, who, not having acted with the spirit of freemen, were fit only to fall into bondage. Suicide, the last refuge of unfortunate patriotism, stood in the line of these associated virtues. The first duty of a great man, was to conquer his enemies; the second, to kill himself. Hence a Roman conqueror once told a captive king, who was lamenting his degraded condition in being dragged in a Roman triumph: "Sir; that is at your option; you have the power to prevent it."<sup>1</sup> Thus all their ideas in the ancient code of morals were connected and grew out of each other; virtue, courage; patriotism, war, slavery, suicide. Christianity had not shed her light over their rocky prospects; and the passive virtues were scarcely known. It would have been a monstrous paradox to them to have said: *Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.*

It would seem at first view as if these political speculations could scarcely approach and color the retired morality of private life; but unthought of influences rule our minds and direct our judgments. When the Apostles by the solemn decree of the first assembled council declare, *that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from FORNICATION; from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well;*—it has seemed strange to some commentators that, in an evangelical decree, so obvious a vice as fornication should need a special prohibition from so solemn a body. Some have proposed to amend the reading; some have given the word a figurative interpretation, referring to idolatry and forbidding that worship; though that construction would make the sentence grossly tautological. Some have told us that this decision derives its importance from the fact that, in the laxity of pagan morals, incontinence in unmarried people was scarcely regarded as a crime. Now such an unconditional remark as the last, though

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<sup>1</sup> See Plutarch's Life of Paulus Æmilius.



partially true, is grievously misleading. It is true that heathen manners were immorally free and grossly licentious; it is true also that a great empire in its national decline, like Rome, breaks over all laws and violates its own established standard. But the peculiar ideas of the ancients on this subject were modified by slavery. It appears from Terence's plays, who is but a translator of Menander, that the laws of Athens on this subject, between legal citizens, were uncommonly strict; more so than our own. It was not uncommon for a wealthy youth to form a licentious connection with a beautiful slave;<sup>1</sup> and such immoralities were tolerated by the perverted liberality of public opinion. But if it could be proved that the woman so seduced was the daughter of a free citizen, the obligation was imperious to marriage. Several of the catastrophes of Terence's comedies turn upon this fact; and show the strictness of the theory of ancient morals, when not relaxed by the conventional inequalities which a stern ambition had introduced among mankind. Something of this kind of thinking we find among the Hebrews. The harlot was generally the strange woman, i. e. the foreigner. "If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins," Exodus 22: 16, 17. We are told, Deut. 23: 17, "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel;" and Lev. 19: 29, "Do not prostitute thy daughter to cause her to be a whore, lest the land fall to whoredoms and the land become full of wickedness." I am far from thinking that these passages countenance the conclusion, that the crime became venial when committed with a foreigner. But every one must see the associated ideas of the moral code; and the very structure of society reflects its influences on the recesses of our hearts.

Our judgment of the ancient Christians has been modified by arraigning them before a modern tribunal and trying them by laws which they never knew. *Their* ideas also existed in a chain; and each link loses part of its weakness when we cease to sever it from the place it first occupied. We take up the fathers; we are struck with an insulated opinion; we sever their religion from their philosophy; their logic from their rhetoric; their residue-errors from those they have renounced; their conservatism from their innovations, and their creed from their age, and

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Andria* of Terence, Act V. scene 4th.

then allow ourselves to be astonished at their absurdities. We forget that the human mind has always enjoyed some portion of reason ; that reason has no affinity with error, and man no innate love of nonsense ; that earnest men have read the Bible before us ; and that no man's mistakes are to be correctly estimated until we understand the whole of his system. Let us testify that, however imperfect our investigations, and however poor our treasures of patristical lore, every step in our progress has diminished our wonder, and increased our respect for those writers who have felt our contempt partly from our not understanding them.

One of their strangest opinions is, the universal exaggeration with which they regard ritual piety. The views of baptismal regeneration, prevalent in the Romish and Episcopal churches, are exceedingly ancient, and sanctioned by the testimony of a host of fathers. The sanctity of days and places, the efficacy of the bones of martyrs, the reverence due to a bishop, the sending of the host to the sick, the participation of infants in the communion, the power of exorcism and the reverence of holy relics, all attest the leanings of superstitious minds to these dangerous delusions. The antiquity and uniformity of these opinions are remarkable ; and the more remarkable, as Christianity in its commencement, was an antagonist power to the overwrought ritualism of the Jewish church. Religion seemed to revolve back to a cold and cheerless error which she had just escaped ; even as a stream, whose surface is floored with ice, comes to an opening near the rapids, to glitter for a moment in a January sun, and then hastens to flow on under the same frozen concealment in its imprisoned passage to the sea.

Between the earliest writers and the inspired pages there is an absolute contrast. Perhaps it was permitted by the deep providence of God, that man might be rescued from the danger of confounding human wisdom however ancient and venerable, with divine inspiration. How earnest was St. Paul in drawing this line ! " Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law." So to the Hebrews : " Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared for me ; in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come, (in the volume of the book

it is written of me,) to do thy will, O God." Indeed, our Saviour's declaration that man must be born again to enter the kingdom of God, was placing reformation on the opposite pole to all the ritualists. It is not rites that must transform the heart, but it is the heart that must give value to all the rites.

Now it is remarkable that when this great battle had just been fought with the ritual creed, and the victory apparently won, that the ground should have been lost under the very dispensation whose object was to keep it. But old errors often change their dress and paint their cheeks under a new coloring. The doctrine of Justification by faith was itself a barrier against the return of these experienced delusions. But this doctrine was soon clouded and forgotten. The Pelagian tendencies of most of the early Fathers is manifest and must be confessed. Pelagianism is older than Pelagius; and the tendency of that theory is strongly to the ritual. Perhaps it is natural in the course of religious development, that the infantile error should go before the truth of manhood; even as in astronomy certain errors must precede certain corrections; as the cycles and epicycles of Hipparchus and Ptolemy must pave the way for the noble discoveries of Kepler and Galileo.

Christianity in its origin was a bright sun shining on a dark object. Civilization was then comparatively in its infancy; education was not common; the world was not explored; navigation and geography were very imperfect; a false philosophy misled them, and the rays of revelation had to struggle through a hazy atmosphere to meet a half-opened eye. No wonder that error was the consequence. No wonder that this particular error, *leaning to the ritual*, was prevalent. In the apostolic Fathers, we find traces of it. Hermas who wrote the Pastor, lived, according to Lardner, when Clement was Bishop of Rome; about the close of the first century, A. D. 91 or 92. He seems to have attempted, in his rude way, to do what Addison and Steele did afterwards, to illustrate moral truth by allegories and visions; and by comparing his imperfect conceptions with the Spectator we may mark the natural progress of the human mind. He was probably the *fine writer* in the church of his age. If his works be genuine, he leaned to the ritual error. He is relating a conversation between himself and "a certain man who came in to him with a reverend look, in the habit of a shepherd, clothed with a white cloak, having a bag on his back and his staff in his hand." It was a celestial messenger speaking infallible truths: "And I

said unto him, I have even now heard from certain teachers that there is no other repentance beside baptism, when we go down into the water and receive the forgiveness of our sins; and that after that we must sin no more, but live in purity. And he said unto me thou hast been rightly informed."—*Shepherd of Hermas*, Vision IV. v. 18, 19, Wake's Translation. Barnabas was a Levite of the country of Cyprus and one of those Christians who soon after the resurrection of Jesus sold their goods and lands and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet. He afterwards preached the Gospel in divers parts, together with the apostle Paul. He was older than Hermas and a companion of the apostle. Yet he says: "There was a river running on the right hand and beautiful trees grew up by it; and he that shall eat of them shall live forever. The signification of which is this: that we go down into the water full of sins and pollution; but come up again bringing forth fruit; having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Jesus, by the spirit."—*Epistle of Barnabas*, X. 14. Ignatius was a martyr in 107. He had seen and conversed with the apostles. "Of the seven Epistles," says Lardner, "mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, there are two editions; one called the larger and oftentimes the interpolated, and another called the smaller. And except Mr. Whiston and perhaps some few others, who may follow him, it is the general opinion of learned men, that the larger are interpolated, and that the smaller have by far the best title to the name of Ignatius."—*Lardner's Credibility*, Vol. I. P. 2. 152. In the smaller edition, Wake's Translation, we find these words: "It is not lawful without the Bishop neither to baptise nor to celebrate the holy communion; but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing unto God; that whatsoever is done may be sure to be well done."—*Ignatius to the Smyrneans*, Chap. III. 5. Such respect for the sacerdotal character is a never failing indication of reliance on the efficiency of rites. When we descend lower the proofs multiply. Tertullian discusses the question at large, why the waters of baptism have such a moral power. "Wherefore," says he, "all waters, from the ancient privilege of their origin, obtain, after prayer to God, the sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the Heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from himself; and so sanctified they imbibe the power of sanctifying. Besides, for the simple act the similitude of the things may suffice, so that since we are defiled by sins as though by dirt, we should be cleansed by water. But

as our sins do not appear upon the flesh, (for no man carrieth upon his skin the stain of idolatry or adultery or theft,) so persons of this sort are filthy in the spirit, which is the author of sin. For the spirit ruleth, the flesh serveth; nevertheless each shareth the guilt, the one with the other, the spirit for commanding, the flesh for obeying. Wherefore the waters being in a certain manner endowed with power to heal by the intervention of the Angel,<sup>1</sup> the spirit is washed in the water after a carnal manner, and the flesh cleansed in the same, after a spiritual manner."—Tertullian De Baptismo, Sect. IV; Rev. C. Dodgson's Translation Library of the Fathers, Oxford, 1842.

Even Augustine, the most spiritual of all the fathers, who has given us his own deep experience in his Confessions, (and the more a spiritual man the less a formalist,) has fallen into the same snare; the wings of his faith are always glutinized and impeded by the *mucus* and the birdlime of his materialized authorities. The following remarkable passage is found in the City of God, Lib. I c. 27. He is discussing the question whether it was lawful, during the irruption of the Goths, for the nuns to avoid violation by a voluntary death. He takes the negative and uses this remarkable argument: "*Restat una causa, de qua dicere coeperam, qua utile putatur, ut se quisque interficiat, scilicet ne in peccatum irruat, vel blandiente voluptate, vel dolore saeviente. Quam causam si voluerimus admittere, eò usque progressa perveniet, ut hortandi sint homines tunc se potius interimere, cum lavacro sanctae regenerationis abluti, universorum remissionem acceperunt peccatorum. Tunc enim tempus est cavendi omnia futura peccata, cum omnia sunt deleta praeterita. Quòd si morte spontanea rectè fit, cur non tunc potissimum fit? Cur baptizatus sibi quisque parcat? Cur liberatum caput tot rursus vitae hujus periculis inserit, cum sit facillimae potestatis illata sibi nece omnia devitare, scriptumque sit: Qui amat periculum, incidit in illud? Cur ergo amantur tot et tanta pericula, vel certè etiamsi non amantur, suscipiuntur, cum manet in hac vita, cui abscedere licitum est?*" When a man assumes a point as established as the ground of further conclusions, he evinces two things; first, his own faith in it; and, secondly, that it is the conceded opinion of his age. It is remarkable too that Augustine knew well the danger of trusting to an *opus operatum* without its

<sup>1</sup> He supposes elsewhere in this treatise, that, as the pool of Bethesda derived its power, *Angelo medicante*, so the waters of Baptism were sanctified by an Angel sent down from Heaven.

spiritual power. He could separate the seal from the instrument, and reproaches the pagans with their confidence in sacrifices and the unspirituality of their religion. How strange that he should so eloquently rebuke the very error into which himself was falling!

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations. This cold and desolate fog is spread over all the regions of antiquity. The Fathers lift up one united voice, and though able to see the yoke of Judaism and the materialized worship of their pagan rivals, they all lay the foundations of a new edifice, made out of the rubbish of that which they were attempting to overthrow. "Hast thou fallen after Baptism," says Laurentius, bishop of Novaria, A. D. 507. "What then? is hope perished? Not so. Thou hast in the font received the sign, not of despair but of mercy. From that day and hour that thou camest forth from the laver, thou art to thyself a perpetual fountain, an abiding remission. Thou hast no need of a teacher or the hand of a priest. As thou wentest up from the sacred font, thou wert clothed with a white robe and anointed with the mystic ointment; the invocation was pronounced over thee and the three-fold-power came upon thee, while, into thee, a new vessel poured this new teaching." The relics of these deceptions, ripened into all the superstitions of Romish and Greek churches, still continue to burden the earth and impede the march of a sublime religion in her path to enlighten and bless mankind.

Now when a modern reader is brought to read the pages deformed with such puerility, he is apt to think his efforts to understand early Christianity very ill repaid; and to treat all antiquity with promiscuous contempt. But let us remember to estimate men by their difficulties and their station. It is a hard thing to condemn a whole age; still harder, successive ages. Let us rather contemplate the causes which led to such common results. When we walk down to Plum Island,<sup>1</sup> we do not expect to see the awful oaks, the flowery magnolias which shade a southern or western valley. The stunted plum-tree surprises us when we see the sand-heaps on which it grew; and, in an autumnal day, when wearied with toiling over this miniature desert, we are inclined to bless God for its limited shade and its imperfect fruit.

Let us once more revert to our chain. Let us see how their ideas were combined together and how they stood rank and file with the spirit of their age. Whoever reads the Fathers with the expectation of finding himself edified by their direct senti-

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<sup>1</sup> A place near Newburyport, Mass.

ments, will often be disappointed; in this point of view they write uniformly worse than the moderns. We have profited by their errors and we have been taught by time. But surely it is something to trace the progress of opinions and the effect of speculation on practice. Antiquity, with all its imbecilities, is a rich mine whose ore will reward us when we know how to use it.

In the first place, then, we may say that ritual impressions actually were far more effectual than they can be in the present age. They are like poetry addressed to an imaginative people. They are generally the material concrete of some intellectual abstraction; and they become more pernicious when they have survived their age. As men reason less they feel more; and such solemn symbols are addressed to the feeling. When a papist and a protestant debate about the efficacy of pictures, the cross, a relic, lighted candles in the churches, etc., they are both partly right. These things are not to the Protestant what they are to the Catholic; they are not to the well educated man what they are to the Irish laborer. They neither awaken the same emotion nor are viewed with the same veneration. How different their effects in past ages; when they had all the freshness of novelty and were hailed with all the credulous simplicity of a first love!

But secondly, we should always remember the philosophy to which revelation presents her dogmas, and which forms the groundwork on which her pencil spreads the picture. Religion is presented to man; and we must form some conception of that nature to which it is presented. As a ray of light from the sun becomes visible only when intercepted by some opaque and reflecting object, so a doctrine of Scripture becomes intelligible only when it is seen to meet some want, or craving, or passion, or conception, in human nature. Our views of human nature and its duties we call (at least an important part of our) philosophy; and hence it is impossible wholly to separate our philosophy from our religion. The apostle Paul warns against a false philosophy; and no doubt much of the ancient philosophy was false; but they did not know it. Now our conceptions of human nature unconsciously tincture our religious speculation; just as the modern writers tell us that bringing a sensation and idea together forms our opinions, though the effect of the one on the other, being seldom remembered, is scarcely ever known.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is in vain to protest and say you will have no philosophy to back your religion and blend with it. Religion never can be understood without some views of that nature to which it is addressed; and some people will call these

The ancient philosophy was remarkable for never drawing the line between materialism and spirituality with the accuracy now demanded; and this first confusion runs through all their derived speculations. In the Platonic philosophy sin is an evil half voluntary, half material. The infections of the soul may be washed out by water or purged out by fire; as the poet tells us:

Quin et supremo quum lumine vita reliquit,  
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes  
Corporeas excedunt pestes: penitusque necesse est  
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.  
Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum  
Supplicia expendunt. Aliae panduntur inanes  
Suspensae ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto  
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.

Enead, VI. line 735—742.

Nor death itself can wholly wash their stains  
But long contracted filth ev'n in the soul remains.  
The relics of inveterate vice they wear;  
And spots of sin in every face appear.  
For this are various penances enjoined;  
And some are hung to bleach upon the wind,  
Some plunged in waters, others purged in fires,  
Till all the dregs are drained and all the rust expires.

Nay the very soul itself was a kind of ethereal matter; it existed in space; Tertullian taught that even God was a body—*Deum esse corpus contra Marcion*, Lib. II. c. 16—indeed that there is no substance that was not corporeal.<sup>1</sup> Spirit was only a more ethereal kind of matter. These impressions were universal. Their ideas of light as used by the followers of Zoroaster agree with the Manicheans in their account of the origin of evil; the ideas of future punishment were a singular jumble of moral and material ideas. It is remarked by Bayle that Des Cartes was the first philosopher that clearly saw and steadily drew the line which

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views philosophy. Zuingle in Switzerland and Calvin in Geneva both began their teaching with a determination to cashier philosophy, and they were both obliged to alter their course. See Mosheim, Antt. XVI. sect. III. P. 2. Religion is a kind of moral ratio between objective truths and our inner nature; and as an arithmetical ratio cannot be understood without two quantities, so moral ratio is confusion, is nothing, without both the objects between which it exists. What is religion without man? And what is man but a system of Psychology or Anthropology, or whatever other learned name you may choose to give. I am not partial to pedantic names, but the thing itself must exist.

<sup>1</sup> He wrote a treatise also to prove that the human soul was corporeal and of human shape: *ostendens est mihi anima corporaliter*. See his treatise *De Anima*.



separates our material from our spiritual contemplations. Before his day these objects were always confounded.<sup>1</sup>

If the soul itself, then, was a kind of semi-corporealism, no wonder if its qualities were confounded with those of the body. We generally receive the universal testimony of mankind without much suspicion or inquiry. Plato, the most spiritual of all the Grecian philosophers, had already taught the doctrine of half material guilt cured by a half material punishment. In his *Phaedo*, he says: "A soul with such affections," (i. e. a pure and pious soul,) "does it not fly away to something divine and resembling itself? To something divine and immortal and wise? Whither, when it arrives, it becomes happy, being freed from error, ignorance, fear, love and other human evils. But if it departs from the body, polluted and impure, with which it has been long linked, in a state of familiarity and friendship, and by whose pleasures and appetites it has been bewitched, so as to think nothing else true but what is corporeal and what may be touched, seen, drank and used for the gratification of lust; at the same time, if it has been accustomed to hate, fear and shun whatever is dark and invisible

<sup>1</sup> We must beware of supposing, because the ancient philosophers sometimes defined the soul with tolerable correctness, that therefore they carried out the idea and did not again fall into a semi-materialism. Thus Cicero after defining to soul as having *nihil admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex*, (*Tusculan Questions, Lib. I. sec. 29*), he goes on to teach that we philosophize best when we *maxime a corpore abducimus*. The fact is, the foundation (i. e. the philosophic foundation) of all the austerities of monkery is laid in his writings. The Fathers called abstraction from the body a celestial life; and Cicero calls it the same—*erit illis caelestis vitae simile*. The philosophers it is true did not live in so fervent an age and never dreamed of reducing his principles to practice. So Aristotle defines the soul beautifully: *Aristoteles longe omnibus (Platonem semper excipio) praestans et ingenio et diligentia, cum quatuor illa genera principiorum esset complexus, e quibus omnia orirentur, quintam quandam naturam censet esse, e qua sit mens; cogitare enim et providere et discere et docere et invenire aliquid, et tam multa alia meminisse, amare, odisse, cupere, timere, angi, laetari: haec et similia eorum, in quorum quatuor generum nullo inesse putat; quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine: et sic ipsum animum, ἐντελέχειαν appellat novo nomine, quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem*. The etymology of the remarkable word *ἐντελέχεια* has been greatly disputed. Evidently it has a very anti-material meaning. But from whatever derived and however defined, it is certain that this beautiful and just definition did not prevent the ideas of the ancients from wavering when they reasoned on the soul and its qualities. Nothing is so soon forgotten as a metaphysician's definition;—generally by his readers and not unfrequently by himself.

The subject is learnedly discussed by Cudworth in his *Intellectual System*, p. 774. Birch's Edition, 1743. Is he not too favorable to the spiritualists?

to the human eye, yet discerned and approved by philosophy ; I ask if such a soul so disposed will go sincere and disincumbered from the body ? By no means. And will it not be, as I have supposed, infected and involved with corporeal contagion, which an acquaintance and converse with the body, from a perpetual association, has made congenial ? So I think. But my friend we must pronounce that substance to be ponderous, depressive and earthy, which such a soul draws with it ; and therefore it is burthened with such a clog and again is dragged off to some visible place for fear of that which is hidden and unseen (i. e. spiritual objects), and as they report, returns to tombs and sepulchres, among which the shadowy phantasms of those brutal souls, being loaded with somewhat visible, have often actually appeared. Probably, O Socrates. And it is equally probable, O Cebes, that these are the souls of wicked, not virtuous men, which are found to wander amidst burial places, suffering the punishment of an impious life." Such were Plato's speculations. We find Cicero adopting similar sentiments. It is the body according to him that clouds the intellect, and impels the unwilling spirit to ignorance and a sensual life. The world consists of four elements, each of which have their appropriate places ; the earthy and humid sink downward into the angles and holes of the ground ; into the bed of the sea ; the remaining two mount aloft ; as the first by their weight are borne down ; the others ascend to the celestial regions, either by nature seeking higher places or crowded up by more ponderous bodies ; hence it is evident that minds whether composed of air or fire must mount according to the tendencies of universal nature. In this world, however, the corporeal dregs keep it down. This lower world is embraced by the thick and drowsy air, which clouds the tenant, obstructs sight and inflames appetite : *Accedit, ut eo facilius animus evadat ex hoc aëre, quem saepe jam appello, eumque perrumpat, quod nihil est animo velocius ; nulla est celeritas ; . . . necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret et dividat omne coelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres ventique coguntur ; quod et humidum et caliginosum est, propter exhalationes terrae ; quam regionem cum superavit animus, naturamque sui similem contigit et agnovit. Junctis ex anima tenui, et ex ardore solis temperato, ignibus insistit, et finem altius se efferendi facit, cum enim sui similem et levitatem, et calorem adeptus, tamquam paribus examinatus ponderibus, nullam in partem movetur, eaque ei demum naturalis est sedes, cum ad sui similem penetravit, in quo nulla re egens aletur, et sustentabitur iisdem rebus, quibus astra*

sustentantur at aluntur. Cumque corporis facibus inflammari solemus ad omnes fere cupiditates, eoque magis incendi, quod iis aemulemur, qui ea habeant, quae nos habere cupiamus: profecto beati erimus, cum, corporibus relictis, et cupiditatum et aemulationem erimus expertes: quodque nunc facimus, cum laxati curis sumus, ut spectare aliquid velimus et visere, id multo tunc faciemus liberius, totosque nos in contemplandis rebus perspicendisque ponemus, propterea, quod et natura inest mentibus nostris insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas veri videndi; et orae ipsae locorum illorum, quo pervenerimus, quo faciliorem nobis cognitionem rerum coelestium, eo maiorem cognoscendi cupiditatem dabunt. Tusculan Questions Lib. I. sect. 19.<sup>1</sup> This is the exact mixture of ideas which seems to have prevailed in the ancient philosophy. It was not confined to Platonism; for not to mention that Platonism itself came from ancient tradition, we find that all the philosophers had a similar connection of thought. First, contemplation and virtue were united in one name—philosophy; secondly, both were impeded by the use of our bodily faculties; thirdly, the first object in study is to mortify the body; to free the soul from the carnal clog; and lastly, he is the best philosopher who can come near to the freedom from passion employed by a disembodied being after death. Such were the views of human nature universally presented previous to the publication of the Gospel. Such was the Psychology of the ancient world.

When the Bible spoke to man it must accommodate itself in some degree to his conceptions; though its subjects are divine its language must be earthly; and there are certain metaphors necessary when treating of things which transcend the material

<sup>1</sup> Even Philo, taught by revelation as he was, and desirous to raise man to the highest spiritual nature, has scarcely escaped from the semi-materialism of the philosophers. He gives to man a higher and lower soul,—the first is *ἀσώρατον πνεύματος δόκιμον εἶναι νόμισμα*,—and the other is *ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν*. See Eusebius' *Preparatio*, Lib. VII. chap. 18. Now the very highest soul is *αἰθερίον φύσεως*, of an aetherial nature, the impress of God's seal, and the second is still more corporeal. In the twenty-second chapter of this book we have a long discourse quoted from Philo, that matter is not the cause of evil, and yet it is the cause; for the corporeal soul reduces the higher. See the *Preparatio* of Eusebius Lib. VII. chap. 22. The image of the aetherial soul is the *ETERNAL REASON*, *αἰδώς λόγος*.

It is impossible to draw the line more clearly between matter and mind than Plato has done in his tenth book of laws, where he contends that mind and all its qualities are prior to matter and all its qualities. What is prior in existence, must of course be distinct and separate in nature. Yet Plato, we see, relapses back to a material taint and a material purification. See the *Phaedo*, sect. 44.

world, which are very liable to be misunderstood. Thus when the apostle compares immortal happiness to a tree bearing twelve manner of fruits, or the prophet compares the influence of the Gospel to a river gushing from the foundation of the temple, fertilizing the desert and freshening the waters of the Dead Sea, there is no need of confounding the metaphor with the meaning; the remoter the ideas yoked together, the more easily are they understood. But when heaven is called a city, with golden streets and pearly gates, and when gospel illumination is compared to light; when the place where the wicked suffer is a lake of fire and brimstone, and when the summons to the solemnities of the last day is a trumpet, we are very apt, even in this age, to read without stating to ourselves exactly whether the language is metaphorical or not. We receive a loose analogy; and, satisfied with moral impression, leave the strict conception to be revealed by future light. So in the beginning of revelation, when Paul told them that "they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit. For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God." Rom. 8: 5, 6, 7, 8; and in another place: "The works of the *flesh* are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like", it seemed to the half-materialized psychology of the times, as if sin was literally the product of matter, τὴν κακίαν δὲ βλάστημα τῆς ὕλης;<sup>1</sup> at least it seemed to arise from certain adhesions (προσαρτήματα) of the flesh to the spirit. Although they did not, and indeed could not, wholly exclude the voluntary power from man's direction to virtue and vice, yet the *inclination* comes from the strange action of matter on mind. Well did the Apostle warn us against the seductive influence of philosophy.<sup>2</sup> Interpret his phraseology concerning the *flesh*, etc., according to Hebrew conceptions, and we are left to the truest orthodoxy; but take the language according to the vocabulary of the schools, and it generates Gnosticism, Manicheism and most of the other heresies that disfigured the ancient church and impeded the progress of the revealed system.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch; See Beausobre Hist. Manichees, Vol. II. p. 148.

That is, false philosophy.

It should always be remembered that their notions of spirit, will, virtue, action, were mixed and partial; and the more deceptive perhaps on that very account. They did not state to themselves that the soul was a kind of refined matter, that virtue and vice were pure physical actions; if they had, it is probable they would have started from their own conclusions. But a floating idea left them to ward off all objections, and yet conducted them to the most preposterous results. A proposition taken in a double sense is of course doubly deceiving; especially if the mind is unconscious of this double sense. We waver between the literal meaning and the figure. When an objection is urged we evade it by flying to the figure and yet we urge our belief in the literal sense. The history of philosophic and religious opinions is full of such delusions; more current the more we rise into the *poetic* world.

As the disease then was partly corporeal, was it wonderful that the cure should be accomplished by corporeal action? Observe how these semi-formed ideas exactly tallied with each other. Plato's souls were infected with a kind of material evil; the rivers that purify them, the floods of water and floods of fire, are in the future world.<sup>1</sup> The whole composition of that world is far less gross than ours; and they are washed and burned into purity just according to the nature of their corruption. The same double idea runs through both processes. So, on the other hand, God has united the soul with matter; in this union it sins. He unites too his own spirit with the baptismal water; it gives wonderful power to the material act. It has marvellous simplicity; it is a wonderful instance of the goodness of God. So it seemed to them. Nor was the seeming, in that age and those relations, altogether unnatural. "In truth," says Tertullian, "there is nothing which so hardeneth the minds of men, as the simplicity of the divine works as visible in the act, and their greatness promised in the effect; so that in this case also, because a man going down into the water, and being with a few words washed

<sup>1</sup> In the following passage, Lactantius teaches expressly that the fire of hell is not like our fire: "At ille divinus per seipsum semper vivit, ac viget sine ullis alimentis, nec admistum habet fumum, sed est purus ac liquidus, et in aqueae modum fluidus; non enim vi aliqua sursum versus urgetur, sicut noster, quem labe terreni corporis, quo tenetur, et fumus intermixtus exsilire cogit, et ad coelestem naturam cum trepidatione mobili subvolare. Idem igitur divinus ignis una eademque vi atque potentia et cremabit impios et recreabit, et quantum e corporibus absumet, tantum reponet."—*Lact. Inst. Lib. VII. c. 21.*

therein, with so much simplicity, without pomp, without any novel preparation, and finally without expense, riseth again not much or not a whit the cleaner, therefore his gaining eternity is thought incredible. I am much mistaken if the rites and mysteries pertaining to idols, on the contrary, build not their credit and authority on their equipments and their outward show and their sumptuousness. O wretched unbelief! who deniest to God his own proper qualities, simplicity and power! What then? Is it not wonderful that death should be washed away by a mere bath? Yea, but if because it is wonderful, it be therefore not believed, it ought on that account the rather to be believed.<sup>1</sup> For what else should the works of God be but above all wonder? We ourselves also wonder but because we believe, while unbelief wondereth and believeth not, for it wondereth at simple things, as foolish, and at great things, as impossible."—De Baptismo, ch. 2. Dodgson's translation.

Thus the union of philosophy and religion led the primitive Fathers into this dangerous mistake. In it they seemed to hear the general voice of revelation and reason. "Although," says Beausobre, giving an account of the opinions of the Basilidians, "Clemens Alexandrinus did not have exactly the same opinions as they, (i. e. the material appendages which weighed the soul down to sensuality and sin,) yet he conceived that there were certain impure spirits, which he called material energies, *ἐνέργειαι ὑλικαί*, attached to the soul, to be separated by baptism. The Spirit of God separated them, as the wind separates the chaff from the grain. He did not suppose them to be demons, but *passions*, which are called spirits, since they act on the soul, and produce the motions not conformed to reason."—History of the Manichees, Tom. II. Lib. IV. c. 2. Heresy was but the excess of what the orthodox believed.

Man is a being made for advancement, but his very progression sometimes deceives him. Looking back from our age, rich with all the accumulated instructions of past teaching and even past error, we can easily see the deficiencies of this philosophy and this religion. But it was not so obvious then. The very advancement which the more spiritual religion of the Gospel had made on paganism and Judaism, contributed to blind them to their remaining errors. They were conscious of their progression, but not of the road still to be passed over.<sup>2</sup> We have no doubt that

<sup>1</sup> The translator has here wonderfully softened Tertullian's language.

<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely also that the superiority of the orthodox Fathers over the

the Athenian constitution was one of the best specimens of civil liberty and social happiness which that age had seen; though *we* survey it as a system of cruelty, turbulence, strife and oppression. The Romans regarded the toga not only as comfortable but honorable; to us it would be little better than an Indian's blanket. It needs a very comprehensive mind, after manifest improvement, to grasp the idea of final perfection. Augustine argues beautifully against the folly of hoping to appease the gods with earthly victims: "*Sacrificium ergo visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est.*"—*De Civitate Dei* Lib. X. c. 5. Tertullian protests that the water has no power save by its union with the Holy Ghost. In a word, as a man that has separated his observations of nature from many theories, is still unconscious of some latent ones that still cleave to his mind; and his attention to his own victories over his errors makes him more unconscious of what remains to be done, so the Fathers were also honestly deceived; they stood in the natural line of human progression; they accomplished all that could justly be demanded of their age; they were progressive but not perfect, and they were to be honored for what they achieved, and pardoned for what they left undone.

When a modern for example takes into his hand such a writer as Tertullian, (especially if he be a New-Englander,) and reads the questions he discusses; the quaintness of his language, the remoteness of his comparisons, the credulity of his faith, the perversity of his creed; his quibbles, puns and historical mistakes, the strength of his assertions and the weakness of his arguments, he is tempted almost to wonder how such a leaden genius floated down even on the rapid and dense tide of ecclesiastical admiration. What would have been the loss had he sunk to merited oblivion? We forget, however, that every man is the product of his own age, is to be estimated by the tax he has paid to the general sum of human knowledge. We must beware

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Gnostics and Manichees might tend to deceive them. They did not notice that their own cups retained the dregs of that matter of which the heretics' cups were full. In the material world, there are various kinds of *non-spiritual substances*, as rocks, earth, water, fire, air, ether, light, and perhaps the thinner fluid in which planets revolve. Now, in mounting from one to another, we are apt to imagine we have escaped from *the material* when we have only surmounted its grosser forms; and, if we find a sect that have confounded these things more than we have, we are very apt, in detecting their confusion, to overlook our own. It is the mote and the beam over again; only the beam is in our neighbor's eye and the mote in our own.

how we despise our instructors, when perhaps their very lessons have contributed to elevate us over them, and taught us to detect their errors. Tertullian discussed questions which were vastly important when he was on the stage. His work *De Corona* appears especially barren to us. But how different then ! A soldier tore his military crown and renounced his profession ; other Christians were in the army ; all were liable to impressment. What shall we do ? Shall we obey God or man. Is the military profession lawful to a soldier of Christ ? These are great questions ; and I can easily imagine what a vast interest they gave to his works in that age. At any rate, Tertullian instructs us by his errors. He carried his own system to its practical development. Justification by works naturally leads to austerity ; and every page of Tertullian shows us how precious it is to cast the trembling soul on the simplicity of free justification by faith.

But there is a still deeper reason which led the ancient Christians into this overweening confidence in religious rites. It is founded not in philosophy but nature ; and if all memory of the past were swept away and the experiment to be renewed, let human nature be the same, and the same mistake would be again inevitable. Everybody knows that religion began in the highest fervor and enthusiasm ; it burst like a stream from a steep mountain side, and its rapidity was immense as soon as it began to flow. Now it is a remarkable fact, that the power of a rite when addressed to a congenial heart, is not to be estimated in its application to an uncongenial one. When it meets the congenial principle it may be powerful ; when it does not it may be remarkably powerless. The tomb that draws the widows tears and agitates her heart, is gazed at by the passing stranger without emotion. The sight of the places in Palestine drew tears from Peter the Hermit, and through him excited the indignation of all Europe. But their Mohammedan foes regarded them only as so much barren earth. A lock of hair, a picture, a ring, when given by a faithful lover and viewed in his absence, may kindle the most tender emotions in a maiden's heart. To another they are nothing. The sacrament we say is calculated, if there be a spark of piety in the heart of the communicant, to kindle it into a flame ; but it will not convert the sinner ; when he comes it sinks into a formality and hardens him in his crimes. Look through all nature and all life, and you will scarcely find a greater contrast than between the power of the rite or ceremony, addressed to its appropriate sentiment, and its perfect inefficacy when no



such sentiment meets it. The sunbeams refracted by a burning-glass and falling upon a solid substance, metallic or combustible, consume or melt it away; but they are cold and powerless when collected in water. The shower that fertilizes the garden scarcely moistens the sand; the sunbeam that paints its crimson on the cloud, returns colourless from the blackened forest; and even the institutions of God lose their power, when they are not directed by his coöperating spirit, on the susceptibility which gives them efficacy in the human mind.

Now the rites of religion, when first performed, were met by this powerful susceptibility in the candidates for their reception. There was no coldness, no remissness; no separating of the antagonist principles which God had joined together. The first converts were from Judaism or Heathenism; it was some powerful principle, some ardent feeling that brought them to the baptismal water. The sign and the thing signified almost always work together. Even when the hypocrite was baptized, it was under the strong emotion of a temporary deception. When John came preaching in the wilderness, there went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan, *confessing their sins*. Even in that formal age, the rite enforced the confession. When Peter preached at Jerusalem, they were pricked in their hearts and cried, Men and brethren, what shall we do? and they were baptized to the number of three thousand souls. Amidst the deep emotion of such solemn scenes, when the tears of repentance mingled with the waters of baptism, how could they foresee the day of coldness and metaphysical abstraction, the day when the rites would lose their power, because the Gospel had lost its glory and the heart its love. The foreigner that has seen our landscapes only in the vernal season, cannot estimate the naked desolation of a winter prospect.

We see that this mistake, though obvious on retrospection, has deceived thousands of reflecting minds before speculation has been instructed by experience. When Charles I. was imposing his hated liturgy on Scotland, the whole nation was roused to opposition; and, as usual, they betook themselves to formulas and ran to subscribe the covenant. It filled the whole nation with fire; it was a central point of strength, a bond of union. Nothing like the covenant; and so great was its power that the king thought that he must have *his* covenant; but as Guizot has remarked: "en-

thusiasm is not a matter of imitation,"<sup>1</sup> the covenant of Charles was a powerless affair when not expressing the will of an excited people. In our American revolution, it was thought that a few watchwords would always have the same effect; and it is well worthy of the reflection of those who repose such a trust in the efficacy of the temperance pledge, whether it must not like other symbols fall into the rear of time; whether its first and last power will be equal; whether its dominion over cool reason will equal its power when backed by enthusiasm, and whether even Father Matthews will always be able to lead Ireland by a ribbon and a seal. A ball is a fatal implement in a cannon with gunpowder behind it; but without the gunpowder it is nothing but a harmless mass of inert iron.

The first Christians were in the exact place where wise men might be deceived. Their views were all prospective, and they were untaught by experience. The very grace of God was operating through a new dispensation, and how could they foresee what honor it might please him to put upon his own appointed means? Their little experience was all in favor of the new rites; they had found them exceedingly affecting to their own souls. They saw a new generation growing up to be educated under their power. We naturally incorporate our spiritual ideas; our visible actions must express something. The ancient Christians did not separate their rites from the power. Thus Tertullian teaches that the spirit of God mixes with the baptismal water. Thus their own experience deceived them; and thus the strongest enthusiasm led them into the errors of the coldest formality.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guizot's *English Revolution*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> In looking forward to the rising generation, it was extremely natural for the ancient church to be betrayed into this overweening trust in ritual performances. Here was a new class of people, namely the children of the faithful to be educated somehow, under the wing of the church. Now all piety is divided into two kinds, the inward and outward, experimental religion and that sober performance of its instituted worship which might be expected and demanded where there is no inward conversion. Where we cannot produce the one, we are glad to see the other. In a race of children, the last would be likely gradually to supervene on the first. There is always a tendency in religion for the vital spirit to steal away from the outward forms; just as the sap is gone from the tree before its wood decays. Neander says, that the strong church government in the second ages was the *reaction* of the excessive and disorderly democracy of the first. He has over-painted this democracy, for there always was a clergy; nevertheless, it seems to us there is much truth in his theory. If so, how natural as an accompaniment, that formality should follow enthusiasm; that such a spirit as Paul rebukes in 1 Cor. chap. 14 should die

Such then are the allowances with which every candid man will survey the general spirit of the early church and its writers. He will consider the philosophy which modified their speculations; the gradations by which they approached their opinions; the conclusions in which they stand; the light which they reflect on each other; their congeniality to the spirit of the age, and the emotions of the heart, as well as to the form of the mind in which they originated. If thus candid and thus patient he explores their dogmas, I do not say he will adopt their opinions, but every step of his inquiry will diminish his contempt for them. A few practical remarks will now close this protracted discussion.

First, Let us avoid the extremes of either worshipping or despising antiquity. Mankind have almost universally fallen into the one or the other of these errors; and, when they cease to worship, they are very apt to pass to an indiscriminating contempt. Before the reformation it was the practice to regard the fathers with the deepest reverence. Their precedents bound; their arguments convinced; their sophistry was not seen; their word was law. The spirit of the age was one of timid conservatism. Aristotle and Augustine were equally dominant, the one in philosophy, the other in religion. The age before Luther, resembled a people gathered at the foot of a venerable mountain, looking up with profound veneration, to the woods and shades that waved over their heads; and paying more deference to the cliffs that overshadowed them, than to the very heavens towards which they pointed. But now we have got on the summit ourselves, and see all antiquity prostrate at our feet. Our learning is less, our power of speculation greater. But there is a middle point, which we have not yet reached. The fathers stand in the natural line of progression, and it is needful to know what they say. Despising past ages leads to an over-valuation of our own. If you worship the past, you will be a Roman Catholic; if you despise it, you will be an infidel. In the metropolis of this State, we may find a melancholy exemplification of the truth of this remark. Mr. Bronson worships antiquity; Mr. Parker despises it. See his late installation sermon. A true Protestant will aim to hit the medium. He will not destroy, by his distrust, the unity of the church, or the lessons of time.

Secondly, Let us feel the folly of judging hastily on insulated opinions. The dogmas of the fathers are too often presented to

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away, and leave the sanctification of the heart to be accomplished by the priest, the sacramental bread and the waters of baptism.

us, like pillars torn out of their place in the temple; we meet them in single quotations; we seldom enter into the habits of thinking in which they were embedded, or into the feelings from which they arose. We lose sight of the philosophy of the age; and hence we find absurdities where perhaps there are only plausible errors and sometimes positive truths.

Thirdly, we may remark that the credibility of an ancient opinion as well as of an extraordinary event, arises from *the ideal* in which it originated. The battle of Salamis or Marathon, the proscription of Sylla, the cruelty of Robespierre, are almost incredible until we see the general spirit which produced them. So some of the opinions of the fathers are perfectly astounding, until we go back to their causes. The Story of Symeon Stylites—how incredible! until we trace the progressive austerities of the church, and the combined religion and philosophy which justified them. The story then becomes a natural emanation of the prevailing faith.

Fourthly, We may learn from this subject to estimate those writers who have given us compendiums of ancient opinions; such as Daillé, Beausobre, Mosheim, Middleton, Gibbon. They have all of them judged the fathers by their weakness and not by their strength.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Warburton's estimation of the fathers, in his *JULIAN* is *restorative* and, for him, uncommonly judicious. After observing that we must not try their *abilities*, though we may their *logic*, by the standard of our own times, he goes on to prefer them generally to their pagan contemporaries. "Chrysostom" he says, "has more good sense than Plato, and the critic may find in Lactantius almost as many good works as in Tully." The learned critic, in the last remark, must free his own credit; I would hardly be responsible for such an opinion. If Chrysostom has any superiority over Plato, it is owing more to the light of revelation, than to the force of his own genius. The question is, who paid the greatest quota to the mass of human knowledge? Milton's view of the fathers is not injudicious; he points out their true use: "He that thinks it the part of a well-learned man to have read diligently the ancient stories of the church, and to be no stranger in the volumes of the fathers, shall have all judicious men consenting with him; not surely to control and new fangle the Scriptures, God forbid! but to mark how corruption and apostasy crept in by degrees, and to gather up wherever we find the remaining sparks of original truth, wherewith to stop the mouths of our adversaries and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly pass by what is orthodoxal in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious and best for their turns, not weighing the fathers in the balance of Scripture, but Scripture in the balance of the fathers. If we, therefore, making first the gospel our rule and oracle, shall take the good which we light on in the fathers and set it to oppose the evil that other men seek from them, in this way of skirmish we shall easily master all

Fifthly, and more than all, we may see the folly of attempting to restore a rite or ceremony, an opinion or practice, which has had its day and was not originally established by divine authority. This is the error of a learned but dreamy sect, now springing up in England and America. The origin of the Puseyites is probably the *reaction* of the democratic tendencies of the age. They are most of them cloistered students, better acquainted with books than men, yet acquainted with men enough to see, that reform-bills, universal suffrage, free trade, and political economy, have a vast tendency to abate our reverence for kings and priests, and to throw the whole frame-work of ritual piety into desuetude and oblivion. Democracy is in its very nature, dry, unceremonious, unreverential; delighting in its own affections, and more intent on discoveries than on precedents and proscriptions. Such is the powerful tendency of this age. We examine all things; we reverence nothing. Even the Deity himself hardly holds his throne in conformity to the social contract and the rights of man. Now certain studious men nurtured among the books and cobwebs of Oxford, have taken the alarm; and seem to think that the best way to check our excesses is, to saddle on us the whole spirit of antiquity. The plan is about as wise and as feasible, as it would be to go to a military engineer who was trying his Paixhan cannon, and advise him to take the helmets, the habergeons, the shields and broad-swords of the age of chivalry. Surely it must be seen that these rites do not stand in the connection, nor produce the impressions they once did. Whatever wisdom may have once attended them, they have lost their power now; and Capt. Bobdil's method of conquering an army is just as wise and practical, as these methods of restoring the piety of a democratic age. "I would select," says Ben Jonson's hero, "nineteen more to myself throughout the land; gentlemen they should be of good spirit, strong and able constitution; I would chose them by an instinct, a character that I have; and I would teach these members the special rules, as your Punto, your Reverso, your Stoccata, your Imbroccata, your Passada, your

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superstition and false doctrine; but if we turn this our discreet and wary usage into a blind devotion towards them and whatsoever we find written by them, we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us first to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the Scriptures against all antiquity; we remove our cause into our adversaries' own court, and take up there those cast principles which will soon cause us to sodder up with them again, inasmuch as believing antiquity for itself in any one point, we bring an engagement on ourselves of assenting to all that it charges upon us."—*Prelatical Episcopacy*, page 90.

Montonto; till they could all play very near or altogether as well as myself. This done, say the enemy were forty thousand strong, we twenty would come into the field the tenth of March, or thereabouts; and we would challenge twenty of the enemy; they could not in their honor refuse us! Well, we would kill them; challenge twenty more, kill them; twenty more, kill them; twenty more, kill them too; and thus would we kill, every man his twenty a day; that is twenty score; twenty more, that is two hundred! two hundred a day, five days a thousand; forty thousand, forty times five, five times forty, two hundred days kill them all up by computation."

Lastly,—Let us trace the ancient errors to their radical mistake. *A want of a clear perception of the truth, and practical bearing of the doctrine of Justification by faith.* The church has its infancy as well as the life of man; and it was perfectly natural that a kind of unformed but implicit Pelagianism should be the first mistake. We teach our children to be Pelagians in our first religious lessons. We say to them, Be good and God will love you. We generate a kind of meritorious justification, in order to present an antagonist principle when the mind shall become capable of it. The historical argument against Calvinism, which has distressed some of its defenders, is far from being so conclusive as has been supposed. If this system be the Gospel, it has been asked, how is it that all the writers previous to Augustine missed it? Without contesting the fact, we may say, that in the order of progression it was a most natural mistake. And then as to influence, we see what it generated. A priesthood, an infallible church, baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, exorcism, extreme unction, indulgences, and the whole round of this mechanical piety. Justification by faith cuts up these errors by the roots. When this doctrine was recovered to the church, by impressing real holiness on the heart, it gave inward peace; it turned the attention of men from the rites of the chancel to the affections of the soul; for the unmeaning ceremony it substituted the powerful motive; it took the worshipper from the servitude of the priest and made him at once the free man of God.

## ARTICLE IV.

## THE CHARACTER AND PROPHECIES OF BALAAM.

Numbers XXII—XXIV.<sup>1</sup>

By R. D. C. Robbins, Librarian, Theol. Sem. Andover. [Continued from No. X, p. 378.]

*The second Prophecy.*

As soon as Balaam had finished his first message, Balak cried out with astonishment and terror, What hast thou done to me? Instead of cursing Israel, for which I sent for thee, thou hast even pronounced a blessing upon him. This insinuation of Balak, that Balaam had betrayed the trust placed in him, he attempts to disprove by the plea that he acted from constraint: I would gladly have complied with your wishes and cursed this people, but must I not<sup>2</sup> speak what Jehovah putteth into my mouth? This double part which the soothsayer is attempting to play, his apparent readiness to submit to the commands of Jehovah and his wish, at the same time, to minister to the wicked desire of his employer, will ere long bring certain ruin upon him. His determination to obey the letter of the command with the utmost scrupulousness, is of no avail, so long as in inclination he sins against its whole meaning and design.

Balak is satisfied that he has the heart of Balaam on his side, and therefore looks about him for expedients to enable the soothsayer to withstand the power of the divinity, and to pour out curses upon his enemies. It does not appear that Balak desired him to act counter to the will of his God, but to bring his will into conformity with his own. This power was supposed to be-

<sup>1</sup> The Work most used in the preparation of this Article and the preceding one, in No. X., and on which they are to some extent based, is "Die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen. Erläutert von G. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. u. Prof. d. Theol. zu Berlin." Berlin, 1842. Frequent reference has also been made to "Die Geschichte Bileams," an Article in Tholuck's "Vermischte Schriften," Th. I. S. 406—432. Several Commentaries upon the passage, such as those of Calvin, Vater, Rosenmueller and Maurer, and Hengstenberg's "Authentie d. Pent." and Herder's "Sp. of Hebr. Poetry," have been occasionally consulted.

<sup>2</sup> This question is made by אִם and consequently implies a strong affirmation: I must speak, etc. See Stuart's Transl. of Roediger's Ed. of Gesenius's Hebr. Gr. § 150. I.

long to the class of men among whom Balaam was reckoned. The influence of circumstances, such as position and the manner of offering sacrifices, was supposed to avail much with them. The view of the camp of Israel spread out before Balaam, his employer thought, might have given occasion to the blessing. He now, therefore, takes him to a more eastern part of Pisgah, called the watcher's field<sup>1</sup>, where only the extreme part of the Israelitish camp could be seen. Here, as before, altars were constructed and the victims laid in order upon them, and Balaam again uttered the words which Jehovah had committed to him:

Verse 18. Stand up, Balak, and hear,

Listen to me, son of Zippor.

19. God is not man, that he should lie,

Nor a son of man, that he should repent.

Hath he promised and shall he not perform?

Hath he spoken and shall he not make it good?

20. Behold I have received blessing;

He blesseth and I cannot avert it.

21. He doth not behold iniquity in Jacob,

He doth not see misfortune in Israel.

Jehovah his God is with him,

And the shouting of the king is in his midst.

22. God bringeth them out of Egypt,

In fleetness he is like the buffalo;

23. For no incantation availeth against Jacob

And no divination against Israel.

According to the time is it told to Jacob and Israel

What God doeth.

24. Behold, a people riseth up like a lioness,

Like a young lion it rouseth itself;

It shall not lie down, until it devour the prey,

And drink the blood of the slain.

Verse 18. *Stand up*, קום. This command did not of course require physical action; for Balak, as appears from verse 17, was already standing by his burnt-offerings. It merely demands his undivided attention to a matter of importance. The same word is frequently used in a similar manner, as in Judges 8: 20; and also in the Psalms, with קום appended, in making requests of Jehovah.

<sup>1</sup> Probably because of the extended eastern view, which rendered, it in times of hostility, a favorable point from which to observe the motions or approach of enemies.



*Listen to me*, הִשְׁמָעוּנִי צָרִי. For the use of הִשְׁמָע with the imperative, making it an urgent request, see p. 371 above, and Stuart's Transl. of Roediger's Gram. † 48. 3. 46. 2. As this appendage to nouns indicates direction to a place, so with verbs it denotes, striving after, or the direction of the will towards the object of any action. The Translators of the Septuagint, the Syriac and Samaritan versions,<sup>1</sup> seem to have derived the word צָרִי from צָר, *witness, testimony*; and Michaelis changes the reading to צָרִי, but without ground or reason. צָר with the suffix Pronoun is here nearly synonymous with לֵךְ or אֵל, which are often used with this same verb; compare Ex. 15: 26. Job 34: 2, 16, etc. and see Nordheimer's Hebr. Gram. II. p. 226. Compare also Job 32: 11, where צָר is used after הִשְׁמָעוּנִי. The meaning is: Listen attentively, so as to understand my meaning.—בְּנִי is from בָּר the construct state with י appended. This addition of י in the construct state is found in prose only in the Pentateuch; and in poetry, with two or three exceptions, only in הִרְרִי which is copied from the Pentateuch; as in Ps. 50: 10—72: 2. 104: 11, 20. Zeph. 2: 14. Isa. 56: 9. This form, as well as that with י, is without doubt the remains of an ancient case-ending, almost obsolete in the time of Moses. In ancient Arabic the three case-endings َ, ِ, and ُ are everywhere used. But in modern Arabic these terminations are almost entirely laid aside as case-endings. The Ethiopic, like the Hebrew (in הִשְׁמָע), often retains the accusative-ending. See Stuart's Tr. of Roediger's Gram. † 88.

Verse 19. *God is not man*, לֹא אִישׁ אֵל, לֹא a strong and absolute negative particle like the Greek οὐ, οὐκ, is frequently used before substantives and adjectives to denote the contrary of their usual meaning; as לֹא אֵל, no-God = an idol. Here it denotes that God is not like, to be compared with man.—אִישׁ means here a *man, mortal*, in contrast with God, and is synonymous with בְּרִאָה, son of man = mortal, in the next *stichos*. So also in Job. 9: 32 et alibi. The same word is frequently used as a designation of man in contrast with women, beasts, etc. *That he should lie*, וַיִּכְזֵב. The Hebrew וַיִּכְזֵב is truly protean in signification. When used with verbs to indicate design or result, *that, in order that*, it is frequently followed in the first person by the paragogic, and in the second and third, by the apocopate forms of the verb, in those classes of verbs which make use of these forms; but not unusually as here the common form appears. See Gesenius' Thesaurus, וַיִּכְזֵב, and

<sup>1</sup> Sept. ἐνύπριον μύπτρις, Syr. ܠܫܢܐ ܕܝܬܐܝܬܐ, listen to my testimony.

Stuart's Roediger, † 152 l. 1. (B), (e), and † 126. The primary idea in כָּרַב, a softened form for כָּרַב, is probably that of cutting, or breaking; hence to break covenant or faith, and in common use in the Piel, *to lie, to speak falsehood*. The spirit of the passage is well expressed by an old commentator: Jam quum negat Deum mentiri posse, quia non est similis hominibus, species est objur-gationis. Quasi diceret, Visne Deum facere mendacem?—*That he should repent*, וַיִּתְּנָם. The ך is used as in the preceding stichos.

The root of the verb וַיִּתְּנָם, נָחַם, seems to mean, like נָחַם in Arabic, *to pant, to groan*, and here in the Hithpael, *to grieve for a past action, to change the course of conduct or feeling, to repent*.

There is an evident reference in this verse to the views which Balak entertained of God. The reproach of Balaam in verse 11, "What hast thou done unto me? To curse my enemies I took thee," etc, in connection with the proposition, to go to another place where he should see but a part of the Israelites, in order if possible to change the curse to a blessing, implies that he believed that the purpose of God might be changed by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, through the intervention of Balaam. But this verse would seem to be a specific confutation of that idea, and vindication of the Israelitish doctrine of the immutability of God, as exhibited even in the name Jehovah, (see Ex. 3: 13—16,) the self-existent one, consequently the one immutably changeless: παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπὴς ἀποσκίασμα, James 1: 17. How far Balaam was indebted to immediate inspiration for this idea, it cannot be confidently asserted.—There is a plain allusion to this passage in 1 Samuel 15: 29, where Samuel says to Saul: "And also the strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for he is not a man that he should repent."

*Hath he promised*, etc., וַיִּתְּנָם אֲפֹרֹתַי. הַ interrogative here makes the phrase more intensive than a simple affirmation, and indicates the impossibility and absurdity of supposing that God will not do according to what he has said. The question is naturally suggested whether this is to be understood as general or with a specific reference. The latter seems most probable from the use of the praeter tense both in וַיִּתְּנָם and בְּרִבְרִי, see Hengst. Gesch. Bil. S. 109. Many have accordingly referred it to the promises made to the patriarchs. So the Targum of Jonathan: Dominus dixit se multiplicaturum populum hunc sicut stellas coelorum, et in haereditatem illis daturum terram Cananaeorum, an fieri potest quod dixit ut non faciat? But it seems rather to have regard to those

things spoken by God through Balaam in the previous prophecy, and to declare the impossibility of a change of the blessing there declared, according to Balak's desire and expectation. It is as if Balaam had said: I received from God the blessing that I pronounced, and his character does not permit me now to change it to a curse. This interpretation is confirmed by the following verse which is merely exegetical of this.—The verb *יְקַח* in the last clause of the verse, is in the Hiphil form, with the fem. suffix *הָ* used for the neuter. See Stuart's Hebr. Gr. § 321. 1. According to a very common idiom in Hebrew, the object is not expressed with the preceding verbs, *אָמַר*, *יְקַח* and *יָדַר*.

Verse 20. *Blessing*, *בָּרַךְ*, literally, *to bless*, is the Piel Infinitive, and *בָּרַךְ* in the next *stichos*, praet. 3 pers. sing. of the same conjugation. The use of the infinitive as a *nomen actionis* in the Accusative after a verb, is frequent in Hebrew, and gives a life and simplicity to the style, which is exceedingly pleasing; See Stuart's Roediger, § 128, I. and Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, Vol. I. 29 sq. The subject of *בָּרַךְ* is Jehovah implied in the preceding verse. The *וְ* copulative need not here be rendered in English, as frequently where it connects two parallel members of a sentence,—*I cannot avert it*, *אֲשִׁירְכֶנָּה*. *בָּרַךְ* fem. suff. with an epenthetic nun, as in the preceding verse. The word *אֲשִׁיר* is used in a similar way, meaning *hinder* or *avert*, in Isaiah 43: 13. Balaam renounces all ability to do otherwise than he is commanded. The reasoning is: Man's word may be false, and he may repent of his most solemn asseverations, but God's declarations are unchanging. He hath pronounced blessings upon this people, and they will be bestowed; it is beyond my power to prevent it. Mark, as quoted by Hengstenberg, says: *Nec per temporis progressum, nec per loci mutationem, nec per repetitos conatus tuos quidquam obtinebis a deo, quando hic bona fide praedicta de hoc populo non revocabit unquam, nec in iis praestandis impediatur usque a quoquam, unde certus sis priora dicta mea amplissime fore implenda in Israele.*—Declarations similar to the one in this verse are common in later prophecies. Isa. 14: 27 and 45: 23. See Hengst. Gesch. Bil. S. 111.

Verse 21. In the preceding verses of this prophecy Balaam's object is to exculpate himself with Balak, by declaring his inability to curse contrary to the commands of an immutable God. With this verse he commences again to bless Israel, and both in matter and manner that which follows, is an expansion of the preceding prophecy. The main difficulty in this verse seems to be,

to determine the precise meaning of אָנָּן and עָנָּן. The Septuagint Translation, which some follow, is tame: *οὐκ ἔσται μόχθος ἐν Ἰακώβ οὐδὲ ὀφθήσεται πόνος ἐν Ἰσραήλ*. Besides, in the preceding verse and the succeeding part of this verse, Jehovah is the subject of the verb, and a change to the passive here is without good reason. Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* 112, also derives an argument to the same effect from the parallel passages in Habakkuk 1: 3, 13, which he says must have been written with the attention of the author directed to the passage now under consideration. There it is God, who, in verse 3rd, sees the עָנָּן, and both the עָנָּן and עָנָּן, in verse 13. The most probable explanation of אָנָּן seems to be, that it is used in its usual signification of *iniquity, wickedness*; and לֹא-יִחַדּוּ means, not to take notice of by punishing, to *overlook*, as we sometimes say in English; so in the passages quoted, Hab. 1: 3 and 13; and so in Ps. 10: 14 דָּבַר without the negative, signifies not to overlook, to punish. עָנָּן means the sorrow, the punishment, consequent upon iniquity. רָאוּ is often used for the joy felt at the destruction of one's enemies, as in Ps. 54, 9. 22: 18. 118: 7 et alibi; and here with the negative, the opposite of that: God does not look with delight upon the sorrow of his people. Rosenmueller prefers to consider the preposition אֶ as signifying *against* and renders: God beholds not, i. e. cannot endure to behold iniquity cast upon Jacob, nor can he bear to see affliction, vexation, trouble, wrought against Israel. This meaning seems to be perfectly congruous with the context, and the only difference in the two explanations is that in the one, iniquity and sorrow are subjective to the Israelites, whilst in the other they are inflicted upon them by their enemies. The former seems to be the most natural and easy exposition.

*The shouting of the king is in his midst*, וְהִרְיֹצָה בְּתוֹכָהּ בוּ. The acclamations which attend the presence of a great and victorious king are among them. The noun הִרְיֹצָה is from הִרְיָץ, to make a loud noise, to shout, to sound a trumpet; and hence the phrase here may be understood as referring to the presence of God as the victorious leader of the Israelites. This then is parallel with the preceding *stichos*, "God is with him." Calvin says: *Nomen enim quod alibi vetus Interpres Jubilationem vertit, videtur hic sumi pro gratulatoriis canticis. Sed quia tubae clangorum significat, non male quadrabit, populum fore terribilem suis hostibus; quia audacter prosiliet ac descendet in praelium, quasi Deo tuba clangente.*—This passage has been adduced in argument against the Mosaic origin of the account of Balaam, as implying that the

Israelites were governed by a king at the time of its composition. But it is only necessary to inquire if they were not surrounded by kingdoms, which might suggest this language; and furthermore, was not God their king, and might not the language be properly used in reference to him? See also Hengst. Beitr. III. S. 204, 5. and 246 sq. on the allusions in the Pent. to a future kingdom, and also note upon 24: 7 below.

Verse 22. *God bringeth them out of Egypt*, יֵאֵל מוֹצִיאֵם מִמִּצְרַיִם. In 22: 5, Balak in his message to Balaam says: A people have come out of Egypt, etc., but Balaam says here: God bringeth them out of Egypt. The use of the participle in this case indicates that the act is yet incomplete. See Ewald kl. Gr. § 350. They are not yet in the promised land. But all effort against them is without avail, the God who changes not is with them, and his plans cannot be thwarted by any opposition. His protection and guidance hitherto, is a sure guaranty that the work will be consummated. The use of a plural suffix here, with a singular one preceding and following, referring to the same collective noun, breaks up the monotony, and is entirely in accordance with Hebrew usage. The second *stichos* may perhaps be considered as a consequence of the preceding. It is on account of the favor of God which is shown in bringing them out of Egypt, that they have the vigor of the buffalo which will enable them to escape all enemies.

*The vigor of the buffalo is his*, כֹּחַ הַבָּזִי מֵהֵם. Literally, like the vigor of the Buffalo is to him. The precise signification of כֹּחַ is difficult to determine. The Septuagint renders it by δόξα, the Vulgate, fortitudo. It is derived from the Hiphil form of כָּחַ, to be weary, and hence may mean that which maketh weary, the vigorous. It is most often rendered, swiftness, and undoubtedly includes that idea, but is more comprehensive. Fürst considers it as from כָּחַ, used by a common transposition of the letters for כָּהַ, to be bright, shining; and hence he derives the idea of swiftness in the course, which he says is also found as a secondary meaning in other verbs of *shining*, *glittering*, etc. Hengstenberg does not fully assent to either of these meanings, and contends that, efforts, exertions, is the only one which is supported by the etymology, the context and the other passages in which the word is used; see Gesch. Bil. S. 119 sq. Whatever the etymology may be, the general idea is plain: Israel is able to escape his enemies, whatever qualifications they may have for annoying him. That כָּח here designates the buffalo, *bos bubalus*, a wild

and ferocious animal, common in Palestine, seems to be pretty well decided. See this word in Gesenius' Lexicon.

2. *For*, *כִּי*; what has been said of Israel is true, *for*, *כִּי*, *no enchantment*, *לֹא כִּשְׁף*, *availeth against*, *בְּ*, Jacob and *no divination*, *לֹא כִּחָס*, against Israel. Some, e. g. Hengstenberg, consider *בְּ* here as meaning *in*: There is no enchantment in Israel, etc. i. e. they do not practise it. But there seems to be an allusion to the inability which Balaam felt, and expressed to Balak, of cursing the Israelites, since God blesses them. All such attempts, he says, are fruitless. Even this most celebrated soothsayer is compelled to acknowledge the futility of all the arts of his profession, when exerted against the purposes of God. But the last half of the verse is antithetical with this. *According to the time*, *בְּזָמְנוֹ*, in the proper time, Sept. *κατὰ καιρὸν*, is *it told*, *רִאֲמַר* to Jacob, etc. *what God doeth*, *יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה אֵל*. God maketh known his designs to Israel at the fitting time, whilst divination hath no power over him. For the use of the future *רִאֲמַר*, *dici solet*, to designate customary action; see Ewald Gr. § 264, and Stuart's Ed. of Roediger's Gesen. § 125. 4. (b); and for the use of the praeter, *עָשָׂה*, for a future action, see Ewald, § 262, and Stuart's Roediger, § 124. 4. Many render *לְ* before *יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *יַעֲקֹב*, *concerning*: Soon it shall be told concerning Jacob and Israel what God hath done for them. So Calvin: *Deum praeclara opera exinde editurum pro defensione populi sui, quae cum admiratione narrentur*. But this explanation destroys the antithesis, which seems plainly to be intended here, between divination and true prophecy.

Verse 24. *Behold a people riseth up like a lioness*, *יִהְיֶה עַם כְּלִבְיָא רָקִים*. The omission of the article which we might expect before *עַם*, may be considered as poetical. It gives life to the representation. It is as if the author had said: Behold this is a people, etc., extending his hand, perhaps, toward them. *לִבְיָא* is a poetic word from *לָבָא*, and means, literally, *the roarer*; here, as frequently, *lioness*. *רָקִים*, *riseth up after repose, to seek his prey*.—*Like as a lion*, *כְּאַרְיֵה* from *אַרָּה*, to pull in pieces; hence *the puller in pieces*.—*It will not lie down*, *יִשְׁכַּב*. This word is often used of persons lying down to sleep, and here, of returning to a state of repose; the exact reverse of *רָקִים* and *יִתְנַשֵּׂא*, it will not return to the state from which it has arisen, until it shall have devoured the prey, *עַד־אֲכָל טֶרֶף*. The image of the wild beast is here kept up, as also in the next *stichos*.

There is a plain allusion in this verse to Gen. 49: 9: "A young lion is Judah . . . he croucheth, he lieth down like a lion and a

lioness ; who will rouse him ? What is said of Judah in Genesis is applied by Balaam to all of Israel. The comparison should not be pressed too far. The cruelty and rapacity which might seem to be indicated, by devouring the prey and drinking the blood of the slain, are not intended. The strength and courage and nobleness of the lion, which feareth no open force or snares, but promptly resisteth all assaults, and attacketh his enemy with certainty of complete conquest, is what is here brought into view. Such is the antagonist against which Balak is contending, and to him he will surely fall a prey.

*The Third Prophecy.*

When Balak had listened to the second blessing of Israel, by him from whom he had hoped to hear nothing but curses, he seems for a moment to lose all expectation of accomplishing anything by means of Balaam, and only beseeches him, if he will not curse the people, at least not to bless them.<sup>1</sup> But when Balaam more positively than before affirms, that he is compelled to speak what is given him to speak by Jehovah, the king of Moab relying upon the strong desire of the soothsayer to comply with his request, again takes courage, and says to him : " Come now to another place, peradventure it may seem good to God that you curse him for me from thence. And he took him to the top of Peor," a height consecrated to the God of the Moabites of that name, which overlooked the desert of Jericho. After all preparation had been made as before, Balaam went not to seek enchantments, as on previous occasions, but relied upon the revelations of God's will, which had already been made to him. When he had turned his face to the desert, the direction in which the tents of the Israelites were pitched, and beheld them, each tribe in its own proper place in the encampment, " The spirit of God came upon him, and he spake the words of his prophecy and said :"

Verse 3. Thus saith Balaam the son of Beor,

Thus saith the man with closed eyes,

4. Thus saith he who heareth the words of God,

Who seeth the visions of the Almighty,

Falling down, and with open eyes :

<sup>1</sup> Nordheimer, Heb. Gram. § 1096. 5, renders the phrase גַּם לֹא יְחַבֵּנֵי גִם גַּם לֹא יְחַבֵּנֵי : neither curse them at all nor bless them at all.

5. How beautiful are thy tents, Jacob,  
Thy dwellings, Israel ;
6. Like valleys they are spread out,  
Like gardens by the river's side,  
Like aloes which Jehovah hath planted,  
Like the fir-tree by the water-courses.
7. Water floweth from his buckets,  
And his seed is upon many waters.  
Higher than Agag his king shall be,  
And exalted shall be his kingdom.
8. God bringeth him forth from Egypt,  
The vigor of the Buffalo is his ;  
He devoureth the nations his enemies,  
And their bones he crauncheth,  
And with his arrows he dasheth in pieces.
9. Like a lion he croucheth and lieth down to rest,  
And like a lioness who will rouse him.  
Blessed are those who bless thee,  
And cursed are thy cursers.

Verse 3. The poetical word נָאָם, from נָאָם, like נָבִיל from נָבַל, three times repeated here, and also in verses 15, 16, is seldom used with the genitive of a human author ; Hengstenberg says, it never is, except in Numbers xxiv, and 2 Samuel 23 : 1, and Prov. 30 : 1, which last are imitations of the prophecies of Balaam. It is very often used with הִנֵּה, as נָאָם הִנֵּה, especially in the later prophecies ; see Hengstenberg, *Authentie* L 359, and *Gesch. Bil. S.* 133. It seems natural then to suppose that Balaam uses the word here to indicate that he received his oracles, and communicated them, from God. So Mark : non aliter se spectat tamen, quam ut dictorum ministrum, quae ipsi aliunde inspirarentur.—נָבִיל in the construct state before נָבִיל with ׀ paragogic ; see note on 23 : 18. The repeated use of this antique form is certainly unaccountable, if the prophecies of Balaam were written subsequently to the age of Moses. That it was not current in the time of David, appears from the change to נָ in his imitation of our passage, in 2 Sam. 23 : 1, where we should naturally expect the same form.

*With closed eyes*, שָׂחָם הָעֵינַי. The word שָׂחָם is considered by Rosenmueller, Maurer, Gesenius and others, as meaning *open*. The Septuagint too renders this phrase : φησὶν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁρῶν, and the Chaldee Paraphrase, גְּבִרָא דְשִׁפְרִי חָזִי (vir pulchrè videns). But Fürst and Hengstenberg seem to be right in giving



it the opposite meaning of *closed*. There is no foundation in Hebrew for the signification of the word given by Gesenius and others mentioned above, and the reference to the Chaldee for this meaning, of which Buxtorf cites only one instance from the Mishna, is more than counterbalanced by the current use in the

Arabic of سَطَمَ with the meaning *to shut*. This signification is easily derived according to the principles of the Hebrew. The stronger hissing sounds of the language which prevailed in earlier times, were afterward exchanged for the softer sounds; as, for example, ש for ש and ס; see Ewald's Gram. § 104 sq. Now שָׂטַם, שָׂטַם is used later and in prose, with the meaning, *to stop, to obstruct*, and secondarily, *to shut up*; see 2 Kings 3: 19, 25, et alibi. What is more natural than to suppose that the more ancient and harsh form of the same word is used by Balaam? This opinion is made more probable by the tautology which, if the other meaning is given, is made by גָּלִי קִינָה in the next verse. But the precise import of the phrase is not determined, when we have fixed upon the literal meaning of the words. Calvin interprets, *concealed or closed eyes* as those which can see hidden things: absconditos sibi esse oculos dicit quia arcana inspectione pollut supra humanum modum. Le Clerc supposes that there is here an allusion to not seeing the angel on the way. According to others, Balaam declares his previous blindness in reference to the fate of the Israelites, or refers to the hidden nature of all future things. But none of these explanations seem to be in accordance with the context, which requires something that will add weight to the words of the following prophecy. This and the following verse are made up of personal designations of Balaam as introductory to the truth which he is about to reveal. This phrase then seems to designate one characteristic of the state in which Balaam as a prophet, uttering his oracle, was; i. e. with eyes closed, shutting out the sensible world, so that the internal sense might be undisturbed in its action. When persons wish to think intently upon anything, they close their eyes and ears; and the more effectually impressious from the external world are shut out, the more vigorous is the action of the mind. This closing of the external senses should seem peculiarly necessary in the case of Balaam, who was ordinarily unused to such revelations as the present, and consequently to such an employment of his mental faculties.

Verse 4. *The hearer of the words of God*, שֹׁמֵעַ אֱמָרֵי אֱל. One

to whom God speaks, not audibly, but to the internal sense, when the spirit comes upon him. *Who seeth the visions of the Almighty,* אֲשֶׁר מַרְוֶה שְׂדֵי יְהוָה. This language is derived from the manner in which God revealed himself, especially in more ancient times, by visions, but is used here like the accompanying *stichoi*, generically, as a designation of Balaam's character as prophet.

*Falling down*, נָפַל; literally, *the faller down*, the present participle being used to denote character, permanent qualities. The powerful influence of the spirit which like an armed man came upon the seer, seems to be indicated by this phrase. So it was with Saul when the spirit of God was upon him, 1 Sam. 19: 24, "And he also, גַּם-יְהוֹנָתָן, stripped off his clothes," which Michaelis explains: exuit vestes consuetas et indnit sacras pauciores et leviores; "and fell down naked, וַיִּפֹּל כָּרִם, all that day and all that night. Therefore they said: Is Saul also among the prophets?" This *he also* in the beginning of the verse should seem to indicate that this was a usual effect of the prophetic spirit at the time. But we are not to suppose that it was universal. In the good Samuel, for example, such violent physical action as falling to the ground, could hardly have been exhibited. It seems to have been only where the spirit found an unprepared dwelling, where there was an unfitness in the subject, that such consequences ensued. Where there was in ordinary life a consciousness of the indwelling of the spirit, as in the true prophets, it was not so. It then came to its own and its own received it. It is true that such passages as Ezek. 1: 28. 3: 23. 43: 3. Dan. 8: 17, 18, and Apoc. 1: 17, seem at first view to be parallel with this; but a closer examination shows that it was the overpowering nature of the vision that caused terror and awe in such cases.—The close connection of the following phrase, *with eyes open*, i. e. attentive to the heavenly messenger, with the *falling down*, is evident. Thus the Vulgate renders the verse in connection: dixit auditor sermonum dei, qui visionem omnipotentis intuitus est, qui cadit et *sic* aperiantur oculi ipsius.

Verse 5. In reference to the preceding verses of the prophecy which have been taken up with the characteristics of the seer, as preparatory to the annunciation now to be made, Calvin says: Non alio tendit tota praeatio, nisi ut se verum dei prophetam esse probet et benedictionem quam proferet se habere ex coelesti oraculo. With this verse Balaam again resumes the subject of the last oracle, the prosperity of Israel. *How beautiful*, כִּי יָפִי, how fair, pleasing are thy tents, אֹהֲלֶיךָ. The language here

seems to have been suggested to the prophet by the previous view of the encampments of Israel, as his physical eyes were now closed, verse 3. But the idea is not merely that the present condition of the encampment of Israel, is one that pleases the eye of the beholder; nor is the vision of the seer confined to the future, as de Geer supposes: *Videre sibi videtur Balaam Israelitas jam in regione Canan. habitantes et fortunatissimam eorum sedem.* The general prosperity of Israel both now and in the future is indicated by the phrase, 'How beautiful are thy tents,' and the subsequent comparisons, by which the same idea is presented more vividly to the mind. For the use of the *praeter tense* to indicate abiding characteristics or qualities, see Stuart's *Roed.* § 124. 4.—*Thy dwellings*, מִשְׁכָּנֶיךָ. The original distinction between מִשְׁכָּן and אֹהֶל, as applied to the tabernacle is that the former designates the dwelling proper, the twelve interior curtains; and the latter, the exterior covering of the same. Here they are both used without distinction in meaning, as names of the temporary dwellings of the Israelites.

Verse 6. The exclamation in the 5th verse, "How beautiful are thy tents," etc. is illustrated in this verse, by a series of comparisons: (1) *Like valleys they are spread out*, מִבְּנֵי-הַלֵּים. The word מִבְּנֵי-הַלֵּים is from נָחַל, which signifies, first, a stream or brook, and then the brook or torrent with the adjoining land, the valley or wady, as it is termed in the East. Although many prefer the former, the latter meaning seems most appropriate here, since the following comparisons are with objects not in the water but on the shore. נָחַל is a verb from נָחַה, to stretch out, to extend, here in the Niph., of the valley or stream, to spread itself out, used in Zech 1: 16 of a measuring line, and in Jer. 6: 4 of evening shadows. The object of this verb is considered by many to be a relative referring to מִבְּנֵי-הַלֵּים, the valleys which are spread out. The LXX, rather fancifully render the phrase: *ὡσεὶ ῥάνας μαζῶσαι*; but it is an easier and more natural construction to supply a pronoun referring to tents and dwellings in the preceding verse.—(2) *Like gardens by the river's side*, כְּגַנֹּת צֵלֵי נָהָר, literally like gardens on or near streams of water, such as pass through the oriental wadys. The simple idea is, that they are like well-watered gardens. Two passages in Isaiah illustrate the meaning of this simile; 58: 11, Thou shalt be like a watered garden, and 1: 31, where the wicked are compared to a garden which has no water. The dependence of the gardens of the East for fertility, upon irrigation from streams of water, must be taken into the account in order to

feel the full force of these words.—(3) *Like aloes which Jehovah hath planted*, פְּאֵהָלִים נָטַע יְהוָה. The פְּאֵהָלִים is a species of odoriferous tree, growing in India. This tree itself, from its fragrance, is an object of comparison quite suitable to enhance the idea of excellence as applied to the tents; but the force of the similitude is increased by the qualification, “which Jehovah hath planted,” answering to the phrase, “by the river’s side” and “by the water” in the preceding and following parallels. Trees planted by Jehovah are those which have a location favorable to growth and beauty. Ps. 104: 16, “Satisfied are the trees of the Lord (by the rain which he sends, see verse 13), the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.” Calvin says: dicuntur arbores a Deo plantatae, quae ob singularem praestantiam excedunt communem naturae modum. For the ellipsis of אֲשֶׁר, *which*, after פְּאֵהָלִים, see Stuart’s Heb. Grammar, § 553. (4) *Like the fir-tree by the water courses*. The same image as before. They are like the noble cedar or fir-tree, where it grows most luxuriantly, near the water.

Verse 7. Through the two preceding verses, *tents* is the grammatical subject, although the mind of the seer seems to slide gradually from the consideration of the tents to the people themselves, which in this 7th verse are the subject.—*Water floweth from his buckets*, יִזְלֹמִים מִבְּדֵלָיו. זִלְמָה in the plural has a singular verb agreeing with it, as often when the verb precedes, and sometimes when it follows. See Stuart’s Heb. Gram. § 489. מִבְּדֵלָיו is put in the dual number, from the practice of carrying two buckets, one on each side; Ewald kl. Gram. § 362. Nordheimer, § 563. 2. The idea suggested here seems to be that of a multitude, which is not unusual in Hebrew, where the dual number is used; Stuart’s Gram. § 329, Note 1. Nordheimer, § 563. 1. Hengstenberg, however, considers that the whole people are personified, and represented as one individual, bearing two buckets. Water here appears to be used, as often in the Bible, as a symbol for blessing and prosperity. So in Is. 44: 3, “I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.”—Buckets running over with water, indicate abundant prosperity. According to the common interpretation, the declaration: “water floweth from his buckets,” designates simply a numerous posterity. Gesenius in his Thesaurus explains it thus: larga erit posteritas ejus, metaphora ab aqua de situla destillante ad semen virile translata. Without doubt a numerous posterity is implied, but only as that indicates, and is the result of general prosperity. For

the idea of the bestowment of favor, blessing, is more accordant with the preceding verse, and with the following members of the sentence, "His seed is upon many waters," and "Higher than Agag his king shall be." Besides, while water is often used in the Bible, as a symbol of blessing and the consequent prosperity, it does not seem ever to be employed as represented by Gesenius. See Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 147.

*And his seed is upon many waters*, וְזָרְעוֹ בַמַּיִם רַבִּים. His seed, זָרַע, is unquestionably a designation of posterity, offspring; so often. *Upon many waters*, indicates that his posterity shall be, and continue to be abundantly blessed. The verse in Isaiah (44: 4), following the one quoted in illustration of the preceding phrase, is applicable here: "And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses." Parallel also is Deut. 8: 7, "For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills." Isaiah 65: 23 is accurately coincident in sentiment with the two preceding *stichoi*: "For they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them."

*Higher than Agag his king shall be*, וְיִרְם מֵאַגַּג מְלִכּוֹ. The verb יָרַם is in the *apocopate* (jussive) future from יָרַם, but without any speciality of meaning here, unless with Hengstenberg we consider the phrase as *Optative*. מֵ for מִן indicates comparison; so frequently after verbs of quality. See Stuart's *Heb. Gram.* § 454, Note. אַגַּג has been supposed by many to be the proper name of an individual king of Amalek, whom Saul conquered, 1 Sam. 15: 8. But it seems rather to be a common appellative of the Amalekitish kings, like Pharaoh for the kings of Egypt, Abimelech for those of the Philistines, etc. For in the first place, the signification of the word as traced in the Arabic, accords with this explanation.

The adjectives أَجُوج, and أَجَاج, from the root أَج, signifying, according to Freytag, valdè ardens, rutilans, splendens, are certainly not unsuitable, as *nomina dignitatis* of the kings of Amalek. The designation of Haman as the Agagite, אַגַּגִּי, in Esther 3: 1, 10, also confirms this explanation, and Rosenmueller, Maurer and others concede its justness. It is also entirely in harmony with the spirit and form of the prophecies of Balaam. An individual is nowhere else mentioned in them. The whole character of the prophecies is rather ideal than specific and definite. Had the conquered king been designated by name, we should certainly expect the name of the conqueror, David or Saul, to accompany

it. Besides, the last prophecy, which is the conclusion of the whole revelation, is evidently intended to be more definite in its allusions than the three preceding; for in them no individual nation even, is alluded to, except in this verse, which should seem to be a sort of gradation, from which to ascend to the last and highest strain of prophecy. But if an individual king is mentioned by name here, all climax, which is so conspicuous elsewhere in these oracles, is destroyed, as no individual *person* is specified in the last prophecy.

Those who exert themselves to prove a specific reference to Agag in this verse, in order to make out a prophecy *post eventum*, labor as those who beat the air, for it is not supposable that an author, who elsewhere sustains the character assumed so well, should so palpably and foolishly betray himself here. Among the older expositors, Calvin expresses a very decided opinion in favor of the interpretation given above: 'Most improbable is it,' he says, 'that Saul is referred to here, who being victorious in war took Agag king of the Amalekites captive. Others have a right understanding of the passage, who suppose that this is the common name of the kings of that nation.'—It is not strange that the king of the *Amalekites* is the subject of the comparison, as they were not only the bitter but the most powerful enemies of the Israelites.

The reference here to the establishment of royal authority in Israel is based upon the promises to the patriarchs, which speak of it, as an established fact, that kings shall arise in Israel, and that with them shall come the highest prosperity of the nation. Thus Calvin says: *Etsi autem longo post tempore in Israele nemo regnavit, non absurdum est tamen regis et regni nomine publicum statum designari; praesertim quia deus solidam gratiae suae perfectionem in tempus usque regni distulerat.* See Gen. 17: 6. 35: 11. It is also evident that the people of Israel, in consequence of being surrounded by nations who were governed by kings, early imbibed a longing for a royal government among themselves; compare Deut 17: 14 and 1 Sam. 8: 5.

In the last words of this verse: Exalted shall be *his kingdom*, the Targum of Jerusalem substitutes for "his kingdom," "the kingdom of the Messiah." But, although there is without doubt an allusion to the Messianic kingdom, inasmuch as the kingdom of Israel only arrived at its highest grade of development at the appearance of the Messiah, yet there is no such definite and pre-

cise reference as warrants that paraphrase; see further upon this point under verse 19th below.

Verse 8. The first part of this verse is merely a repetition from 23: 22, to which the reader is referred for an explanation. The last part, is a further expansion of the same idea, showing what will be the result of God's bringing Israel out of Egypt, and bestowing power upon him, in regard to his enemies: He shall devour them, as a wild beast devoureth, craunching their bones. *And with his arrows, יִקְרַח shall he crush* (smite through and through), יִקְרַח. Throughout this verse, as in the preceding and following verses, Israel is spoken of in the singular number. יִקְרַח may here be considered as in the accusative, see Ewald's Heb. Gr. 485. 3. a.; and the suffix יִ- seems to refer to Israel and not to his enemies, as has sometimes been supposed. This last member of the parallelism is apparently added as an explanation of the two preceding, in order to show in what way Israel is to accomplish the destruction of his enemies, i. e. by victory in war. The LXX render it, καὶ ταῖς βολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατατοξεύσει. Vulg.: et perforabunt sagittis.

Verse 9. In the first part of verse 9th the image of a wild beast is again resumed, and made more forcible by the specification of the most noble and powerful of all beasts, the lion, as in 23: 24. The allusion here to Gen. 49: 9, "He boweth himself and lieth down," etc. is too plain to be mistaken.

*Those that bless thee, shall be blessed*, etc. בְּרַכְיָךְ בְּרַכְיָךְ. This declaration is founded upon the promise in Gen. 27: 29 and 12: 3. It is directed to Israel, and points to the fate of Balaam, should he comply with the wish of Balak. In a general way it declares what is more specifically explained in the next prophecy, verses 18—24. The singular predicates in connection with plural subjects, is accounted for by supposing that those who are blessed or cursed are considered individually: Every one who blesses you shall be blessed, etc. See Stuart's Roediger †143. 4. The spirit of this passage is well given in a few words by Calvin: haec loquendi formula significat, ea lege electos a deo fuisse Israelitas, ut sibi impensum referat, quidquid illis vel injuriae illatum, vel beneficii collatum fuerit.

### *The fourth Prophecy.*

The gradual development of the intentions of God, in reference to the Israelites and their enemies, in the prophecies of

Balaam, is evident to any one who gives them even a superficial examination. In the first, there is merely a renunciation of the ability to curse the people whom Jehovah blesses, and a general declaration of the favor which attends them. In the second, the utter impossibility of any misfortune's resting upon those in whom Jehovah delighteth, and the certainty that they will prevail over all their enemies, is brought to view. In the third, prosperity is much more vividly represented by imagery drawn from the familiar objects of nature, and not only the certainty of the prevalence of the Israelitish kingdom over the nations, its enemies, is indicated, but also that even all who bless it shall be blessed, and all who curse it, shall be cursed. In the fourth, not merely blessing and cursing in general are foretold, but the particular hostile nations over which Israel shall prevail, are introduced by name; and it is affirmed that whilst his enemies shall receive the destruction which they had designed for him, he shall be favored even to the most distant ages.

The division of this last prophecy which is the consummation of the whole revelation, into four distinct parts, by the phrase: *וַיִּשָּׂא בָלָאָם קוֹסְלֵי יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, which precedes each of the prophecies, thus making seven parts in all, corresponding to the seven altars and the seven victims, cannot have been without design.

After the third communication of Balaam, Balak could no longer restrain his anger, but smote his hands together and said: I called thee to curse my enemies and behold, on the contrary, thou hast blessed them these three times. Now get thee away quickly to thine own place. I promised to bestow great favor upon thee, but this Jehovah whom thou pretendest to serve hath withheld thee from riches and honor. Balaam in vindication of himself replies: I have done according to the conditions specified to the messengers; for I said to them, if Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold I cannot oppose Jehovah, by saying anything which he shall not enjoin upon me to declare. But now I go to my people; yet I must first make known to thee what this people shall do to thine in future ages.

Verse 15. And he uttered his prophecy and said:

Thus saith Balaam the son of Beor,

Thus saith the man with closed eyes,

16. Thus saith he who heareth the words of God,

And understandeth the knowledge of the Most High;



- Who seeth the visions of the Almighty,  
Falling down and with open eyes.
17. I see him, but not now,  
I behold him, but not near;  
A star goeth forth from Jacob,  
And a sceptre ariseth from Judah,  
It smiteth Moab on every side,  
And destroyeth all the sons of tumult.
18. Edom is his possession,  
And Seir his enemy is in his power;  
Israel doeth valiantly.
19. Dominion goeth forth from Jacob,  
And destroyeth the remnant from the city.
20. Then he looked towards Amalek, and uttered his prophecy  
and said:  
The first of the nations is Amalek,  
Yet his end shall be complete destruction.
21. And he looked towards the Kenites, and uttered his prophecy  
and said:  
Established is thy dwelling,  
And placed in a high rock is thy nest.
22. But Kain shall be for wasting,  
Until Assyria shall lead thee captive.
23. And he uttered his prophecy and said:  
Alas who shall live  
When God doeth this?
24. Ships shall come from Chittim,  
And subdue Asshur, and subjugate Eber,  
And even they shall be destroyed.

Verses 15, 16. These verses correspond to the third and fourth with the addition of one *stichos* which gives a farther characteristic of the seer: "The one who knoweth the knowledge of the Most High."

17. *I see him*, אֶרְאֶה. Three explanations have been given of the pronoun אֶנֶּכָּהּ, which is the object of the verb אֶרְאֶה. Some suppose it should be rendered as neuter, *it*; but in that case the feminine would probably have been used, especially as the masculine would be so liable to be referred to the nouns which follow. Others suppose that the pronoun is used directly for Israel;

and still others, that it is employed with immediate reference to כֹּכַב and שֵׁבֶט, the star and sceptre, which follow. The meaning is substantially the same whichever of the last two explanations is adopted. But it seems most natural to suppose that it is the star and sceptre that are designated by the pronoun. At so unexpected a vision as opened itself to the eyes of the prophet, he naturally exclaims, without explaining what it is: "I see him, I behold him." It is also common in Hebrew, to use the pronoun before the noun to which it refers; compare 23, 9, p. 374 above. — *But not now*, וְלֹא עַתָּה, i. e. not as a present object, but in spirit, in the future, in the last days, בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים. This seems to confute one argument which has been used, for referring directly to Israel as the object of the vision. The position of Balaam looking down upon the tents of Israel spread out before him, would naturally, it has been said, lead him to cry out in reference to them: "I see him." But what was beheld was not present but future, and consequently not the camp of Israel. For the use of the future form of the verb as present, see Stuart's Roediger, § 105. 2.

*A star goeth forth out of Jacob*, כֹּכַב יֵצֵא מִיַּעֲקֹב. This, with what follows, is a more specific designation of the vision spoken of in the preceding part of the verse. A star is so natural an image of the greatness and splendor of rulers, that it is so used by almost all nations. The birth and accession to the throne of great kings was believed to be often signalized by the unusual appearance of stars. See Justin, B. 37. c. 2. Pliny, Nat. Hist. B. 2. c. 23. Suetonius, Jul. Caes. c. 78. Dio Cassius, B. 45. S. 273, and compare p. 175 above.—The next *stichos*, *a sceptre ariseth from Israel*, seems to be based upon Genesis 49: 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come." In both passages the sceptre is plainly an emblem of dominion.—But what, specifically, was meant by this star and sceptre? Did they designate some particular king of Israel who was to appear, and make his reign glorious by the conquest of his enemies? So it has often been explained. Grotius says: David designatur, illustris inter reges, qui Moabitas partim interfecit, partim sibi subjecit, 2 Sam. 8: 2 (with which compare Ps. 60: 8 and 108: 9); and his explanation has been copied by many modern interpreters. See Verschuir, Biblioth. Brem. nova class. III. 1. p. 1—80, quoted by Hengstenberg, Christol. I p. 64, who refers this verse to David and to John Hyrcanus, and the 19th verse to Alexander Jannaeus; Michaelis, Dathe and De Wette also

refer it to David. But there seems to be satisfactory evidence that no king of Israel, is here specifically alluded to; the idea is, that dominion, and a conquering power shall arise in Israel, and that this dominion will reach its consummation only in the Messiah.

1. It is contrary to the analogy of the prophecies of Balaam and even of the whole Pentateuch, to suppose that an Israelitish king is designated. No so definite allusion to a future king is anywhere to be found in it. 2. The sceptre, מַשְׁכָּבִית does not naturally personate an individual ruler, but dominion in general. 3. On the contrary, there are frequent references in the Pentateuch to the prosperity and perpetuity of the kingdom of Israel. In Gen. 17: 6 it is said: 'Kings shall go forth from thee.' In the 16th verse of the same chapter, the promise is made to Abraham, that 'Sarah shall be for nations, and kings of the people shall be from her.' According to Gen. 35: 11, God promises Jacob, that he shall be a 'nation and a company of nations, and *kings* shall go forth from his loins.' See also the explanation of verse 3d, above.

But even allowing that this reference is to the future dominion of Israel, what proof is there that Balaam's vision extended to the Messianic age? 1. This passage was understood to refer to the Messiah either exclusively or with a secondary reference to David, by the ancient Jews. Onkelos translates it: Quando surget rex ex Jacob et ungetur Messias ex Israel. Jonathan also: Cum surget rex fortis ex domo Jacob et ungetur Messias et sceptrum forte ex Israel. For abundant additional proof, see Schöttgen, *Jesus Messias*, p. 151. The extent of the belief is evident from the fact, that the Pseudo-Messias of the time of Adrian took from this prophecy the surname of Bar Chochab, 'son of the star;' and on this account received the homage of the Jews, who supposed that in him, the prophecy of Balaam was fulfilled. It is true that the force of this argument is much diminished by the fact that, since it favored their expectations of a worldly prince as Messiah, they would be inclined to adopt this interpretation. 2. Most of the church fathers and early interpreters referred it to the Messiah. For passages from the early fathers, see Calovius, and among early commentators compare Calvin and Le Clerc.

3. The words מְאֵחָרֵי הַיָּמִים, 'at the end of days,' in verse 14th, compared with the phrases 'not now,' לֹא עַתָּה, and 'not near,' לֹא קָרוֹב, as pointing to some far distant time, favor this interpretation. These words are rendered by the Septuagint, in verse 18th, ἐν ἰσχύειν τῶν ἡμερῶν, in other places generally ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, and in the Chaldee Paraphrase, בְּסוֹף יְדֵימָא, and in

the prophets, they commonly have reference to the last stage of the developments of the kingdom of God upon the earth.

4. Similarity to other Messianic prophecies, is an argument for a similar explanation in this. The references in the Pentateuch, to a Saviour to come at some future time, are of a general character. We first find in connection with the curse pronounced upon man after the fall, Gen. 3: 14, 15, an allusion to the fact, that the seed of the woman shall finally triumph over the tempter and over all evil. There is no indication of the means by which, much less of the individual by whom, this conquest is to be achieved. We next find in Gen. 9: 26, 27, that the descendants of Shem are to be the subjects of the special favor of God, through whom deliverance will be finally obtained.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently it is more specifically said to Abraham, that "through him," Gen. 18: 8, and "through his seed," Gen. 22: 18, "all the families of the earth shall be blessed." The same promise is confirmed to Isaac, Gen. 26: 4, and to Jacob, Gen. 28: 14; where the phrases "through him," and "through his seed," are combined in one promise. In the address of Jacob to his sons, Gen. 49: 10, just before his death, in which he makes known to them what shall befall them in the last days, it is said: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh, (the pacificator, the peacemaker,) come, and him shall the nations obey." Hengstenberg gives the meaning of this passage in the following words: "Judah shall not cease to exist as a tribe, nor lose its superiority, until it shall be exalted to higher honor and glory, through the great Redeemer who shall spring from it, and whom not only the Jews, but all the nations of the earth shall obey."<sup>2</sup>

The gradual development of the idea of a Messiah to come, must be apparent to any one who examines these passages, which could be merely alluded to here; and the appropriateness of the prediction in the prophecies of Balaam to the time in which he lived, and their agreement, if interpreted as Messianic, in spirit and manner with those promises previously made to the patriarchs, are certainly no inconsiderable arguments in favor of such an interpretation.

5. The fundamental idea of this prophecy seems to be, the victory of the people of God over the heathen world, as represented by the nations enumerated in subsequent verses. But this could not be said to be achieved by any one of the kings of Israel. After

<sup>1</sup> See Hengstenberg's *Christol.* I. 41 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 59.

David's victories over the Moabites, for example, they soon recovered, and again annoyed Israel and were again the subjects of severe threatening. Neither could all of the kings of Israel be said to have achieved a victory over the heathen, which seems to be commensurate with the spirit and design of this prophecy. Indeed the kingdom of Israel, for all the purposes which it was designed to accomplish, was, without the Messiah, but a trunk without a head. The reign of the anointed one, the priest-king, was the great glory which was foretold to patriarch and prophet, at first but indistinctly, but more and more clearly, as the fulness of time for his appearing approached. It has been well said : *felicitem populi locat in regno. Unde colligimus statum ejus non aliter fuisse perfectum quam ubi per manum regis gubernari coepit. Nam quia in Christo fundata est adoptio generis Abrahæ, illic nonnisi scintillæ benedictionis Dei micarunt, donec in Christo ipso solidus splendor fuit conspicuus.*

6. The last reason that I shall adduce for the Messianic allusion in the star and sceptre is, that it is recognized as such in the New Testament. Throughout the narrative in Matt 2: 1 sq. a prominence is given to the appearance of the star, which we should not expect, unless it had been considered by the author as foretold in the prophecies of the Old Testament ; see verses 2, 7, 9, 10. But if any where, it certainly must be in the passage under discussion. It is at least evident, that it was a general belief of the age, that a star would appear, to signalize the birth of the Messiah. The Magi on its appearance, announced it to Herod as something that was expected. They also show no hesitation as to its import : " Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? for we have seen *his* star in the east, and are come to worship him." But not the Magi only seem to have thus understood this phenomenon. Neither Herod nor the people, so far as it appears in the narrative, doubted its significance. They make no inquiry in reference to the connection between this star and the birth of the Messiah. But when Herod had heard of its appearance, " he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." Now this excitement could not have existed, if there had not been a general expectation of this celestial visitant, and certainty in regard to its object. Wieseler after adducing the argument for this belief concludes : " The expectation of a star of the Messiah, must hence be assumed as having already formed a part of the faith of the Jewish nation. Even the mythic view cannot deny it."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See further in the Article translated by Mr. Day, p. 175 and 6, above.

It has often been objected to a reference of this belief to the prophecy of Balaam as its foundation, that it would, in that case, have been so announced by Matthew. But there is no sufficient ground for this objection. Matthew often gives mere hints, without specific reference to the passage in the Old Testament, relying upon the familiarity of his readers with their Scriptures. See for example, in the same chapter, verse 11, and compare it with Ps. 72: 10, and Isa. 60: 6; and also verses 19 and 20, and compare them with Ex. 4: 19. His object in the early history of Christ, was not like that of Luke, to give connected historical facts, traced to their origin. Regarding the principal points of history as already known to his readers, he only adverted to them when they served to confirm Old Testament prophecies.<sup>1</sup>

There are also two or three points of agreement between the narratives in Matthew and the prophecies of Balaam that are somewhat striking. The Magi as well as Balaam, according to the import of their names, μάγοι, were magicians or astrologers. It is said in Matt. 2: 1 that the μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο, and in Num. 23: 7, "Balak hath brought me from Aram, the king of Moab from the *mountains of the East*." In Matthew 2: 2 the Magi say: "εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα," which would seem to be naturally suggested by Balaam's exclamation: "I see him," "I behold him," "a star goeth forth," etc. So it was understood by Calovius: quem vidisse Bileam in posteris suis dici potest, nempe in magis ex oriente ad praesepe domini perductis.

There seems to be an allusion to the passage in Numbers, in Apoc. 22: 16, in which Jesus is represented as saying: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαβὶδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ προῖός. A reference to the Old Testament in the designation of Christ by a star, seems more probable from the analogy of the rest of the verse, where in the phrase "root and offspring of David" there is a plain allusion to the prophecy of Isaiah. But nowhere in the Old Testament, if not in our passage, is the Messiah represented by the metaphor of a star.

There are two or three objections to this interpretation, which deserve a passing notice. It is said, first, that although in other prophecies the Messiah is represented as being a strict judge of his enemies, yet he is not so exclusively so as here. But such Psalms as ii. and cx. cannot be said to differ much in this respect from the prophecy of Balaam. They represent the Messiah as a king going forth for the conquest of his enemies. Besides, if

<sup>1</sup> See Hengstenberg's Christol. Vol. III. p. 232.

this were so, it is perfectly in accordance with the circumstances of Balaam. It was merely to curse the people that Balaam had been brought. He intimates at the beginning of this prophecy, that he has to do only with Israel and his enemies: "Come, I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days." Now it would have been out of place if he had given any other qualifications of this ruler, than he has given.

It is, also, said that this cannot refer to the Messiah, because at the time of the appearance of the Messiah, the Moabites had disappeared from among the children of men. But this objection, although at first view specious, seems to rest on a misconception of the spirit of the whole passage. The object of the passage is to make known what Israel shall do in the last days. His enemies are not confined to Moab. The specifications made in this and the subsequent verses of this prophecy are only a palpable illustration, to the persons concerned, of an idea which is general. The nations mentioned are only individual cases used as illustrations of the universal principle. As long as there are enemies of the church of God, there will be in an important sense Moabites. And certainly there was no want of such persons when the Messiah appeared, and it is to be feared that there will not be, until his mediatorial work shall have been accomplished.

*It smiteth Moab on every side,* מִכָּל צִדֵּי מוֹאָב . מִכָּל צִדֵּי is the construct dual form of פֶּה, mouth, face; and then, transferred to inanimate objects, the side. The Dual number is used because the two opposite sides of a region are naturally considered as in pairs. The LXX. render these words: *Θραύσει τοὺς ἀγκυγούς Moab*, he smiteth the *princes* of Moab. In the Vulgate, too, we find, for מִכָּל צִדֵּי, *duces*; in Onkelos, רִבְרִי, *principes*; and in Syriac, *fortes* or *gigantes*. But there does not seem to be the least authority for giving these significations to מִכָּל צִדֵּי. The words מִכָּל צִדֵּי מוֹאָב here evidently designate the whole province of Moab, from one side to the other. Verschuir says: *percutere terminos regionis idem valet ac totam regionem qua late patet terminis suis inclusam*. So in Nehemiah 9: 22, Thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst distribute them, לְכָל צִדֵּי; according to Michaelis: *distribuisti eos per omnes Cananaeae angulas*. Strictly and formally, the verbs מִכָּל צִדֵּי and מִכָּל צִדֵּי refer only to the sceptre (שֶׁבֶט) as their subject, since the star cannot be said to break in pieces and destroy, but in sense they refer to both the

sceptre and the star, since they each designate the same object. The sceptre as an emblem of royalty had a double significance, that of a shepherd's staff and the rod of the task-master. The latter is the one here brought into view, as well as in Ps. 2: 9, "Thou shalt dash them in pieces with a rod [sceptre] of iron."

*And destroyeth all the sons of tumult*, וְהָרַקַּר כָּל־בְּנֵי־טוּמָא. The meaning of רַקַּר here is evident from its parallelism with סָדַד, as well as from Isa. 22: 5. It is probably a privative denominative, from קיר, wall, and hence signifies to dig down a wall, to destroy, after the analogy of שָׁרַשׁ (to root out, from שָׁרַשׁ, root), כָּרַה, דָּבַר, דָּשַׁן, etc. In Jeremiah 48: 45, an evident imitation of our passage, קָרַקַר is used instead of רַקַּר, according to a prevailing practice of that prophet, to substitute similar words, for those found in the original which he imitates. See Küper, *Jeremias liborum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, p. xiv and 43.

*The sons of Sheth*, בְּנֵי־שֵׁט, has been very variously interpreted. In imitation of Onkelos who renders it: כְּלִי־מַעֲרָא, all the sons of men, some have supposed that it means the whole human race, as being the posterity of Seth the son of Adam. Not to delay to mention other explanations, שֵׁט seems most naturally to be contracted from שָׁמַט, Lam. 3: 47, (from שָׁמַט,) noise, tumult, like שָׁמַט; and בְּנֵי־שֵׁט = sons of tumult, i. e. the Moabites. Verschuir says: designantur tumultuosi, irrequieti, quorum consuetudo est continuis incursionibus, certaminibus et vexationibus aliis creare molestiam. Qui titulus optime convenit in Moabitis, Ammonitis, Idumaeos aliosque populos vicinos, Israelitis semper molestos. This explanation is confirmed by Jeremiah, 48: 45, where שָׁמַט is substituted for שֵׁט; and by Amos 2: 2, where there seems to be an allusion to our passage. See *Authentic I S.* 85.

Verse 18. From Moab, the seer turns to his southern neighbor Edom (עֲדוֹם), and makes known the destruction which is to come upon it, from the star and the sceptre that is to go forth from Israel. This is the nation which the Israelites addressed as 'brother' in Num. 21: 14—21, and concerning whom they are commanded, when they pass through the coasts of their brethren, the children of Esau, not to meddle with them, for saith Jehovah: "I will not give you of their land, no not so much as a foot breadth, because I have given mount Seir unto Esau as a possession," etc. In Deut. 23: 7, it is also said: "thou shalt not abhor an Edomite for he is thy brother." There seems at first view to be a discrepancy between these passages and the one under consideration, where it is said that Edom is to be the possession of Israel. But the apparent



contradiction is removed, when we notice the second member, Seir, *his enemy*, אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם. The hostility which they had already begun to exhibit, Num. 20: 20, and which in a subsequent time became a bitter hatred, severed the bond which the Israelites were ordered to preserve inviolate. The commands to the Israelites were, to make no aggressions upon Edom, when they were passing by his country; but they were not required to refrain from repelling his unprovoked assaults. אֶבְיִיר and אֱדוֹם are here parallel; the former being the name of the people, and the latter their country, as appears from Gen. 32: 3, "Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother, unto the land of Seir, the country of Edom." See Hengstenberg's *Authentie* II. S. 282. אֶבְיִיר<sup>1</sup> is probably an appellative, meaning, shaggy, bristling, thus denoting the mountainous country of the Edomites, clothed with forests. The suffix of the word אֶבְיִיר, *his enemy*, probably relates to Israel, although many have referred it to Seir; and the phrase אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם is like גּוֹיִם צָרִיר in verse 8th. The contrast with the following *stichos* seems to indicate this. Israel's enemies who would destroy him, go to destruction, whilst Israel himself, performeth valiant deeds. The parallel passages too, all indicate that the hostility has its origin in Edom; see for example, Amos 1: 11, 14.—The prophecy of the conquest of the Edomites, cannot be said to have had its complete fulfilment in the victories of David over them, 2 Sam. 8: 14. 1 Kings 11: 15, 16. 1 Chron. 18: 12, 13; because later prophets with manifest reference to this passage reiterate the threatening. Amos 9: 12, says: The Lord will raise up the fallen tabernacle of David, so that they may possess the remnant of Edom, אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם. Compare also Obadiah, 18—21. Verschuur says of this passage: Obadias domum Jacobi comparat cum igne, Josephi cum flamma, et Esavi cum stipula, quae ab igne et flamma, ita combureretur, ut non amplius esset אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם, שְׂרִיר לְבִיָּה עֶשָׂו, quod eodem fere modo dixerat Bileam (Num. 24: 19): אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם. Deinde rursus, (v. 19): אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם, אֶבְיִיר אֱדוֹם. This allusion is the more unequivocal, since there is an undeniable reference to verse 21 (which see), in the 3rd and 4th verses of that prophecy. We are thus brought to a conclusion similar to that in the last verse, that it is not an individual king which is to prevail over Edom, but the kingdom of which the Messiah is the head.

<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint renders it 'Hsaū, and the whole phrase: 'Hsaū ó ἐχθρός αὐτοῦ.

*Doeth valiantly*, עָשָׂה חַיִל. The phrase עָשָׂה חַיִל is thought to have a double meaning in Hebrew, the one we have given, to perform valiant deeds, and also, to acquire wealth. The former only is suitable here. It is somewhat singular, that out of the eight times which it is used, aside from our passage, in three the action has reference to the same people, the Edomites, seeming to indicate that the later writers had the passage of the Pentateuch in mind when they wrote; see Ps. 60: 12. 108: 14. In 1 Sam. 14: 47, 48, this same phrase is used with precisely the same relation to three of the nations hostile to Israel; i. e. after Moab and Edom and before Amalek: See Hengstenberg, Gesch. Bil. S. 186, 7, for a defence of this and other references to the Pentateuch in the first Book of Samuel.

Verse 19. *And dominion shall go forth from Jacob*, וַיֵּרֶךְ מִיַּעֲקֹב. The use of the verb יָרַךְ without any definite subject, may perhaps be accounted for from the fact that no one particular king is referred to, but the kingdom, the whole class of Israelitish kings. This word from the root יָרַךְ, to tread down, to break in pieces by treading, is well chosen to characterize the dominion to be acquired over a hostile nation.—*And shall destroy the remnant from the city*, וַיִּחָאֲבִיד שְׂרִיד מִן הָעִיר. שְׂרִיד, from שָׂרַד, to flee, to escape and hence meaning the one escaped, the remnant, is very seldom used in prose, but often in poetry. In respect to the meaning of the phrase, compare Num. 21: 35. Deut. 2: 34. 3: 3. In reference to the persons indicated by the remnant, Calvin says: *nempe quoscunque reperiet deploratos hostes.*

Verse 20. *And he looked toward Amalek*, וַיִּרְא אֶת-עֲמָלֵק. The country of the Amalekites was south of the Plains of Moab and west of Edom, mentioned in the last verse, and between that country and Egypt. It is not necessary to suppose, and indeed it is not probable, that he saw them with his physical sight which according to verse 15 was obstructed, but in vision, as he saw the star and sceptre.

*The first of the nations is Amalek*, רִאשִׁית גּוֹיִם עֲמָלֵק. The signification of רִאשִׁית from ראש, head, is without doubt here *the chief*, the most distinguished, of the nations (גּוֹיִם). So the same phrase (with the addition of the article), is used in Amos 6: 1, which may be considered as a commentary upon the passage under consideration. רִאשִׁית is also used with the same meaning in connection with other words; as in Amos 6: 6, רִאשִׁית שְׂמָנִים, the best of ointments, and in 1 Sam. 15: 21; see Hengstenberg's Authentie, II. S. 304, for a confutation of other explanations of this phrase.

*His end shall be for destruction*, אַחֲרֵיהֶוּ צָרִי אֶבֶר. The word אַחֲרֵיהֶוּ, *end*, seems to be here chosen for the sake of the contrast with רֵאשִׁית, in which the idea of beginning is implied. So the words are used in contrast in Deut. 11: 12, From the beginning of the year, מֵרֵשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה, even to the end, וְעַד אַחֲרֵיהֶוּ שָׁנָה. The word אַחֲרֵיהֶוּ is used with the same signification in the formula: at the end of days, בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים. אֶבֶר, a participial form, takes the abstract signification, *destruction*, Ewald, Gr. 127. 2. 6, instead of being, as usual, a *nomen agentis*, and the prep. צָרִי, *even to, for*, takes the form of the construct plural of nouns, in conformity with its original substantive character; see Stuart's Roediger, § 99. A strong contrast seems to be intended between the original condition of Amalek, as the chief of the nations, and its end which is utter ruin.

Verse 21. *The Kenites*, אֶחֱזִיקִי. There seem to be two distinct tribes which are designated in the Bible as Kenites. First, the posterity of Jethro, are so called, as in Judges 1: 16. 4: 11; but they are always spoken of as friendly to Israel and consequently cannot be here referred to. These may be termed the Midianitish Kenites. But, secondly, among the Canaanitish tribes, whose country was promised to the posterity of Abraham, Gen. 15: 19, as well as in other passages, a people bearing this name appear, who are without doubt the nation here meant.

*Perpetual is thy habitation*, אֵיתָן מִיִּשְׁבְּךָ. The noun אֵיתָן, literally, perpetuity, is from יָתָן, to be lasting, perpetual, and the meaning of the phrase in its connection seems to be: Although your dwelling has all the attributes of perpetuity, yet it shall be destroyed.—*And placed in a rock is thy nest*, וְנִסְתָּ בְּסֵלֶךְ קִנָּךְ. נִסְתָּ seems most naturally to be considered as a passive participle; see Stuart's Roediger, § 72. 2. note 3. and Maurer's Commentary. Some, however, consider it as an infinitive used for a finite verb, as not unfrequently in Hebrew.—סֵלֶךְ, (from which the Latin, *silex* is perhaps derived,) signifies literally a high rock, hence a fortress upon a rock, as a place of security, a place of refuge, etc. It is also the name for the capital of the Idumeans, Petra, which was shut in by high rocks. This is an explanation of the perpetuity of the dwelling of the Kenites spoken of in the preceding *stichos*, and fitly characterizes their abodes among the Amalekites in the mountains south of the Plains of Moab. Thy nest, קִנָּךְ, also enhances the idea of the security of this people, by bringing to mind the unapproachable cliffs sought out by the eagle as a place for her nest. The paro-

nomasia with the name קִינִי, קִינִי may also have been one reason for the choice of this metaphor. Compare the imitations of this passage in Jer. 49: 16 and Obad. verse 4.

Verse 22. *But*, כִּי אֵם. So these particles are frequently rendered after a negative as in Gen. 39: 9. 28: 17, and sometimes when not preceded by a negative as in Gen. 40: 14. See Stuart's Roed. † 152. 2. (i). But a negative may be considered as implied: Although thy dwelling be secure, there is *no* help for thee in its security; *but* Kain shall be *for* wasting, לִבְרִיר. For the construction of this infinitive with לִ see Stuart's Roed. † 139. 2.

*Until*, עַד-מָה, literally, unto what? or until when?—*Assyria shall lead thee captive*, אֲשׁוּר יִשְׁבֶּתְךָ. Who is meant by *thee*, הָיָה, here, Israel or the Kenites? Which of the two nations is to be carried captive by Asshur? A difficult question to answer; but probably Israel. For the Kenites are spoken of in the third person in the preceding *stichos*, and Israel is directly addressed at other times by Balaam, as in the beginning and end of the second prophecy. It may also be said that as destruction is spoken of in the previous verse, captivity does not make a very good climax with it. It is not altogether evident how a nation that is destroyed can be carried away captive. Besides it is more accordant with the whole spirit of the passage, to suppose that the captivity of Israel is incidentally alluded to here. The destruction of his enemies is the burden of this prophecy, and it was necessary to allude to the captivity of Israel in order to account for the introduction of the Assyrians as his enemies, who had not yet, like the Amalekites and Kenites, shown their hostility.

Verse 23. *Alas!* אֲוִי, *who shall live*, כִּי יִחְיֶה. The view which last came before the seer fills him with anguish. It is not only a terrible destruction, but it is to come upon the "sons of his own people," 22: 5; and he who vainly hoped to curse Israel, is compelled to announce it. Hengstenberg compares this phrase with Matt. 24: 21, 22: "Ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, ὅσα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου, ἕως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι."

*When God doeth this*, כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה, or as the phrase may be rendered: since God doeth this. The suffix י appended to עֲשֶׂה refers to what follows, a usage not unfrequent in Hebrew. See note upon verse 17. Some consider it as referring to God, and כִּי as an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun הַכִּי. But then כִּי should have the article, as always elsewhere, except

in Chron. 20: 8; where, as the author did not take it from the living language but from the Pentateuch, he evidently erred in its use; See Henstenberg's *Gesch. Bil.* S. 148, and Stuart's *Roe-diger*, † 34.

Verse 24. *And ships shall come from Chittim*, כִּי־תָיִם כִּי־תָיִם, a plural from כִּי for כִּי־ from the root כִּי, designates ships as being set up, built. See Isa. 33: 21, and Daniel 11: 30.—כִּי־תָיִם literally means, from the hand, from the direction of.—כִּי־תָיִם is generally acknowledged to have been derived from an ancient city founded by the Phenicians in Cyprus, and called Citium, *Κίτιον*. By the Hebrews it was used to designate the whole of Cyprus and sometimes in later times in a wider acceptance for the coasts and islands of Greece, and even Italy. Josephus in his *Antiquities*, I. 6. 1: *Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆ-σοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν, Χεθὶμ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται*. It is not necessary to suppose that it means anything more than Cyprus here. This island formed a principal station for the Phenician ships towards the west, Tuch's *Gen.* S. 215; and ships coming from the western countries would naturally take the direction of this middle station, between Europe and Asia. Without doubt the declaration in this verse is, that people from the west, either Greeks or Romans, shall come and subdue the Assyrians. When we inquire for the time and manner of its fulfilment, we are naturally and unavoidably reminded of the expedition of Alexander. Even the neological critics are unable to deny that it may have reference to him. De Wette in his "*Beiträgen zur Einl. in's A. T.*" II. S. 364, and Vater in his "*Kommen-tar zum Pentateuch*," tell us, indeed, that the passage is obscure and does not necessarily refer to the Macedonians; but they wisely hesitate to point out any other reference. Others, as Bertholdt, *Einl.* III. 790, arbitrarily attempt to avoid the conclusion that there is a prophecy here, by the supposition of an interpolation. But by a reference to Jeremiah 48: 45 it is shown, as it may subsequently appear, that it was extant in his time, and consequently in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore long enough before the time of Alexander, to preclude the possibility of a prophecy *post eventum*. It would certainly be improbable even if we allow only a general reference in the passage, that the thought that Greeks should come in ships and subjugate Assyria, should ever enter the mind of a Jew of the time of the later prophets. Indeed even De Wette is compelled to confess, that we seem to

be obliged to understand verses 23 and 24 as in a sense really prophetic, Einl. 2nd ed. S. 229.

There is one more argument in favor of a specific reference to the expedition of Alexander, which deserves a brief notice. In Maccabees 1: 1 it is said of Alexander: *ὁς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς Χερτυίμ, καὶ ἐπάταξε τὸν Λαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων*. There seems to be an allusion here to the prophecy of Balaam, as having found its fulfilment. For in addition to other reasons from the internal character of the book, (see Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil.* S. 202,) the author uses the form of the word *Χερτυίμ*, corresponding to the Hebrew, whilst in 8: 5 where he has no reference to this passage, we find *Κιττιῶν βασιλεύς*, according to the current usage of his time.

*And shall subdue Asshur, and subjugate Eber*, *וְעַבְרָא וְאַשּׁוּר יִכְבֹּד*. Eber, *עֵבֶר* has frequently been explained as here meaning the Hebrews. So the LXX: *καὶ κακώσουσιν Ἀσσοὺρ καὶ κακώσουσιν Ἑβραίους*; and the Vulgate: *Venient in triebus de Italia, superabunt Assyrios vastabuntque Hebraeos*. But a much more probable explanation is, that it is a designation of those who dwell beyond the Euphrates, from *עֵבֶר*, to pass over. See Rosenmüller upon the passage, and Hengstenberg's *Gesch. Bil.* S. 206 sq. Asshur and Eber do not seem, then, to designate two different regions, but stand in the relation to each other of general and particular. They shall subdue Asshur, and subjugate the country beyond the Euphrates, which includes Asshur. This explanation is in accordance with Gen. 10: 21, where Shem is designated as the father of all the sons of Eber, among whom Asshur is named. The Assyrians beyond the Euphrates, are also mentioned in connection with the inhabitants of the region, in Isa. 7: 20, "In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria."

*And even he shall be destroyed*, *וְיָבִיאוּ אֶת עַבְרָא וְאֶת אַשּׁוּר וְיִכְבְּדוּם*. It is impossible to decide positively whether *וְיָבִיאוּ* here refers to *יָבִיאוּ*, the people that shall come from the west, or to Asshur and Eber, (see Rosenmüller's and Maurer's *Comm.*) but it probably relates to the latter. This explanation seems to accord better with the spirit of the prophecy; as we can see no reason why the destruction of this nation from the west should be foretold here, as they are not represented as the enemies of Israel, but only as the instrument in the hands of God in punishing his enemies. For an explanation of *עַבְרָא וְאֶת אַשּׁוּר*, see note on verse 20 above.

*The Fate of Balaam.*

At the close of the prophecies of Balaam, chap. 24: 25, the historian says of him simply, that he "rose up and went and returned to his place," and adds: "Balak also went his way." Some have supposed that by "his place" here, the place of the punishment of the wicked is to be understood, and compare this passage with Acts 1: 25, where it is said of Judas, that he fell from his apostleship "that he might go to his own place." But verses 11th and 14th of the same chapter are a sufficient confutation of this interpretation; for after Balak, despairing of accomplishing his designs through Balaam, and angry at the blessings pronounced upon his enemies, says to him: "now flee thou to thy place." Balaam answers as if complying with his command: "now behold I go to *my people*." And, besides, the addition of the declaration, corresponding to "Balaam rose up and went and returned to his place," that "Balak *also* went his way," is decisive; for no one can suppose that, in the case of Balak, "his way," is specifically the way to destruction.

Others suppose that the historian intends to represent Balaam as returning directly to Mesopotamia. And some find in this representation a direct contradiction to other passages, where he appears as giving counsel to the Midianites for the corruption of the Israelites, and as a just retribution, is slain by the latter in the war of vengeance which they undertake for the punishment of their enemies. But this seems to be making much more of the passage than its author intended. It is true, that we may avoid all contradiction between these passages, by supposing that the seer after his return home, dissatisfied with the result of his first mission, goes again to the aid of his former employers, and while he is laboring to accomplish by indirect measures, the object for which he was called, works his own certain destruction. And as it is not the object of Moses to write a Life of Balaam, it is not strange that we have no definite account of these passages in it. Yet, although this hypothesis would be sufficient to account for the apparent discrepancy in the narrative of the Biblical Historian, we are not compelled to resort to it.

The word, *שָׁב*, rendered *returned* here, is from *שָׁבַב*, meaning, literally, to turn about, to turn back, and does not in itself designate the attainment of the limit of return; see Gesenius's Lexicon. So that it is not necessary even to give the word an inchoative sense, which is not infrequent in verbs, but merely, its most nat-

ural and obvious meaning. In Num. 14: 40, we have a parallel construction of the words *לָעָלוּ* to go up, followed by *לְרֹאשׁ הַהָרִים*, to, toward, the top of the mountain; where in the verses following, it appears that they only partly ascended, since the Amalekites and the Canaanites "came down" and "smote them." But, it may be asked, does not the addition of *לְרֹאשׁ הַהָרִים*, to, (toward) his place, designate the attainment of the goal of the return? Certainly not more than the *לְרֹאשׁ הַהָרִים* in the other passage decides that the Israelites attained the top of the mountain, for *לְ* and *לָ* are only different modifications of the same preposition, and both denote motion or direction to, towards an object, whether that object is attained or not. But one more parallel passage in respect to language, may be briefly adverted to. In Gen. 18: 33, after it is said, that the "Lord went his way as soon as he had left communing with Abraham, it is added: and Abraham returned to his place, *וַיָּשָׁב אֲבְרָהָם לְמָקוֹמוֹ*. The same words (i. e. from the same root), it will be noticed, are used here in precisely the same relative construction as in the passage under consideration, and in both cases the parallel phrase indicates that not the limit, but only the direction of the return is brought into view. It is granted that if Moses were writing a history of Balaam, we should infer that he did actually reach his home, unless something to the contrary was said. But the whole end of the introduction of Balaam in this place, is accomplished, when it is made known, that he left Balak with blessing for Israel upon his lips instead of cursing. The favor of God toward Israel in turning the devices of his enemy against him, into blessings, is all that the object of the historian requires (see Deut. 23: 4, 6), and that is accomplished when the soothsayer and his employer are separated. The fate of Balaam is afterwards merely incidentally alluded to. And to this we will now direct our attention, and see what traces of his subsequent course can be found.

In Num. 31: 8, after enumerating the kings of Midian who were slain in the war, undertaken in accordance with the command of God, to "avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites," it is said: "Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword." In the same chapter, 16th verse, to account for Moses' wrath, because the women of Midian were preserved alive in this war, the historian says: "Behold these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Beor." In 2 Pet. 2: 15, after declaring in regard to those guilty of certain species of wickedness, that



they had forsaken the right way, and gone astray, it is added: "following the way of Balaam the son of Beor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness;" thus not only characterizing the sin which Balaam enticed Israel to commit, which is more definitely explained in Num. 25: 1—3, but also recognizing the cause which impelled him to the commission of it: "who loved the wages of unrighteousness." The fate of Balaam is also mentioned in Josh. 13: 22; "Balaam also, the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword among them that were slain by them;" and his crime is also referred to in Rev. 2: 14; "Balaam who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols and to commit fornication." Compare also Jude, verse 13.

We have then, as it should seem, no definite information in reference to Balaam after he left Balak, until he appeared again among the Midianites and taught them the means of seducing the Israelites. But we can at least give a probable account of his course after his last prophecy. His ambition and love of gain, which had failed of their gratification from the Moabites, would naturally lead him to go to the camp of the Israelites, upon whose gratitude for his past service in blessing them, although unwillingly, he would naturally have high expectations. The supposition that Balaam did visit the Israelitish camp, which accords so well with his character, receives strong support from another quarter. The contents of chapters xxii—xxiv of Numbers could hardly have been derived from any other source, than the communications made by Balaam himself to the leaders of the Israelites. For, while the language and style of them, is such as to preclude the probability, if not the possibility, of their composition by any other than an Israelite, and indeed by any other than the author of the history in connection with which they are found,<sup>1</sup> the necessary information could scarcely have been obtained from either the Moabites or Midianites.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In proof of this, see Hengstenberg, *Authentie I. S.* 404 sq., and *Gesch. Bil. S.* 215, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The only objection to this visit of Balaam to the Israelites, is in the fact that it is nowhere mentioned by the author of the Pentateuch. But this circumstance can have but little weight with any one who is familiar with the historical character of the Pentateuch. Particulars which would be of general interest, and which we should perhaps be especially interested to know, if they have no immediate connection with the design of the writer, are often omitted. Many parallel cases might be cited. In Ex. 4: 20, it is said that Moses, when he returned to Egypt, took his wife and children with him; for this was ne-

But Balaam, we may suppose, met a very different reception from the leader of Israel from what he had expected. Moses, who penetrated his heart, (as who that knew under what circumstances he went to visit Moab would not?) saw that he had gone there in accordance with his own selfish desires, and had blessed Israel only because "the Lord would not hear him."<sup>1</sup> He accordingly gave the seer a cold reception, unaccompanied by prof-fers of honor or emolument. Balaam was thus naturally reminded, in contrast, of the promise of Balak: "I will promote thee to very great honor, and do whatsoever thou sayest unto me." But it should seem that he did not venture to return to the king of the Moabites, whom he had so much offended, but had recourse to the Midianitish women, to whom he gave counsel in reference to the best means of contaminating Israel, and thus making them unworthy of the blessing of God.<sup>2</sup> This expedient for attacking the Israelites in their only vulnerable point, aside from the testimony of the historian in Numbers xxxi, reveals its own authorship. No other than the crafty Mesopotamian, who under the pretence of obedience to God, thought only of ministering to his own evil desires, and who knew of the relation subsisting between Israel and their great leader, could have originated it. But the designs of the wicked, although they may prosper for a time, will ere long come to nought. They themselves will fall into the pit which their own hand hath digged, and their foot be taken in the snare which they have laid for another. The Israelites were commanded to avenge themselves upon their seducers, and they slew them even to the women, who had especially been the means of their sin. Their guide in wickedness was also found among the slain: "And they slew the kings of Midian, beside the rest of them that were slain, namely, Evi and

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cessary in order to explain verses 25 and 26 following. But the circumstance that they were sent back to her father is only incidentally alluded to afterwards in 18: 2.—The grave of Deborah, the nurse of Rebecca, is particularly designated in 35: 8, but not a trace of her early history can be found. Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil. S.* 218, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 23: 6.

<sup>2</sup> That it was the women of the *Midianites* who acted the most conspicuous part in this matter, is evident from the manner in which they are mentioned in Num. 25: 6, 15, and in 31: 16, as well as from the circumstance that the war which the Israelites undertook, to avenge themselves, was against Midian and not against Moab. Where the Moabites are mentioned in relation to this temptation of Israel, it is only as the more powerful of two nations, considered as combined together. Hengstenberg, *Gesch. Bil. S.* 219.

Rekem and Zur and Hur and Reba, five kings of Midian ; Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword."

*The Character of Balaam as a Prophet.*

A brief view of the character of Balaam as a prophet, may not be entirely out of place here, although it renders necessary a brief recapitulation of some things, already either stated or implied. Two extreme views have prevailed in regard to him. Some have considered him to have been at first a good and pious man and a true prophet, who was subsequently led astray by his worldly disposition. Others suppose that he had no connection with true religion, but was a mere heathen magician, who as truly as the animal on which he rode, was used by Jehovah in the communication of his blessing upon Israel and his consequent curse upon the "nations his enemies." But neither of these extreme views seems to be entirely correct.

In the first place, he never was in the full sense a true prophet of Jehovah : 1. He is called in Joshua 13: 22, *the diviner*, חֹזֵק, which appears never to be used of a true prophet, but only of diviners, magicians, etc. And this name seems to have still more significance when we read in Num. 22: 7, that the messengers went to him with the rewards of divination in their hands, implying that he was accustomed to practice magical arts for pay. 2. The circumstances attending his declarations are entirely dissimilar to those of the Hebrew prophets. The erecting of the altars, the slaying of victims, and the going aside to receive his message, saying *perhaps* (אֲיָנִי) Jehovah may come to meet me, savors too much of heathen rites, or at least indicates a far lower order of the prophetic character than that exhibited by such prophets as Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. They had all the knowledge and foresight necessary to keep them from error, whilst Balaam was only endowed with a specific gift of prophecy : "nec perpetuum vaticinandi munus ei impositum." God made a revelation to him in reference to a particular event or revealed to him a specific purpose, and then left him to his chosen way. What he communicated he received directly and immediately from God ; nothing was trusted to him. But those who were in the full sense prophets, spoke whenever occasion demanded, from an overflowing and bursting heart the words of infallible truth. They cannot but speak, who is unto them if they give not their testimony against evil doers and do not proclaim the judge-

ment of God which will come upon the enemies of truth. In them emotion, command, exhortation, gushes forth as from a pure and perennial fountain, but Balaam is compelled to solicit the messengers to tarry over night, in order to receive his orders, he must retire from the altar to meet God alone. 3. His conduct when the messengers from Balak made their request of him, is decisive against his being a really good man. It seems evident from the frequent allusions in his prophecies to the promises to the patriarchs, that he was aware that this people which had come out of Egypt were the chosen people of God, and yet he does not dismiss the messengers at once, as he would have done if he had been desirous only of doing right. 4. The manner in which he is treated by Jehovah indicates that he was not a true prophet. God's anger with him for going with the messengers after permission had been granted him, cannot be accounted for, on the supposition that he was governed by correct principle. It would appear arbitrary in the extreme, but for the implied anxiety of Balaam to comply with the request of Balak, and receive the rewards of his labor. 5. The declaration in Deut. 23: 4, 5, plainly indicates the real character of Balaam: "They hired against thee Balaam, . . . to curse thee. Nevertheless the Lord thy God *would not hearken* to Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee." According to this passage, he was *hired* against Israel, and was only restrained from pronouncing curses, by the love of God to Israel, which prevented him from hearkening to Balaam.

In the second place, Balaam was not entirely destitute of the fear of God: 1. His conduct when the messengers arrived in delaying them, in order that he might receive the commands of Jehovah, and in refusing to comply with their request, when the promise of great wealth and honor was made to him, by the asseveration that he could not do, little or great, anything, contrary to the command of God, as really imply this, as his delaying to give an immediate refusal, indicates his desire to go with them. 2. But there is positive proof that God did speak through Balaam. In the first place, the incorporation of his sayings into the books that contain the ground principles of a revealed religion, rests upon the fact, that they are really the word of God. As mere independent poetical productions, they would have no religious interest. Besides, as they are introduced as the words of God: "And the Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth", 22: 5, "and the Spirit of God came upon him," there would be a deception used

by the writer, if they were the product of a mere natural enthusiasm. Entirely in accordance with this view, is the declaration in Deut. 23: 8, previously quoted to show that he was not a mere heathen soothsayer: "But the Lord thy God *turned* the curse into a blessing, because the Lord thy God loved thee." 3. There are many things in the prophecies themselves, which cannot be satisfactorily explained, if Balaam was a mere heathen soothsayer. The knowledge that he exhibits in regard to the earlier prophecies concerning Israel, is based upon at least some degree of interest in regard to them. The specific predictions which are found, especially in 24: 24, are conclusive evidence for their divine inspiration. The strong and positive declarations in reference to the future prosperity of Israel in 24: 7 and 17—19 are scarcely less convincing. But the proof of divine aid in uttering these oracles is not limited to specific predictions; it is grounded upon their whole contents and spirit of them. It is true that many of the declarations are based upon previous prophecies, especially upon those which relate to the choosing, and to the future blessedness of Israel, in comparison with Edom, recorded in Gen. 27: 29, 40, and those which make known the destruction of Amalek in Ex. 17: 14. Yet the living energy and authority with which they are uttered, are, considering the circumstances, a convincing indication that "the spirit of God came upon him." Now if it be true, that Balaam foretold future events, and that his declarations bear infallible marks of divine coöperation, it necessarily follows, that he was not a mere heathen soothsayer. Without some love of the truth, without at least a partial going forth of the mind after it, and willingness on the part of the subject, the operation of the spirit of God is not supposable, at least it does not seem to be consistent with the principles implanted in the human breast, and without which, man would not be man. The necessity, the constraint, which Balaam is under, cannot be a physical, but a moral one. This is plainly implied in 23: 12: "Must I not *take heed* to speak that which the Lord hath put into my mouth?" 4. Balaam himself, *after* the spirit of God came upon him, 24: 2, according to the declaration of the author of the narrative, not only was conscious of the fact, that he was then under divine guidance, but uses designations of himself, which indicate his belief in a permanent participation in the divine revelations, 24: 3, 4, 15, 16.

If, then, the extreme views, which represent Balaam either as a true prophet or as entirely destitute of the knowledge and fear

of God, are not correct; it follows that a medium between the two must be the only just estimate of his character. He without doubt in the beginning had some knowledge and fear of God. When, after hearing of the wonders which the God of Israel had wrought, he ranked himself as his prophet, he seems to have used the means in his power for attaining knowledge of his revelations of himself, both in his works and word. In this way he hoped to gain possession of the wonder-working power which this new race of men seemed to him to have derived from their God. The hope of gain it should seem, at first led him to discard the gods of his own country, and to adopt that of a strange people. But his study of the character of that deity would naturally exert an influence upon him, and excite interest in his mind. And it is not too much to suppose, when we take into view his conduct, as well as the fame that had gone abroad in regard to him, that God vouchsafed to him peculiar revelations of himself and of his plans, and perhaps gave visible manifestations of his power through Balaam's instrumentality. But he yielded not his undivided affections to God, but still clung to the idols of his heart, wealth and honor; and hence that which might have proved his salvation, only wrought out for him a more signal destruction. Thus God makes use of wicked men to accomplish his purposes.

We find some individuals similar to Balaam, in the New Testament. Simon Magus, as it is said in Acts 13: 13, "believed and was baptized, and wondered at beholding the miracles and signs which were done." But it afterwards appears why he had thus sought the intercourse of the apostles, interested himself in their doctrines, and even *believed*. He coveted the power of miraculous gifts which they possessed, and even offered money for its attainment. But Peter, whose eyes were opened, after this request, to discern his real character said: "Thy money perish with thee." "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God."—Those, too, who according to Luke 9: 49, cast out devils in the name of Christ, without being in the company of his disciples, are fit followers of their prototype whose history is recorded in the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For parallel cases in the history of Missions, see Hengstenberg's *Gesch. Bil.* 8. 16, 17.

### *Antiquity and Credibility of the History of Balaam.*

With the arguments for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch in general, we have at present no concern. Recent investigations have placed it on an immovable basis. The monuments of Egypt were not constructed in vain. Ages long past lift up their voices in defence of the truth, and even its avowed enemies cannot gainsay or resist their testimony. But the particular passage with which we are at present concerned, has been the object of many and various attacks. The strangeness of many things in the narration, have been considered by some a sufficient reason for rejecting the whole account as a *mythos*, wholly unworthy of credence. Others think that they find sufficient internal evidence to place the authorship of the passage in an age long subsequent to that of Moses. Still others, while they acknowledge the authenticity of the narrative as a whole, or perhaps attribute it to the time of Saul, set down verses 22—24 of the twenty-fourth chapter as a *vaticinium post eventum*, belonging to the time of the Assyrian empire. The entire want of agreement among those who deny the Mosaic origin of this narrative, makes it evident, that they cannot at least have very tangible and positive grounds, on which to base their hypotheses. The fact is, they can find no rest for the sole of the foot, out of the Mosaic age. But it is not our intention, nor is it deemed necessary, to examine all of the theories that have been broached in reference to this matter. Most of those which have not been already, will perhaps be sufficiently confuted by a brief statement of some of the positive grounds for a Mosaic origin.

In the first place, we derive an argument for the authenticity of the passage under consideration, from references to it in subsequent books of the sacred canon: 1. The existence and authority of the prophecies of Balaam in the time of the Prophet Jeremiah are indisputable, from the comparison of chap. 48: 45 of his prophecy with Num. 24: 17. Jeremiah often refers to previous prophecies, and adopts them into his own. But the allusion is here peculiar. In the place of two uncommon and difficult words, Jeremiah uses two that are more usual, and whose meaning is more obvious. In Numbers we find this phrase: **יִקְרָקֶרְךָ בְּלִי-גִדְרֶיךָ** but in Jeremiah, instead of it, the following: **יִקְדָּקֶרְךָ בְּנִי שְׂאוֹךְ**. Now it cannot be supposed that **יִקְרָקֶרְךָ** originally stood in Jeremiah, for **יִקְדָּקֶרְךָ** is evidently chosen with reference to **יָקָא**; but we may suppose that, according to a very common usage with him,

the later prophet substituted a similar sounding word for the one found in the passage which he imitated. *זָאֵן* is plainly a translation of *שָׂר*. 2. In Habakkuk 1: 13 there seems to be an allusion to Numbers 23: 20. A simple comparison of the Hebrew is all that is necessary to show the similarity of the passages. In the third verse the words are: *לָמָּה תִּרְאֵנִי אָנֹכִי וְקָשַׁל תִּבְרִית*, "Why dost thou show me iniquity and cause me to behold grievance?" It will be noticed, that the principal words are all from the same roots with those in Num. 23: 21. The nouns *אָנֹכִי* and *קָשַׁל* are identical in the two passages, and *תִּרְאֵנִי* and *תִּבְרִית* in Habakkuk, answer to *רָאָה* and *הִבִּית* in Numbers; compare also verse 13, and see Hengstenberg's *Gesch. Bil. S.* 112. 3. A more distinct recognition of the existence of the prophecies of Balaam, is found in Micah 6: 5, "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord." Even Tuch argues, that this passage implies a knowledge of the prophecies of Balaam. And further, the manner in which they are referred to, indicates that they were considered as the word of God. Otherwise their quotation would have no influence upon the people, and could not certainly be represented as teaching the "righteousness of the Lord," *יִדְרְקוּ יְהוָה*. 4. Obadiah also seems to allude to Num. 24: 21: "placed in a rock is thy nest," etc., in verses 3d and 4th of his prophecy: "thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high," . . . "though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord." Compare also verses 17—19 of Obadiah with Num. 24: 18, 19, and see note on those verses, p. 725 above.—A similar, though less distinct reference is found in Amos 9: 12, and 6: 1.

5. We can go still farther back than the earliest of the prophets, in our proof of the existence and authority of Num. 22: 24. The similarity of language in Prov. 30: 1, and in the last words of David, 2 Sam. 23: 1, seems to be sufficient to show, that the prophecies of Balaam were not only in existence, but acknowledged as divine, and consequently of Mosaic origin. A comparison of the Hebrew shows that the last is an accurate copy from the Pentateuch, with the exception of the old form *בְּנוֹ*, which is supplied by the usual form of the construct, *בֶּן*.

Num. 24: 3, and 16.

נָאֻם בְּלִבָּם בְּנוֹ בְּעִר  
וְנָאֻם הַגִּבֹּר שָׂרם הַזֶּה

2 Sam. 23: 1.

נָאֻם דָּוִד בֶּן־יִשָּׁי  
וְנָאֻם הַגִּבֹּר חֲמֵם קָל



In Ps. 60: 14, 108: 14, and 1 Sam. 14: 47, 48, we find a striking similarity in the Hebrew phraseology, to Num. 24: 18, and in 1 Sam. 15: 29, to Num. 23: 19. Finally in Judges 11: 25 there is a plain implication of the facts recorded in Num. 22: sq. "Now art thou anything better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel?" etc. The examination of the antiquity of the prophecies of Balaam might be left with this incidental testimony of subsequent inspired writers; but it may not be amiss to glance at some of the internal evidences of their origin in the time of Moses.

The use of י as a suffix in מִן־יִּנְדֹּב Num. 23: 18, 24: 3 and 15, and of מִן־יִּנְדֹּב for the later and smoother forms, מִן־יִּנְדֹּב and מִן־יִּנְדֹּב, have already been noticed in remarks upon the verses in which they occur. The designation of the country on the east side of Jordan opposite Jericho as the "Plains of Moab," מִן־יִּנְדֹּב, is indicative of the time of the composition of our passage. This designation is found out of the Pentateuch only in Josh. 13: 32, and there with reference to the narrative in the Pentateuch. So מִן־יִּנְדֹּב, the land of Moab, is used for this region only by the author of the Pentateuch. This usage in the age of Moses, and its subsequent neglect, are entirely in accordance with the circumstances of the time. It will be remembered, that this country, when the Israelites arrived in that region, had just been wrested from Moab. The remembrance of its previous possessors, for a time after their subjugation by the Amorites, was natural; but the fact of their possession would in process of time be obliterated, or at least lose its significance and consequently cease to be designated. Accordingly we find in Judges 11: 12 sq., that the same country is called the Land of the Amorites.—The word Jericho is written יִּרְיֹחַ, in the Pentateuch; and so it occurs in Num. 22: 1, but is subsequently, except once, in 2 Sam. 10: 5, written יִּרְיֹחַ, until after the exile, when the original form is again resumed. This would seem to indicate that Num. xxii. sq. did not belong at least to the middle ages of Hebrew Literature.

There are several particulars which form the basis of the narrative respecting Balaam, which belong only to the Mosaic age. The enemies of Israel whose destruction is threatened in 24: 17—21, are the very nations which had shown themselves hostile at the close of the wanderings of the Israelites. First, the Moabites who dwelt eastward of the Plains of Moab are mentioned. Then, the more eastern of their southern enemies, the Edomites, and next the more western, the Amalekites and Kenites. These tribes

were not only hostile, but they seem to comprise all who had at the time shown themselves as hostile. But this could not have been said in any later age. In the time of Saul and David, the relations of the Israelites to the surrounding nations, were materially changed. In 1 Sam. 14: 47, 8 we have a summary of the tribes with which the Israelites were then at enmity: "So Saul . . . fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the king of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself he vexed them." It seems from this passage that the Philistines at the close of the period of the Judges of Israel, had become their most powerful enemies. The thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of 1 Samuel are wholly taken up with an account of the struggles of Saul with them. "And there was sore war against the Philistines" not only during "all the days of Saul," but the beginning of David's reign, was signalized by a victory over this same nation, 2 Sam. 5: 17 sq. An examination of the history of the subsequent wars of David, shows, that the enemies enumerated in Num. 24: 17 sq. acted but a subordinate part. The great struggle was with the Aramaean nations,<sup>1</sup> and the Ammonites. The designation of Amalek as the chief of the nations, is as appropriate in the age of Moses as it would be inapposite in any subsequent age.<sup>2</sup> So Calvin accounts for the mention made of Amalek by saying: *quia tunc celeberrimae erant eorum opes*; and Le Clerc also says: *oportuisse Hamalekitarum res eo tempore floruisse, quandoquidem quasi eximium quid Israelitarum rex major Hamalekitarum rege futurus dicitur*.

Several other particulars might be dwelt upon as indicating the Mosaic origin of our passage, such as the mingling of heathen and Israelitish religious rites and practices, differences between the oracles of Balaam and subsequent prophecies, accuracy of geographical details in regard to that period, and an incidental allusion to the arrangement of the Israelites in their passage through the wilderness; but we hasten to notice in conclusion, the proof of authenticity, from the actual declaration of future events that we find in 24: 24. That there is a manifest foresight of what will happen in a subsequent age, cannot, we think, be denied. And the declaration that a power shall come from the west and subjugate the Babylonians, is as really beyond the bounds of merely human knowledge or foresight, when made in the time of Saul or David or even of the Assyrian dominion, as in the age of Moses.

<sup>1</sup> See 2 Sam. 8: 3 seq. 10: 6 sq. 12: 26 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Exodus xvii.

But if there is real prophecy here, we need no further proof of its authenticity. For we cannot suppose that God would vouchsafe his prophetic spirit to one in a later age, who was endeavoring to palm himself off upon the world, as a contemporary with Moses. This would be to give countenance to deception, and at least to approve of evil for the sake of a good result. Not so have we understood the character of him who is "not man, that he should lie, or a son of man, that he should repent."

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## ARTICLE V.

### ON FULFILLING THE MINISTRY.

By Rev. N. Adams, Boston, Mass.

As we look back on those who in different generations and ages of the world have constituted the ministry of the true religion, we are struck with two things which preëminently characterize them. One is, that those of them who have fulfilled their ministry, have been *earnest men*. If we may speak of Moses as a minister of Israel, we have in him, a powerful example of earnestness. The faithful prophets were eminently earnest men; it is like the sudden sound of a trumpet to meet the name of Elijah, Samuel and Daniel; while the lives and sufferings, or the unequalled utterances of the other men of God in the Old Testament, and the histories of the Apostles, make this great impression on the mind, that each of them had his special work to do; and how was he straitened till it was accomplished! The tide that was set in motion by the Apostles, imparted its vigor to the early Christian fathers, till it lost itself in the great sea of human philosophy, and became for a time only one of the cross currents in the ocean of human thought. But see the Reformers of the sixteenth century, French, German and English, of any one of whom, Satan might have started and said, as Herod did of Christ, "It is John the Baptist whom I beheaded." The English Puritans were earnest men; the fathers of New England were baptized with fire. Wherever we find a ministry exerting a decided influence upon their generation, we find men of strong impulses, consecrating themselves wholly to their work.

With this earnestness we notice another peculiarity in them. The thoughts and labors of a faithful and able ministry are always

identified with the peculiarities of the age in which they live. We do not see them absorbed in religious, philosophical, literary speculations and labors. Their learning is employed in practical efforts for the welfare of their contemporaries, in illustrating the great principles of common life, as well as of revealed truth. They translate the Bible. They enter into the controversies of truth with error; they expose the time-honored, moss-grown follies of the age, and make their own generation wiser and happier for their having lived in it. We may select any able, faithful minister of Jesus Christ in any land or age, and the history of his mind, his studies, his labors, is a part of the history of the times in which he lived.

It becomes an interesting question for every minister of the Gospel, What does my ministry in this generation and age require of me?

In fulfilling the ministry, we must be earnestly devoted to its private duties and labors.

A man who undertakes abstractly to live for the world, as some do, never makes his influence turn to any good account. In an exhibition of manufactures and mechanical improvements, we seldom find a useful invention which was the result of a mere general interest in mechanism. The cotton machinery, the compound blow-pipe, the new plough, are invented by practical manufacturers, chemists and farmers. The great or useful idea breaks upon their minds when contending with the difficulties of their several employments, or they are accidentally discovered in the processes of their industry. The principle of gravitation was not revealed by that falling apple to a literary or scientific loungee in Lincolnshire; it met the eye of a man who, though sitting at ease in his garden, was looking on everything around him as a student. Nature, with her beautiful laws and arts, provokes her ardent lovers only, to the discovery of them, as the amorous shepherd in Virgil says of his maid, who threw an apple at him, as nature did at Newton, and fled:

*"Malo me Galatea petit,—*

*Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri."*

*Bucol. III. 64, 65.*

Luther could not have produced such a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, had not his heart and mind been qualified for it, by preaching and expounding for years the doctrine of justification by faith. What do we care for the learned treatises of mere scholars on scarlet fever or nervous disorders? The

man who has had large practice and experience in contending with death, and has been conversant with the outgoings of human life at its hundred gates, is the man to whose theories and remedies we yield respect. So in religion. A man who has tested his opinions by their practical effect on men, who has derived new views of truth from observing human nature, who has seen the power of his appeals and illustrations in his intercourse with the common mind, knows most of the Bible as the great treasure-house of wisdom. It would be better for a man to study theology and prepare to preach under John Bunyan, than under Thomas Aquinas, however justly styled "angelical doctor," "the eagle of divines," "the angel of the Schools."

When engaged in the ordinary round of ministerial and pastoral labor, we perhaps do not always think as we ought, that every act of service we perform may have, and ought to have, an influence in qualifying us for being useful to the age and world. If a man makes up his sermons for the Sabbath just to render his equivalent for his salary, or makes his visits to clear his lists and his conscience, or attends at the sick-bed and at funerals, as a mere official, the quality of his mercy is certainly not 'twice blessed,' if it even blesses them who receive it. In the proper preparation and effort of heart and mind to write a sermon, a man can gain something which will make him increasingly and more extensively useful. There is no better exercise for the intellectual powers, the affections of the soul, the literary taste, and the various literary acquisitions, than the careful preparation of a written sermon. In conversing with individuals for their spiritual good, a minister will derive instruction by the clearer presentation to his own mind of his own views, or have new trains of thought awakened by the suggestions of others. In a word, if a man would fulfil his ministry in its best influence on the world, let him devote himself earnestly and faithfully to the ordinary duties and labors of the ministerial and pastoral life. Were we speaking to an ambitious man, and if such a man *could* be sincerely devoted to the labors of the ministry, we might safely say: The path of honorable distinction in the Christian ministry, lies among the ordinary duties of the pulpit and the pastoral life. An earnest and faithful performance of these duties in the true spirit of the Gospel, affords the only hope of extensive usefulness and even of common success.

A pastor ought to have the same interest and zeal in managing a case of mental trouble, in attending upon a sick bed, in ad-

ministering consolation and advice to a mourner, in reclaiming a backslider, in curing the diseased conscience, in leading a soul to the Saviour, that a lawyer has in preparing and managing a suit, or a physician or surgeon, his case of sickness or surgery. He who devotes his best energies to the pastoral care in this manner, fulfils his ministry in an eminent degree. He preaches unlike other men; his scholastic and literary acquisitions are like the ore which is smelted and moulded, and comes to us in forms for practical use. When an accomplished scholar is also a highly practical man, in any profession, his influence is always great. It is eminently so in the ministry and the pastoral care.

But in the nature of things every able and faithful minister of the New Testament is a man of public spirit. While his first and direct efforts are to instruct and save the people committed to his pastoral charge, and he makes this his profession, he wishes to live for the world for which Christ died. It has already been shown, that the most hopeful way for a man to do this is, to be earnestly devoted to his private work as a preacher and pastor. There is another way in which we are to fulfil our ministry, and which indeed is essential by a reflex influence to the highest success in the private labors of the profession.

To fulfil his ministry, a man must lend his influence to the age in which he lives.

The people to whom he ministers are affected in their character and feelings, by the character and tendencies of the times. Unless his own mind is affected in the same way, he does not meet their wants and sympathies, he exerts no controlling, guiding influence even in his private sphere. Now the question which every one should put to himself, who wishes to fulfil his ministry, should be, How shall I exercise the ministry among my flock so as to serve my generation and the world. In answer to this question several things may be mentioned, which it is essential for a minister to aim at in fulfilling his ministry in its influence on the age.

In order to fulfil his ministry in its influence upon the age, a minister must be a scholar.

The preparation and delivery of mere exhortations addressed to the feelings of men, is unworthy of his high office. The great truths of natural and revealed religion, and of Christian morals, demand of him that study and investigation to define, expound, and illustrate them, which will enable him to add something to the general stock of knowledge. His sermons may never indeed be

published, much less be formed into a system of theology or morals for a text-book ; but he may be the means of instructing his hearers in theology and morals, so that through them the world may insensibly be advanced by him in sacred knowledge. Many ministers are the sons of farmers or mechanics, whose views in theology were made distinct and clear through the instructions of able ministers, who lived and died obscurely it may be in the country village, but to those parents they are indebted for their correct impressions in sacred truth, through the prayers at the family altar, incidental instructions on some of the deep things in religion, and especially by some theological books which the preaching and conversation of the pastor led the parents to purchase for the family library, and which, before the children could fully understand them, they had read, or at least became acquainted with, to a degree which laid the foundation for their present doctrinal views, generated in them a taste for theology, and perhaps inclined them in early life to think of the Christian ministry as their future profession. It was because their pastor was a scholar that their father, (or which is quite as likely their mother,) became a sound theologian, and these men able ministers of the New Testament. They now occupy places in relation to other parents and their children, such as he filled ;—it depends on their studies and on their character as scholars and divines, how much the world shall be profited in the same way in which that man of God has blessed the world, in being indirectly the means of their consecration and qualification for the sacred office.

The tendency of things for a few years past has perhaps been, to assimilate the ministry of our denomination to the habits and professional character of our Methodist brethren who, according to their views of duty, are as faithfully devoted to the work of our common Lord and Master as we, but whose professional plans and habits in the ministry are directed chiefly to a present effect. We have encouraged the taste among the people for frequent exhortations ; preaching has partaken more of the mere hortatory style, than in former years. While engaged in such efforts, much study is necessarily a weariness to the flesh. The time and strength which should be spent in preparing the discourses for the Lord's day, have been in too great a degree given to the unnatural and destructive effort to maintain three services on the Sabbath. The effect of those services on ministers, is apt to be an indisposition to study during the following week. The remarks on this point

have reference to ministers in the larger towns and cities, and not to those whose situation makes them virtually missionaries. We are bold to declare that, as a general thing, the way in which a minister who has the care of a congregation, in a compact place, can spend the evening of the Sabbath for the greatest good of his people in every respect, is, to rest. His mind and all his sensibilities are alive to the great work in which he is engaged, and if he can then withdraw himself, ordinarily, from the excitement and labor of a third service, he will find thoughts and feelings crowding upon him for future use, and his whole system will be recruited and somewhat replenished for the labors of the ensuing week and Sabbath. It seems to many of the people a light thing for a pastor to conduct a sabbath evening prayer meeting, and "just to make a few remarks;" but those few remarks are the straws by the addition of which to his load, the camel-driver broke the back of his camel. Let the rival denominations hold their frequent meetings for exhortation, and draw away some of our people; the best way to compete with them is, by the character of our stated labors on the Lord's day, and not by the number or the fervor of our religious conventicles. In the end, the pastor who commends himself to the consciences, and to the understandings, and to the healthy tastes of men, will have more influence, and build up a better congregation, than he who seeks to gratify the morbid feelings of people in those meetings, which to him, in his exhausted state of body and mind at the close of the Sabbath, are like the fearful night-sweats of a consumptive patient.<sup>1</sup>

There is one view in which this suggestion is of great practical importance. As preachers, the age and world demand that we be something more than mere exhorters, and therefore that we give more time and strength to our sermons. Far distant be the time when we shall know anything supremely in our calling but Jesus Christ and him crucified, or be anything more or less than ambassadors for Christ. But we see men in our profession eminent in scholarship, and taste, of an enviable reputation as

<sup>1</sup> "The demands of such congregations as expect three sermons on the Lord's day, are preposterously absurd. They make a demand which no man can adequately meet. An attempt is made to satisfy it. The result very shortly is, the congregation begins to complain of the exercises of the pulpit, as being crude and insipid. *Hurried and frequent preaching upon the affecting and important doctrines of salvation, seriously injures and impoverishes the mind, exhausts the power of feeling, dries up the dew of a man's sensibility, and leaves the soul to chill in the coldness of apathy.*"—*Robert Hall.*



preachers and writers, who are just as faithful, practical, ardent men, and who can be as hortatory, as zealous in promoting personal religion, as those who think that scholarship is to Christian zeal only like oxidation to iron. We cannot promote the highest interests of the souls of men, much less of the churches, unless in addition to personal religion we cultivate our intellectual and literary qualities. This age and this country are remarkable for youthful zeal and energy in the arts and sciences, which are every month receiving contributions from practical mechanics, artists and scholars. Creative genius, in this age of improvement, is crying to the various competitors in the arts of life, as the helmsman in the Trojan boat-race did to his oarsmen: "Nunc, nunc insurgite remis?" Shall every galley outstrip ours? Shall the pulpit be inferior in the standard of its productions to the work-bench and the looms? Shall every man magnify his office except the preacher? The statement and illustration and the enforcement of Christian truth, must be made in ways adapted to the various susceptibilities of man's nature; for even he who came not with excellency of speech, declaring the Gospel of God, was a preacher, able and worthy to stand on Mars Hill, while a mere canting gospeller could not have uttered words as he did to be a model of address, as well as of faithfulness in preaching. The minds of some good and zealous men need something corresponding to the *detent* in a clock; for a clock which strikes too often, and is as apt to strike thirteen as any other number, ceases to be useful. Some of our most eminent English brethren confess that there are qualities in the American style of preaching, which they have observed and copied to their advantage. It is to our credit, that our preaching is formed more on the model of Baxter, than Barrow; but we do need to filigrane our practical style of preaching with the gold of John Howe, and the silver of Jeremy Taylor, with a slight infusion of the French arts. Let us not only live near to God, and seek to know more of the spirit and power of the gospel in our preaching, but let us strive to preach so as to advance men in all excellence, as well as save their souls. The Bible has as much genius and talent as of other excellence; let our sermons imitate the Bible. So shall our influence endure when we are dead. In order to this, we must be careful not to waste our intellectual and physical strength.

When we think of the facilities which the age affords the scholar, it seems unpardonable in us if we do not avail ourselves of them. The teachers of philology, theology, science and litera-

ture are poured at our feet. It is not a just and discriminating fear and censure, which many express at the prolific deliveries of modern literature. When the tide is coming in, there will oftentimes be rolled upon the beach a somewhat hideous mixture of things on the earth, and of things under the earth;—all the forms of sea-weed, driftwood, dead fish, bricks, with enamelled shells, and valuable stones; while here and there a monster of the deep will be projected into the small frith or into the spouting horn of the rocks, and sharks watch for those who bathe in the surf. But yet it is a tide that is coming in, a tide with its refreshing breeze, a tide that lifts many a heavy laden bark from the sands, and unmoors the weary captive from the calms, and fills our stores with the riches of other climes. Liberty will always tend to libertinism; free governments nourish the monsters of ultra democracy and freethinking, as the same overflow of the Nile fertilizes Egypt and fattens crocodiles. If a man now wishes to pursue the study of any language, ancient or modern, his only difficulty will be in choosing between the many excellent Grammars and Lexicons,—or the '*res angustæ domi*' forbid the gratification of his wishes as he reads the lists of new editions of classic authors. In English literature and criticism, we have cheap editions of the most valuable writers in prose and poetry, and with them volumes of critical Essays, collected from the leading Reviews which have influenced the literature of the world for the last half century. Everything that can furnish the scholar for his work, is made ready to our hands. Now to us, as ministers of the gospel, is committed the glorious work of enriching the mind of the world with the treasures of religious knowledge and moral truth. We must be faithful to this trust;—by qualifying ourselves, through study and learning, to aid society in its progress.

In fulfilling his ministry in its effect upon the age, a minister is bound to promote the great objects of benevolent effort in his day.

I said in the beginning of this discussion, that while the ministry of the old dispensation was chiefly for the preservation of the truth, the ministry of the new dispensation is for its propagation and preservation. We have not been baptized with the spirit of this new dispensation, unless we are active in promoting the spread of the gospel and its kindred objects. We ought to take a lively interest in the cause of education, and raise the standard of the academic preparation of the young for professional life. Our benevolent societies should be cherished by us with discriminating and zealous care. A part of our most earnest efforts for

the good of our people, should be to instruct them as to their obligations to do good, and the ways of doing it. We must not be jealous or cold towards benevolent institutions; if they need to be improved, let us apply suitable remedies, but insist on having their great objects in some way accomplished.

Some are afraid to urge benevolent efforts and contributions, before their people because their salaries are in arrears. If they understood human nature and the power of the gospel, or even Christian policy, a little better, they would find that the sure way to make their people do their duty to them, is to increase the love and zeal of their people for the salvation of the world. In fulfilling the ministry in our generation, we are to be forward in withstanding prevalent errors, and maintaining the opposite truths.

The study of Ecclesiastical History is one of the best means of peace of mind and of intelligent preparation in the controversies of the age. The human mind is running the round of follies and lies from age to age, and that which hath been, is, or shall be. As there is said to be nothing on land, which has not its resemblance and counterpart in something in the sea, so we shall find in the history of human opinions, a correspondent error in past ages, to the error of to-day. That old error was fought and overcome; and Church History is a temple where the 'spolia opima' are nailed up, "that we through faith and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." We have little else to do in this age of the world, with regard to errors, than to learn their history and see their end, and so be ready to meet them as they re-appear. This will prevent us from being dismayed at them, and also from spending too much of our time and strength upon them, as we are always tempted of Satan to do. There are occasions when we ought to consider that prayer which the legion of devils offered to Christ, "Let us alone;"—it would be their sorest affliction, and the lengthening of our tranquillity. There is pre-eminent wisdom in one of the counsels of that old bard,

" Who saw the Iliad and Odyssey  
Rise to the swelling of the voiceful sea."

He makes Minerva charge Diomede, when she came to excite him to the fight, to shun those parts of the field where the warring deities were fighting, whom she gave his eyes the preternatural power to see.

" These see thou shun through all the embattled plain,  
Nor rashly strive where human force is vain."<sup>1</sup>

There are times, (they may be rare, but there may be times,) when this counsel is profitable even for us. But still the inspired exhortation should govern us, " Earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints."

The age and the world require of men in fulfilling their ministry, to be living examples of godliness.

The names of many good men in former times, associated in our minds with great moral excellence, are all that remains of them. Their works, if published, have gone into oblivion ; their histories are not read, but tradition delivers their names from one age to another, as charmed words. As we see and know nothing of the hills and woods and seas in the distant star, that keeps its everlasting station on the bosom of the night, but its simple and beautiful brightness constitutes its character and value in our eyes, so the good name of many a good man, is all that lives after him, and takes its place forever in the firmament of human history. There have been great and good men in this commonwealth, who without adding much to the literature of their age, have been men of such well proportioned and balanced character, have excited such love, respect and confidence, that in the regions where they lived, their influence is like one of the old shade-trees, which is a glory and a blessing to all who live near it. Long and silently they grew amid changes and storms, spreading their foliage over the young and the old who sit under their shadow, and standing as memorials of their own faithfulness and usefulness, and of powerful virtues, the remembrance or suggestion of which, as exemplified by them, has a greater influence on the world, than the writings of many of their contemporaries, who in point of intellect may have been their superiors. Such influence as they exert was not gained by them in a day, or a year ; they gained it by walking with God, as Enoch did his present influence on the world, whose name and brief history in the genealogy of undistinguished men, stands forth like a white obelisk among the wind-rows of sand. They gained it by their firmness in opposing the errors and follies of the day, the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*," by their meekness under trials, their Christian spirit when provoked and wounded, by their continuous, steady performance of common duties to the best of their ability. Now, though heaven may have with-

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<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, V. 129, 130.

held from us splendid talents, the power of goodness does not depend on them; and he who endeavors to be all which the influence of his profession and the Gospel which he preaches ought to make him, may in the highest sense fulfil his ministry in its effect on the age and world.

An earnest desire to fulfil the ministry as now suggested, will promote ministerial contentment and the permanence of the pastoral relation.

To a man intent on self-improvement, engaged in profitable studies, with resources of learning and a cultivated mind, the trials and vexations of his situation are less annoying, and are more easily borne. Some ministers and churches are sometimes disturbed by troublesome members; for example, by a man or a number of men, whose rough, uncultivated natures make them insensible to some of the influences of truth and goodness. They are animal in their religion, as they are preëminently in their constitution; they love loud, boisterous preaching, they are chiefly interested in the politics of the church. Some ministers flee from their places because of such men; but others, intent on pursuits which prevent them from being so much disturbed by these men, gain the control over them by kind and patient conduct. The words of Shakspeare are fulfilled:

" You may ride us, with one soft kiss, a thousand furlongs, ere  
With spur we heat an acre."

In seeing the mild but powerful influence which some gentle nature in a pastor exerts upon them, and at last the subdued tone and manner of those men, weeping at their errors, there has been a pleasant recollection of one of those enduring couplets in the New England Primer:

" Whales in the sea  
God's voice obey."

We must not admit that the true influence of piety cannot soften and subdue the most ungracious character. To flee from such men, even from Ahab and from Jezebel, results frequently in finding only a juniper-tree for a resting place, and in being reproved by the still small voice of the Lord God. No reflection is intended upon those who have been the subjects of frequent changes in the ministry; we all remember the ministerial experience of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton; still is it not true, that more of scholarship and love of study in pastors, would frequently make them more contented in their places?

If we were more impressed with the duty of self-improvement in every kind of excellence, as a means of usefulness in our age and in the world, ambition would less frequently make us aspire to places of apparently greater usefulness. This temptation among pastors, of greater usefulness, is a great and mischievous folly. The operation and result of it, is sometimes illustrated by the fable of a bottle, in which a fermentation was going on, and made the vessel feel, that could it but have greater scope for its pent up energies, it would fill immensity;—it burst, and was “like water spilled on the ground, which could not be gathered up.”

There is a cause of changes in the ministry, which the piety and scholarship of the best of men find it difficult to withstand, and that is, the insufficiency of the salary, or the irregularity with which it is paid. If the experience of ministers, even in New England, could be spread before the world, there would be found tales of exquisite suffering which would astonish the churches. The secret sorrows which are thus occasioned, cannot be proclaimed; the sufferer would destroy his influence to speak of them; he would give occasion to enemies to exult and reproach, and so he buries his sorrows “darkly, at dead of night,” as the British soldiers buried Sir John Moore, for fear of the enemy.

One of the most useful men to any church and society, as many know by experience, is a prompt, gentlemanly Treasurer. On the appointed days, and perhaps at the same hour on those days, he makes his appearance at the Pastor's house, and the Pastor sees in him, as it were, a whole congregation earnest to fulfil their obligations to their minister. The bonds of love, through a delicate sense of obligation and gratitude, insensibly grow stronger in the Pastor's heart. He respects his people more, he is admonished and quickened in his duties. But when the Treasurer comes far behind his time, and then pays over only a small part of the large arrears, and dolefully tells the minister that the Society is very poor, and that they find it exceedingly difficult to raise his salary, then the minister and his wife have long and sad conferences about their straitened circumstances; they meditate an encroachment upon the little property which a relative left her, the knowledge of which is the reason felt or assigned by some parishioners for refusing to pay their dues. From the experience which brethren in the ministry have related in confidence, it may be asserted, that if there be any cruelty and any suffering which is peculiarly exquisite and keen, it may be found in the treatment of a sensitive pastor by an unfaithful people, and in his secret sor-

rows on account of it. All men love to be paid promptly. It is a universal truth, that 'short reckonings make long friends.' You never pay money to a laborer or tradesman promptly and with willing mind, without putting him in good humor. How freely he speaks about the weather, inquires for the health of your family, indulges his innocent wit, smiles, thanks you, and makes you feel that you are one of his benefactors and friends. Now if any man taunts ministers for loving to be paid promptly and cheerfully, they may say to him, in the words of Terence, "*Homo sum, et nil humanum a me alienum puto*;" and if he asks what that means, it might not be unkind to tell him, that if he had had a more liberal education, he would both have known the English of it, and never would have uttered the reproach.

Instead of sundering the pastoral relation with a spirit of impatience or retaliation under trials, we should look at them as a part of our personal education for greater usefulness here and happiness hereafter. Among our losses here, we shall in heaven count the loss of an affliction our greatest calamity. For many a loss will be made up to us there, but the lost benefit of afflictions can never be repaired.

To fulfil the ministry, in its highest sense, is the best preparation for a future state.

We are not ministers only; we are Christians, as we hope and believe, and we have each an immortal soul. My destiny as an immortal spirit, my character as a Christian, are of more intrinsic importance to me than my official, professional calling; and it becomes me to make that calling subservient to the deathless interests of my soul, in my future, endless state. Ceasing then, to be, professionally, teachers, we are to become learners, to have teachers, and take our place among the spirits of just men, as they pursue the path of life in their discoveries of the Godhead and of the universe. Ministers are like men who are keeping school while fitting for college. Rising from the capacity and employment of school-masters in our preparatory state, we are soon to enter as it were a university where boundless fields of knowledge, and sciences, it may be, numerous and different as the various worlds to be explored, with their varying natural history and physical constitution, are to be opened before us, our faculties adapted to these pursuits, our affections towards God and the companions of our happy immortality increasing with the increase of our knowledge and powers. But this will not hinder us, it is true, from becoming teachers again.

For such a state, intellectual and moral, but chiefly excellent and desirable of course in its moral and spiritual character and influences, man is placed in this world to prepare. As ministers we have all the means of preparation for it which others enjoy, and some in addition. Our professional duty leads us to study spiritual things; we must define our ideas of them, we spend much of our time in writing upon them, and in conveying to others our conceptions of them. To qualify us for this work, God bestows upon us special spiritual gifts, the whole church of the living God prays for us, and in answer to their prayers, and to make us useful to them in spiritual knowledge and affections, "the God of all comfort comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God." (2 Cor. 1: 4.) When, therefore, this service for the church of Christ which we fulfil in the ministry is finished, we go as the spirits of just men made perfect go, to enter upon the employments and enjoyments of Heaven. There without doubt the happiness, the attainments, of that man will be chiefly to be desired who has made this ministry exert its highest influence on his mind and heart. We may covet the joy of that man who on earth was chiefly employed in studying, in illustrating in his preaching, the unsearchable riches of Christ; to him Christ will be preëminently the Word, the Logos, of the Godhead; the atmosphere of his mind will have been peculiarly fitted, to receive from Him who is the brightness of the father's glory a degree of light which no un-fallen seraph could so fully enjoy. If with full spirit of the Christian ministry that man shall have embraced the world in his liberal and earnest charity, and lived to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, angels might desire the experience of that man in heaven qualified by such preparation for the enjoyments and employments of eternity.

But in addition to this influence of his earthly ministry upon his mind and heart, which is in addition to that of other men, look at him as having been the means of saving many from destruction. He is recognised by them as the faithful friend to whom under God they owe their salvation. It is said by a distinguished writer, that it is natural to man to lose in after life the reverence which he once felt for the teacher of his youth. But this change of feeling is only the effect of the change in our general feelings from childhood to manhood, or else of a discovery, that the things which we learned had not the intrinsic interest with which our



fancy clothed them. There is no feeling apart from natural affection deeper and stronger, than that of one who has acquired some valuable knowledge, towards him who kindly imparted it. Neither is there any hatred more intense, than that of one who has been misled in his intellectual pursuits or in his moral sentiments, towards his incompetent or false teacher, when the pupil comes to years of maturity. If you are conscious of having suffered in the acquisition of knowledge or in the formation of your mind, from the incapacity or errors of a bad teacher, there are times when you secretly feel that no punishment would be too severe for him. You would almost be willing to see him turning the everlasting and fruitless wheel of Ixion, or rolling up, with Sisyphus, the ever descending stone. The martyrdom of the man of whom St. Chrysostom tells us, placed alive in a bag of snakes, would not be an inappropriate vengeance for him who corrupted your imagination and perverted your moral sense. The future condition of that man is more to be deprecated than anything else, who spent his life as a teacher of a false religion, on whom a great congregation of souls in hell will pour their curses, while he in the lower deep to which he flies from their sight, thinks of the souls whom he kept from Christ and heaven. But, in contrast, give us the joy of that man whose scriptural and discriminating and faithful efforts shall have brought many from darkness into God's marvellous light. His face, his voice, his words, will be identified with their happiest recollections of earth, and mingle with their richest experience in heaven. O let us take heed to the ministry which we have received in the Lord, fraught with such consequences, that we fulfil it.

The intrinsic honor and rewards, and the influence of this ministry on us, do not depend on place, or the number, or the character and standing in society, of those who attend upon our ministrations. He who does nothing but fulfil this ministry, who exercises the care, or as the old writers have it, with a sort of double sense in the word, the *cure* of souls, and makes continual proclamation of the gospel, fulfils the highest ends for which man is made. In order to fulfil them, we must pursue nothing inconsistent with fulfilling our ministry. Philip of Macedon asked his son Alexander if he were not ashamed that he could play so well on the flute? The reproof, though, in that instance, misplaced, conveys a useful lesson. We may have, indeed, it may be said, we must have, some diversion for our thoughts and hands; health of body and of mind require it. But if we play on any "flute"

to the neglect of our duty, if our interest in anything else absorbs or divides our zeal, we cease to be useful in the ministry in the highest sense. For no man can have more than one great object of pursuit, if he is supremely devoted and faithful in his calling.

Perhaps there is no object of greater interest to Christ and angels, than a good minister of Jesus, fulfilling his ministry in a retired and humble situation, or in a place of difficulty and trial. Could we see the interest which heaven feels and expresses in the Christian ministry, we should no doubt receive a fresh impulse in our work. Have the Apostles and the long line of deceased ministers, forgotten those who have succeeded them in the work which was dearer to them than anything else on earth, and which in its progressive accomplishment is more important than anything below the sun? Do the pilgrim fathers and the early New England ministry never think of us? Do the Mayhews never turn their thoughts to Martha's Vineyard, nor the Mathers to Boston, nor Eliot to Roxbury, and all the band of good ministers to their successors in these labors and toils? We know not what interest they excite in us among the heavenly hosts, nor what an unseen presence there is every Sabbath in our congregations. The judicious Doddridge, speaking of our ministrations in the house of God says :

"The heavenly natives with delight  
Hover around the sacred place;  
Nor scorn to learn from mortal tongues,  
The wonders of redeeming grace."

A great Christian poet\* speaks of "Church bells beyond the stars heard." Among those mountains, or in that small village on the sea shore, where an obscure pastor preaches, as he supposes, to only a few souls, the Sabbath bell perhaps, brings to his audience the angels of God, who are instructed by his Christian experience and his views of the gospel, and when that humble pastor is at last caught up to heaven, he finds that he is loved and honored there beyond his utmost expectation. In opposing the follies of Swedenborgianism, let us not forget that "we *are* compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses," nor that angels are "sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation."

But there is another consideration of greater interest and importance. When we meet Christ, we shall find that he has had his opinion of us, and entertains certain feelings towards us, in

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\* George Herbert. *The Church—Prayer.*

regard to the spirit and manner in which we have been doing our work. "Will it then be," says one, "will it then be a matter of indifference to him who distributes the crowns and allots the thrones of heaven, whether you have been among the most faithful and diligent, or the most slothful and negligent of his servants?" It is an interesting thought that they who have been companions and fellow laborers in these churches for Jesus' sake, are to know and love each other in heaven. They should therefore "let brotherly love continue;" endeavor to see eye to eye in everything; and, until they can do this, cherish kind feelings towards each other, and by their continued union, their increasing respectability as professional men, their devotedness to their work, advance the interests of their common faith. While we do not neglect ancient and modern literature, and theological science, let us read more frequently such books as Baxter's Reformed Pastor, and Doddridge's Essay on the Evil and Danger of neglecting souls. Our pulpits and our pastoral walks are not only determining our influence in the world, but they are to be the objects of vivid recollections in eternity. "My pulpit!" what words are these to every pastor! what associations will cluster round the remembrance of that place in my mind forever and ever! A minister is standing in eternity by the side of some king who is looking back on his earthly throne, a king on whose realms the sun never set, and the minister is looking back to his pulpit. On the king's realms the sun has at last set forever, but on the subjects of a successful ministry the sun of righteousness arises forever with healing on his wings. That king can never bless God for his kingdom and throne with the feelings with which a minister will say, "And I thank Christ Jesus my Lord in that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry." "My pulpit!" The character and history of its ministrations, will determine my future crown and throne.

## ARTICLE VI.

## THE TRINITY.

[Translated by Rev. H. B. Smith, West Amesbury, Mass., from the Theological Lectures of Dr. A. D. C. Twisten, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Continued from No. XI. p. 539.]

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[There are several reasons which might be urged, for presenting in the pages of this Review such a discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity as is contained in this article. In the first place, the article is of interest in connection with the present condition of German theology. Since the times when a negative Rationalism prevailed in that country, it is the first elaborate attempt to uphold this doctrine in its orthodox form. These lectures of Dr. Twisten awakened a new interest in this subject among the Germans; and in the more recent discussions, they are uniformly referred to with respect, and as an authority. In the second place, it is of value for the historical materials with which it is filled. While it does not profess to contain a history of the doctrine, it shows on every page the thorough study which the author has bestowed upon the works of the ablest theologians. The subsequent sections are especially valuable, as exhibiting the force and pertinency of many of the distinctions of the Scholastics. No treatise by English or American theologians with which we are acquainted, contains so much of valuable material from like sources. It might be urged, again, that every thorough and fair-minded disquisition upon a doctrine of so much importance, should be received with candor, and may be read with profit, because it may disclose some new aspects and relations of an inexhaustible truth. No doctrine presents itself to every mind in the same relations; and the more important the doctrine, and the more thorough the study of it, the greater variety will there be in the modes of its application and illustration. The more we love a doctrine, the more shall we think about it; and the more we think about it, the more shall we see its connection with other truths; and every one who reverences and loves and thinks about the truth, may aid us in our own studies, even though we do not think all his speculations sound. In the fourth place, in respect to this particular doctrine, it is well known, that the most ortho-

dox divines, while assenting to the fundamental formula, have differed in the way in which they have explained and defended it; and this fact should keep us from arguing that an exposition which is new to us, is therefore an unwarrantable speculation and a hazardous tampering with the faith. The doctrine is contained in the Bible, and it rests upon the authority of the Bible; and this is what Dr. Twisten maintains. But the formula is not in the Bible; and the business of the theologian who embraces this formula is, to show that it best expresses the true sense of the Scriptures, and to defend it against philosophical and other objections. We who hold the same formula, may perhaps be interested in seeing how a German explains it; and we, who encounter the same objections, might at least be willing to read how they are met and answered elsewhere; even though we may not think that the exposition and the defence are as good as our own. And as to philosophising—without some degree of it, we can hardly see how the formula can be fully explained; and when a philosophical objection is made to our statement of a doctrine, it is surely not unworthy of a Christian to attempt to answer it philosophically.

The whole development of this doctrine in the following pages, rests upon the assumption, that the distinction of the first and second persons of the Trinity as Father and Son, is immanent in the Godhead. This position the author has not fortified by arguments, for in Germany it is generally taken for granted. Those who wish to see it more fully discussed, may find it in the Letters of Professor Stuart, and in an Article on the Sonship of Christ, reprinted in a volume of selections from the Princeton Repertory.

Some account of the author of these Lectures may be found in the Bib. Sac., Vol. I. p. 768.—TR.]

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#### § 5. *One Nature and Three Persons.*

THE fundamental formula for the doctrine of the Trinity as defined by the church is, that in one divine essence or nature there are three Persons, distinguished from each other by certain characteristics, and indivisibly participating in that one nature. To get at the meaning of this formula, the first thing of which we naturally think, is a comparison with several human individuals, who have the same human nature; only we ought not, at the same time, to forget the entire difference between any such relation and that of the three divine persons. When we speak of

finite things, by their nature or essence, we usually understand only the genus to which they belong, and the unity which we ascribe to different individuals under this genus, is an abstract unity, existing only in our conceptions. But the divine essence (considered as comprehending all the divine perfections), is no mere notion, but includes in itself actual being, and its unity is a real, numerical unity. Hence, as the Athanasian creed has it, we may not speak of three Gods, as we do of three men. Since unity belongs to the divine essence, the use of the plural in this case would involve a contradiction; there are three who have divinity, but these three are one God, and their consubstantiality (*ὁμοουσία*) does not consist in their having a common nature, but in a real unity of nature.—From this view the notion of *person*, as we ascribe it to the Godhead, is to be determined. We cannot take for granted that this notion is correctly given elsewhere; nor should we allow ourselves, as not seldom happens even in scientific treatises, to be too much guided by the current signification of the word. When we speak of the Three Persons in the Godhead, and of three human persons, we cannot by any possibility mean just the same thing; although there must still be a certain analogy to justify the use of the same expression. As we ordinarily use the word *person*, the assumption of three divine persons will call up tritheistic conceptions in most minds. But the objection which the Oriental church made to this word, that it seemed to favor a *modalistic* view of the Trinity, shows us how remote any such views were from the originators of this terminology. Augustin puts us in the right point of view where he says:<sup>1</sup> "In truth, since the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, and the Holy Spirit, who is also called the gift of God, can neither be the Father nor the Son, there are at any rate three; yet, when it is asked, *what* three? straightway great poverty weighs upon human speech; yet we say, *three persons*, not because that is what should be said, but that we may not keep silence, (non ut illud diceretur sed ne taceretur)."

The point from which we started, and which we have hitherto sought to establish, is this: that as we find it necessary to make a distinction in the divine Being between different attributes belonging to the same subject, so it is necessary to distinguish different subjects or persons, having the same attributes, or the same essence. When we then think of Father, Son and Spirit, as divine persons, we think of them as subjects having divine at-

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<sup>1</sup> Aug. de Trin. v. 9.

tributes. If we define this notion further, by adding that we are to conceive of them as subjects (persons), who are really and essentially such, that is, who cannot again be taken as predicates, (as can the notions of qualities, or those generic and specific notions, which after Aristotle are called *substantiæ secundæ*<sup>1</sup>); and, since here no mere subjective, but a real objective distinction is intended, if we choose instead of a logical a more metaphysical expression—instead of subject, the word *suppositum* or *substance*; if we add to this, that, since the Godhead is to be conceived of as essentially indivisible and as intelligence, that such a subject or *suppositum* can neither consist of parts nor be a part of any other, and that the attribute of intelligence must necessarily belong to it;—if we take these points together, we have got the definition of a divine Person usually given in the schools: *Suppositum intelligens*, or *Substantia individua intelligens, quæ non est pars aut qualitas in alio, sed propriè subsistit*.<sup>2</sup> Thus far the same definition will pass also for human personality. But the *propria subsistentia* makes a difficulty; in relation to man, since he does not subsist absolutely for himself, nor independent even of other finite beings, much less of the infinite being; and, in relation to God, of whom we here speak, since it seems to be limited by the re-

<sup>1</sup> *Aristot. Categor. cp. v.* (Casaub.) The notion *man*, e. g., is indeed the subject of the attributes belonging to man, but it can again be used as a predicate; but the notion of a human individual, or the notion *I*, can only take the place of the subject, excepting in tautological sentences. Just so is *God* the subject of the divine attributes, but can at the same time be used as predicate for the Father, Son and Spirit, while these latter can only be used as subjects. Since, now, to exist only as subject, is the logical sign of substance (conf. among others *Kant*, *Krit. d. rein. Vernunft*, S. 149), we may on this account hold ourselves justified in applying to them the notion of *ὑπόστασις*, of *subsistence*, and that in the sense in which e. g. *Quenstedt* describes *person*,—as *substantia individua intelligens, per se ultimato et immediate subsistens*, so that it may be distinguished a *substantiis secundis*, quæ per se subsistunt, sed mediate et in *substantiis primis* s. *individuis*; we understand—as in itself a last subject, beyond which we cannot go, seeking a subject for certain predicates.

<sup>2</sup> To this definition two points are usually added, viz. *incommunicabilis*, and, non *sustentata ab alio*. But the second of these would seem to be less essential, when we consider the humanity of Christ, which, in virtue of the *ὑνυπόστασις*, [impersonalitas, i. e. wanting in proper subsistence; others give it as *ἐνυπόστασις*, meaning the subsistence of the human person in the divine nature of the Logos,] ascribed to it, did not exist by itself, but was borne by his divinity; or, in union with the divine nature, formed one person. These points, also, are only a repetition of what is contained in the others; for the first means, that the notion of person cannot, like that of nature, be the predicate of another subject; and the second is nothing more than a repetition of *proper subsistence*,

lation of the divine persons, partly to one another and partly to the divine essence. On this account, some theologians have been led to make the additional statement, that the subsistence of the divine persons is not absolute but merely relative.<sup>1</sup> Some have even called it a *subsistentia incompleta*. But it is impossible to see what is gained in this way; instead of getting a clear notion of this relation, we are only disturbed and confused about the very definition from which we started, by a partial, one knows not how far-reaching, revocation. We must come back to this, that we ought not to make a definition of a divine person without reference to the divine nature. Considered in this relation, now, we may look at it either abstractly or concretely.<sup>2</sup> *Concretely*, a divine person is the divine nature itself, impressed with a certain hypostatic character, (*ipsa essentia divina certo caractere hypostatico insignita*);<sup>3</sup> Father, Son and Spirit are the same God, the same divine essence, conceived of as generating, as generated, and as proceeding—(*eadem essentia in Patre est ἀγενήτως, in Filio γενήτως, in Spiritu S. ἐκπορεύτως*).<sup>4</sup> Taken *abstractly*, a divine person is the mode in which the divine nature has existed from eternity,<sup>5</sup> (*modus quo existit id quod Deus est, qui triplex est, a se existere, generatum esse, procedere*);<sup>6</sup> or, it is one of those relations which we are obliged to distinguish in the divine nature, either to itself, or to the revelation of itself, considered as having a real subsistence;<sup>7</sup>—it is these internal relations, which involve

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Baier, P. I. cp. 1. § 33. not. 6.—Buddeus, L. II. cp. 1. § 51. not.

<sup>2</sup> Quenstedt de Trin. Sect. I. θεσ. 8; 'Υπόστασις concrete et materialiter, prout implicat simul rem ipsam et rei modum, notat essentiam caractere hypostatico insignitam; abstracte vel formaliter ipsam subsistentiam, quae est actus, modus s. gradus ultimus, quo natura intelligens subsistit complete et incommunicabiliter. Conf. Buddeus, Lib. II. cp. 1. § 51. not. pag. 301. In the notion of a person we have both; the conception of the nature which has personal subsistence in an individual, as the *matter* (or substance); and the conception of this personal subsistence itself, as the form. If we take both together, we think of the person concretely; if the last by itself, abstractly. When we speak of the three persons in the divine nature, the abstract predominates: (Quando unius essentiae divinae individuae tres personae dicuntur, intelliguntur tres modi subsistendi, quorum unusquisque implicat materialiter unam illam essentiam divinam. Quenst. de Trin. Sect. II. qu. I. διὰ λ. obs. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard. exeges. L. III. § 57; Quenst. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Gerhard. loc. III. § 85.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ο ἀναρχος τρόπος τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξεως. John of Damascus in dialect. c. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Ursinus in explicatt. catech. P. I. p. 249 (ed. 1591).

<sup>7</sup> Relatio subsistens in divina natura. Aquinas in Summ. P. I. qu. XXX. art. 1 and 2. Conf. qu. XXIX. art. 4; Persona divina relationem originis significat per modum substantiae. That is, relatio in divinis non est sicut acci-



necessary distinctions in the very Godhead, that make up the notion of a divine person. There are, as we have seen, certain necessary relations which we are obliged to make in God; there is the being of the divine essence *through, from and in itself*, (*das Durch-, Aus- und In sich Seyn des göttlichen Wesens*); there are the distinctions in God, considered as absolute subject, which we may express by *generating, generated, and returning into himself*; and in reference to the work of redemption, there are the distinctions of *sending, sent, and proceeding*; these different relations, which we are obliged to recognise in God, are now the very things which constitute the notion of a divine person.

In giving a description of any human person, also, we define or limit the general traits of human nature, and thus bring out the contrasted elements of this one character, in such a form, that the description will not apply to more than one individual. But we have here to consider, on the one hand, that the essence of humanity is such that it can be divided among different persons, and become in some respects a different thing in every person. As *Gerhard* says: "Every human person has his own incommunicable essence; the persons of the Trinity have one and the same communicable essence."<sup>1</sup> The nature common to all men is susceptible of different modifications, and actually receives such in different individuals; the divine nature or essence is no such abstract general notion, and hence excludes such a plurality. On the other hand, in man essence and being (or nature and existence) are not identical, and the difference of being (that is, in different persons), is more than a mere relation of subsistence along with perfect unity of nature. But in God, as his being is not *really* different from his nature, so these relations are not, nor do they add anything to it; although the relations are totally different one from the other. "Relation compared with essence," says *Aquinas*, "does not differ in fact but only in reason; but compared with an opposite relation, by virtue of the opposition it has a real distinction. Thus, too, *Quenstedt*: "The relations themselves are indeed distinguished from the essence only by reason,

dens inhaerens subjecto, sed est ipsa divina essentia, unde est subsistens sicut essentia divina subsistit; sicut ergo deitas est Deus, ita paternitas divina est Deus Pater, qui est persona divina; persona igitur divina significat relationem ut subsistentem.

<sup>1</sup> *Gerhard*. exeg. L. III. § 62: conf. *Quenstedt* de Trin. Sect. II. *id.* obs. 19 In diversis suppositis humanis tres substernuntur humanitates vel essentiae numero diversae, in divinis autem una tantum numero essentia. So too, *Thomas Aquinas*, Summ. P. I. qu. XXXIX. art. 3.

among themselves however they differ so that they likewise make a real distinction of persons, and these would be distinguished from each other even if all operation of the human intellect were to cease."<sup>1</sup> From this comes the position: "In divinis essentia et persona differunt ratione, ipsae vero tres personae a se differunt realiter."<sup>2</sup> How we may conceive of these relations as distinct from one another, and yet not distinct from the nature of God, is well illustrated in Keckermann,<sup>3</sup> by the relation of existence, and mode of existence. "E. g. one and the same hand is now shut and now open; the closed hand is not a different one from the opened, and yet the fist differs and is distinguished from the opened hand; yet it is not *really* distinguished, but in the *mode*. . . . As therefore the degree of heat is not the heat, and the degree of light is not the light; thus, too, the modes of things are not the things themselves, but are something pertaining to the things. A more obscure light and a more clear light, are not two things (*res et res*), are not light and light, but one and the same light with a certain mode or degree; which degree is distinguished from the light itself not really, nor yet by reason or thought alone, but as certain modes from the thing modified." That is, the distinction is not arbitrary, but there is something in the thing itself which justifies it. It will be still more appropriate to refer for illustration to that threefold relation, which in the previous section we found to be the condition of self-consciousness; where the *I* makes itself its own object, and in this object again recognises itself. Here there are certain antagonisms, the making itself an object, and the being made such, the giving itself to be known and the being known, which must be looked upon as really different from one another; and yet, this threefold *I*, which makes itself an object, which is made such, and which knows itself as such, is only one *I*, by virtue of a unity which is not merely generic but numerical; only it is conceived of in different relations to itself. These relations are not *really* distinct from the *I*, which without them would not be *I*, yet in our conceptions of them they are distinguished from it, and that too by a necessity which exists in the very nature of self-consciousness. Yet we repeat, that thus we can only analogically illustrate the sense of the defini-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas in Summ. P. I. qu. XXXIX. a. 1. Quenstedt de Trin. Sect. 1. *de*. 16, not. 3. So Gerhard (loc. de natura Dei § 85): *proprietas personalis nihil reale addit essentiae, sed tantum efficit, ut distinctus sit a Patre Filius.*

<sup>2</sup> Hutter in loc. de Trin. Pers. prop. 1V. Quenstedt, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> Systema theol. Lib. I. c. 4.

tions of the church respecting our doctrine, but cannot exhaust or adequately express them. Still we may perhaps hope by such a more precise development, to meet many misconceptions, which arise from an imperfect knowledge or rude apprehension of the relation of the three Persons to the one Nature.

We will next proceed to consider some of the objections made to this doctrine. They are thus summarily expressed by De Wette, in his "Doctrinal Theology of the Lutheran Church," § 41. "By the current definition of a Person in the Trinity, we are brought near to Tritheism; the precautionary statements which are made to prevent this, lead us to a modalistic (or Sabellian) view of the doctrine; by other distinctions, again, we are kept back from this, so that we remain in suspense between the two; but still, the whole representation of the doctrine is such, that we cannot avoid the notion of a plurality, of a compounding, and of such relations in the divine nature as wholly exclude the idea that God is an absolute being."

But, from the view already given it is clear that the doctrine of the church is equally removed from tritheism, and from modalism. With respect to tritheism, the objection may be stated in the words which De Wette quotes from Ammon's *Summa*: "An individual and intelligent substance (which is the definition of person), ought also to have an individual will, belonging to himself alone, and if so, then there remains little, or no distinction between person and nature." We grant this fully so far as this, that a divine person, thought of concretely, is not something really distinct from the nature of God, and that it must have the divine will, as well as all the other attributes, in common; but from this too it is clear that, in addition to the will, which is comprehended in the essence of the Godhead, we ought not to speak also of a will as belonging to any single person in the Godhead, as a special will. Just as, according to the Athanasian creed, though Father, Son and Spirit are almighty, "there are not three Almighty, but one Almighty;" so, though Father, Son and Spirit are intelligent subjects, and therefore subjects endowed with will, yet we cannot speak of three wills, but only of one will of God; which will, however, as the nature of God in general, has a threefold subsistence, that is, is to be conceived of under a threefold relation. And although, again, these relations of the divine nature are distinguished only by reason, *distinctione rationis*,<sup>1</sup> yet it

<sup>1</sup> As John of Damascus says: τὸ μὲν ἐν καὶ κοινὸν πρᾶγμα τι θεωρεῖται διὰ τὸ ταύτων τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τοῦ θελήματος, ἐπεινοία δὲ τὸ διημενόν.

does not follow from this that the doctrine of the church is modalistic, or that according to it the difference of persons is to be regarded as having a mere subjective foundation: for, that distinction is, *distinctio rationis ratiocinatae*, not *ratiocinantis*, that is, such that the occasion of making it, and some foundation for it, are found in the thing itself.

Yet the objection, that between the two views, tritheism and modalism, we remain as it were in suspense, is so far not without foundation, as it is certainly difficult for us to bring together the unity and the *threeness* in one thought. But is this, then, absolutely requisite? Is this the only case in which it is necessary, or advisable, to bring the apparently conflicting elements or aspects of the truth in separate parts before our minds, and to see their unity in the fact that each element demands and leads to the other as the complement of itself?

There is at least one such case, the relation of our free actions to the divine foreordination and coöperation. Here also it is difficult for us to conceive of the same action as dependent upon a free determination of the will, by virtue of which it could be other than it is, and at the same time as dependent upon God's decree, in which it is comprehended as the definite action which it is, and no other. Here we are obliged to separate two points of view, that of contemplation, in which the consciousness of our dependence upon God preponderates, and that of practical conviction, in which the consciousness of our free self-determination preponderates. The unity of the two, however, must be necessarily presupposed and held fast, since, in each of them we have only one aspect of a truth which is completed only by the other. Thus it is here also. There are first of all different elements of religious consciousness, in which we encounter the unity and the *threeness*; the former, in our general sense of the equal dependence of all things upon God; the latter in our conscious experience of redemption through Christ.<sup>1</sup> But since in the Christian mind these elements are constantly interchanged and intermingled, it is impossible for us to hold fast to the unity or to the *threeness* alone. If we first think of God as absolutely one, as the original ground of the manifold forms of things, yet the specula-

<sup>1</sup> *Pezel*, Theol. Melancth. P. I. de Trib. Pers. arg. 1: When God is contrasted with his creatures, unity is mentioned, because there is one creative essence, and yet the three persons constitute that creative essence; but the persons are distinguished when the divinity is described as it is in itself, and when we speak of the incarnation of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit.

tive development of the idea of revelation, and of a personal and intelligent being compels us to make a distinction in the relations which this one original being bears to himself, and to the world; or, if speculation does not lead us to do this, yet will a living Christian consciousness compel us to advance from the feeling of general dependence, to that of our special dependence, as exhibited in the higher life which we have received from Christ, and accordingly to make the distinction in God, of Father, Son and Spirit. If, on the other hand, we begin with the consciousness of redemption, and of the connection, inseparable from this, of our new life with the agency of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, with, through and in whom, we are reconciled and made partakers of the fulness of truth and grace (John 1: 16, 17); and if we see that these three must be conceived of as having a truly divine nature, we need then only to get a clear conception of what it means, *to have a divine nature*, in order at once to see that this nature must necessarily have a unity, and, consequently, that the distinction of the three persons must be expressed in such a way as to show that they are not in fact something independent of this one nature, or inconsistent with its unity. Thus it is, as a father of the church has somewhere said, that the one light of the divine essence separates itself before our eyes into three flames, and these flow together again into one light; in this perpetual transition and movement, the religious consciousness has its life. And this is what the doctrine of the church expresses in its way, even as De Wette has it; when any one thinks himself brought by this doctrine near to a tritheistic conception of the Godhead, it speaks against any dismemberment of the divine nature, in a way that would seem to lead to a modalistic view of the Trinity; and yet it avoids this, again, by other distinctions in which it enforces the objective character of the personal distinctions in the Godhead. We cannot succeed in transforming what is *mobile* into an inflexible and fixed image; not because we have not the appropriate definitions and conceptions, but because we have not an adequate and living vision, (our own self consciousness as we said furnishes us with an analogy); but this *must* be wanting to us, because we are not God himself, and so far this doctrine necessarily remains a mystery. No one knows the Father but the Son, and no one the Son but the Father (Matt. 11: 27); but we must receive with faith what the Son has revealed to us.

But, continues the objector, with this representation of the doc-

trine we cannot keep clear of the notion of a plurality, of a compounding, and of such relations, in the divine nature, as destroy the idea of God as an absolute being.

In the first place, then, as to a plurality in the divine nature. The scholastics had much to say of the relation of number to the divine unity, since Boethius had put forth the canon: *vere unum esse, in quo nullus sit numerus*. Peter the Lombard sought to avoid the difficulty by saying, that number in its application to God and divine things, had only a negative meaning: "these things are rather said to exclude what is not in God than to assert what is" (Sentent. lib. I. dist. 24). He thought, that when we speak of one God, one Father, one Son, we only mean to exclude the notion that there are several such; and when we speak of several divine persons, we only exclude the *singularitas et solitudo*. When we say that there are in God three persons, this only means, that not the Father alone, and also not merely the Father and Son, but that Father, Son and Spirit are to be revered as having a divine nature; besides these, however, no other. Although this position was much contested and limited, yet it is found even in the later scholastics, (e. g. Aquinas, Summa. P. I. quæst. 30. art. 3). The Lutheran theologians, after Hutter's example (Loc. de Trin. Pers. prop. IV. p. 102,) rejected it; to keep themselves from Sabellianism they thought that they ought not to give up anything of the *threeness*. And we can certainly do very well without this, as well as other scholastic means of avoiding the difficulty, if, instead of entangling ourselves in the abstract categories of number and unity, we hold on to the simple and concrete truth, that the plurality of relations does not destroy the unity of essence. In the very exclusion of number from the Godhead we may find the real significancy of the unity of God. By denying to him all number, we ascribe to him absolute unity. But this unity is still an immanent attribute of the divine nature. Its meaning is this, that the nature of God is not capable of a reduplication, is not to be regarded as a generic notion, which includes under itself many or several individuals. But this position is not only not denied but is expressly asserted in the doctrine of the Trinity; for how can we, from a difference in relations infer that there are several natures? So far, then, as there is a plurality contained in the idea of the Trinity, it is not opposed to that unity which belongs to an absolute being, but, if we may make use of the expression, to that solitude or singleness of existence (*solitudo, singularitas*), with which we should find it difficult to

unite the conception of a God, living and blessed, independent of creation.

But it is said, again, that this plurality, existing in God himself, seems to lead to the notion of a certain composition in the divine nature, as though it were made up of parts. We should indeed gain little if we maintained the unity of God, and yet, in order to do this, were obliged to give up the *simplicity* of the divine nature, which is an equally necessary idea. But here we apply the canon: *relationes non component sed distinguunt*; or, to express it in more general terms, as distinctions do not involve a separation into parts, so, the unity of what is distinguished does not consist in its being made up of parts. When we distinguish the clearness of the light, and the definite degree of the clearness, we do not thereby say that the light is something compounded of the clearness and its degree. "Composition is only between one thing and another thing (*inter rem et rem*), but a relation is not a thing but only a mode of a thing, therefore a relation cannot be compounded; e. g. degree in color does not compose the color, nor degree in whiteness the whiteness, because the degree of color or whiteness is not a different thing from the color or whiteness, but only a mode of the color or whiteness."<sup>1</sup> Our *I* does not cease to be simple because the notion of it presupposes the distinction of subject and object, and the knowledge that it is both. And, what comes nearer to the point, if we find that we can distinguish the several attributes of God, without detriment to the divine simplicity, why may we not equally distinguish his different internal relations without conflicting with the same notion? For what we have before remarked applies also here, that the distinguishing of them from the divine essence is a *distinctio non realis sed rationis ratiocinatae*.

The question, whether in truth a certain plurality cannot consist with the divine simplicity, is one which has been answered affirmatively by many persons, and that not merely in our times. Thus Lessing<sup>2</sup> says: "What if this doctrine (the Trinity) were

<sup>1</sup> Keckermann, System. theol. L. I. p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschl.* § 73. Conf. Poiret *oogit. rational.* L. III. cp. 18; p. 447, not. "Simplicity excludes plurality, yet not all, but such as exists between different things, which are single and separate and have not the same but a different reality (or nature);—but if one thing may have many ways and internal modes of contemplating, of possessing and of having complacency in itself in the most perfect manner, each one of which is essentially indissoluble from the others, (which can be no other than the most perfect of all things, that is God,) it will nevertheless be the most simple of all things."

meant to bring the human understanding in the way of seeing that God cannot possibly be *one*, in the sense in which finite things are *one*, that, also, his unity must be a transcendental unity, which does not exclude a kind of plurality?" In our own times there are, as is well known, many who adopt the philosophical position, that the highest unity is to be conceived of as the identity of unity and manifoldness; from which it follows that the simplicity of this unity does not consist in its having no internal distinctions, but approves itself by alternately making and revoking these distinctions.<sup>1</sup> Apart, however, from these speculations, we may say, that we cannot make to ourselves a better conception of this attribute, considering it not merely negatively but also positively, than when we distinguish God from God, in order to comprehend him as the being who is eternally in himself and like himself alone.<sup>2</sup>

We have still to consider the third of these objections, that the relations which the doctrine of the Trinity ascribes to the Godhead destroy the idea that God is an absolute being. This can have a double meaning. Either, it is found at variance with the idea of the absolute nature of God, to conceive of him under such relations as those of *generation* and *procession*; or, it is doubted whether the absolute divine nature is actually attributed to the single persons, when it is attributed to them under certain relations, to the exclusion of others—(it is thought e. g. that if the Son is to be conceived of as generated, he cannot be called God in the absolute sense in which the Father is, who is conceived of as generating.) The first form of the objection we could not concede to be valid, even if we were speaking only of the external

<sup>1</sup> This is the position of the Hegelian logic.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. Poiret (*l'oeconomie de la creation*, p. 51); I remark in passing, that the divine simplicity of the essence of God, so far from excluding, necessarily includes, the great mystery of the Trinity. For an intelligent and perfect being which could not have the idea of the essential likeness of itself (which is the Son), would not be a simple being, but a being whose thought would be divided from itself by ignorance; as, too, this being would be divided from itself by indifference if it did not have in itself a love for itself necessarily and eternally springing up. But, further, this same intelligence or knowledge and this essential love of God would not be simple, but necessarily divided, if they were to be necessarily employed upon anything else than the divine nature and essence alone. If there were out of God any other idea, truth, goodness, independent of God, to which God ought necessarily to give his knowledge and his love, the intelligence of God and his love would not be naturally simple, but they would be necessarily shared and dispersed among other things than the pure essence of God."



relations of God to the world and to the revelation of himself in the world; for here, although God be absolute, yet the doctrinal definitions respecting his nature and attributes must be based upon the contrast and dependence which we find to exist in the relations between God and the world. That is, though God be absolute, yet we are obliged to think of him as having certain relations. Still less will the objection hold in respect to the Trinity, for here we are speaking chiefly of the internal relations of the divine essence to itself; and, without such relations, it is impossible for us to have any clear conception of the fundamental definition of what is absolute, viz. that it exists only through itself, for itself and in itself.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of the second form of this objection must be deferred to the next section.

It may be well, in conclusion, to notice in a few words the objections which Schleiermacher has brought against the doctrine of the church in respect to the Trinity.<sup>2</sup> He finds the doctrine unsatisfactory in two respects; partly, because it makes the unity of nature subordinate to the triplicity of persons, or the converse; and, again, because the doctrine asserts that the three persons are to be held equal, while it fails to show that they are so. This last point is the one which we have retained for discussion in the next section. In respect to the first of these objections, Schleiermacher presents it in the following manner. There has always been a contest upon the question whether, for the relation of the one divine nature to the three persons, we may derive a valid analogy from the relation of genus and species, of a generic notion to the individual beings included under it. He says that we must take this analogy, for if we do not, we cannot have any definite conception of this relation. Then he tries to show, that, according as we take this relation of genus and species in a realistic or nominalistic sense, the divine *monarchy* preponderates and the distinction of persons becomes subordinate, or the *converse*; and that a strict middle course is impossible. From this he concludes that we must decide for the subordination either of the unity or of the *threeness*; or, if we are kept back from this by the definitions of the creeds, we must remain in a fluctuating

<sup>1</sup> [The text gives in a parenthesis, as equivalent to this last clause—"the absolute *aseitas* and *sufficiency* of the divine nature." By *aseitas* is meant that attribute, by virtue of which God is described as the "most free cause of himself;" by the *sufficiency* of God is meant, that he is not dependent either for existence or action upon any other being.]

<sup>2</sup> Conf. Schleiermacher, Glaubenslehre § 171, 2d edition.

state between the two; and then also we no less fail of the proposed object, that is, establishing the equal validity of both elements.

Whoever has followed our exhibition of the doctrine will, in the first place, find that what Schleiermacher says of the way in which we are to conceive of the relation of the nature and the persons of the Godhead, is not exactly correct. On the one hand all are unquestionably agreed in this, that the relation of a generic notion to the individuals embraced under it, does indeed give us an analogy, but yet only an analogy, and the entire difference which also exists between the two things ought not to be left out of sight. On the other hand, those theologians who have gone into a further illustration of this point, have given us another type of this relation, the analogy derived from our own souls, elevated to a state of clear self-consciousness. Accordingly, the inference which is drawn from the antagonism of nominalistic and realistic views, as to the necessity of the subordination either of the unity or of the triplicity, is of very questionable validity. In the second place, we believe that we have also shown, that this fluctuation between the one and the three, or rather, between those elements of consciousness in which the unity and those in which the triplicity preponderates, is not of so objectionable a character, that it must at any rate be set aside. We should rather say, that the equalization which is claimed for these two elements, is reached by their both appearing as necessary; and that the only thing which conflicts with this equality, is a theory in which the unity is supplanted by the *threeness*, or the latter by the former; or in which the subordination of the one or the other, is maintained as perfectly satisfactory, needing no completion through the antagonism of the elements—which of course entirely excludes the equal validity of the two.

Moreover, I cannot concede that the doctrine of the church is really inclined to lay more stress upon the persons than upon the unity of nature; I rather believe, that if the contest could be resumed where it stood before the rejection of Sabellianism, nothing more could be conceded to the latter than is contained in the doctrine of the church, without involving us in the most decided contradiction with the Holy Scriptures.

[To be continued.]

## ARTICLE VII.

## LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor at Andover.

*England and Scotland.* A second edition of Elliott's *Horæ Apocalyptice* has just appeared in four large octavo volumes of two thousand pages. So great is its popularity, that a large part of the edition had been sold at a high price sometime previously to its appearance. The author is a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a most decided anti-Tractarian. To such an extent is this feeling carried, that he sees in the rise and spread of Tractarianism, an evident fulfilment of an important part of the Revolution. To the same cause is to be attributed a part of the popularity of the work. Another cause is said to be the attractive and highly poetical quality of the style. It may also be mentioned, that there has been for many years a strong tendency in the evangelical part of the ministry of the establishment, to affix a literal interpretation to the prophetic Scriptures. Premillennial theories and the literal return of the Jews are embraced by many.—Rev. Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow is preparing a new edition of his work on Baptism, in opposition to the views and practice of those who baptize the children of parents neither of whom is a professor of religion—a practice which is said to be nearly universal among the English Congregationalists.—Rev. John Wilson, D. D., for many years missionary at Bombay, now on a visit at his home in Scotland, has in press a work on Palestine. On his return from the East he spent six months in researches at the Red Sea, Mount Sinai, Petra, Palestine, etc., extending his journeys to Baalbec and Aleppo. The work is largely illustrated by drawings. The personal narrative is separated from the scientific researches, the latter forming a separate portion of each chapter or section. Dr. Wilson has collected a large and very valuable museum, as it may be called, of oriental books, MSS., coins, shells, minerals, etc., from Palestine, Arabia, Egypt and India. His Researches will be published in five or six months. Just before he left India he published a volume, entitled, “The Pârsi Religion, as contained in the Zând-Avastâ, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity.” The production exhibits multifarious learning, and produced quite a sensation among the population to whom it was addressed. Dr. Wilson is president of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—The Biblical Cabinet, published for several years by Mr. Thomas Clark of Edinburgh, is now complete in forty-six volumes. The set may be procured for

about forty-five dollars, the original price having been about sixty-five. The works in this series written or translated in the United States, are Stuart's Greek Syntax; Tholuck's Sermons, with his Life and Character of Paul, and Nature and Moral Influence of Heathenism; Researches in Palestine by Smith and Wolcott; and Robbins's translation of Hengstenberg on the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt. Mr. Clark has lately commenced a new series under the title of the Foreign Theological Library. It is published in a handsome, octavo form, at £1 for four volumes yearly. The first work in the series, two volumes of which are published, is Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Psalms. It is to be hoped that competent translators will be selected, so that the English version may be both faithful and readable. In the volumes of the Biblical Cabinet there is great diversity in the style of translation. Among the volumes of the Foreign Library in the press or in immediate preparation, are Hagenbach's *Dogmengeschichte*, Hävernicks Introduction to the Old Testament, and a translation of a new edition of Gieseler's Church History.—A valuable contribution has been made to our knowledge of central Asia, by the translation of Baron Hügel's *Travels in Cashmire and the adjacent regions*. The translator, Major T. B. Servis, has added valuable illustrative Notes, and a map constructed by Arrowsmith.

Five libraries in Great Britain receive a copy each of all the publications which are entered at Stationers' Hall. These are the British Museum, the Bodleian library at Oxford, the University library at Cambridge, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Advocate's library at Cambridge. Some other libraries, that formerly enjoyed this privilege, now receive a stipulated sum of money from government, in some cases £600 per annum. It seems to be regarded in certain respects rather as a burden than a favor. It fills a library, e. g. the Bodleian, with worthless trash, or with books wholly foreign to the objects of a university, when already the library is greatly straitened for want of room. Indeed the wish has been sometimes expressed that no more benefactions might be made to the university in the shape of books or of money limited to that object. Some of the single colleges, as Christ Church and All Souls, have noble collections of books, in fine preservation and exhibited to great advantage. The Bodleian is in want of a new building both for the safe keeping and adequate exhibition of its inestimably precious stores. The number of volumes in its library is between 400,000 and 500,000. One of the noblest spectacles in London is the hall in the British Museum, which contains the library collected by George III. and presented to the Museum by George IV. The proportions of the room are in admirable keeping, while the binding of the books is in a style of regal luxury. It will grat-

ify our readers to learn that the Museum have ordered the purchase of every American book and publication of every kind, which can be procured, including pamphlets, sermons, school-books, childrens' books, etc.—A very extensive trade in old books is carried on in London. There are many book-collectors in the employment of persons in the old world and new, who are smitten with bibliomania, or who are collecting large libraries with the intention of bequeathing them to some public institution. These collectors are ready to seize on any treasure the moment it comes into the market, so that it often requires no little adroitness and promptitude to secure an old book for which one is in pursuit. The price of a work is generally according to its age; sometimes, to the fact of its having the autograph of some distinguished author. For example, it is now extremely difficult to procure the autograph of Sir Walter Scott. Any volume with his name written in it would be eagerly purchased. His fine library at Abbotsford, consisting of 15,000 volumes, a catalogue of which in two volumes has been lately published, will remain unembarrassed and undisturbed as the property of his heirs.—It has almost come to be a regular trade in London to supply with the pen a deficient title page or any number of leaves in a volume, where a perfect copy can be found, and in such a manner that the supplied part is not easily detected.

The Dissenting academies in England and Wales combine, as is well known, classical and theological education, with the exception of those in London and its vicinity. The students connected with the academies in or near the metropolis, now pursue the study of the arts and sciences in the London University, where, on examination, they receive a degree. This arrangement appears to give great satisfaction to the Dissenters, and in a measure removes the disabilities under which they have long most unjustly labored, by their exclusion from the two principal universities. The number of these academies is thought by many of their patrons to be much too large. Thus there are in or near London the institution at Cheshunt, Highbury, Homerton, and Coward College (the latter the descendent of Dr. Doddridge's seminary at Northampton). There is one at Birmingham, one at Manchester, one near Sheffield, etc. By the building of railways in every direction, much of the supposed necessity for some of these institutions has been taken away. Birmingham e. g. is only three or four hours from Manchester. Still it is found to be very difficult to amalgamate them. In some cases local feelings and prejudices in favor of particular institutions are very strong. In other instances legal difficulties stand in the way. It is also argued that a number of institutions scattered over the kingdom, afford to the students greater facilities for preaching, opportunities being allowed them

almost throughout the entire course to supply the pulpits of vacant churches, and many of them needing the pecuniary aid thus furnished. Still, the expense of supporting so many seminaries is by no means small. Thus at one of those institutions, where there are not more than ten or fifteen students, the salaries of the professors amount to five or six thousand dollars. The Lancashire Independent College near Manchester has one of the most elegant and convenient buildings for educational purposes that we have ever seen. The grounds around it are laid out with a taste and beauty which contrast strongly with the uncouthness and ill-favoredness, in which so many American seminaries seem to glory. Drs. Vaughan and Davidson are the teachers at this seminary. The Free Church of Scotland have laid the corner stone of their new college on the mound which connects the old tower of Edinburgh with the new. It is to be constituted on such a plan as to render it a complete edifice, though it should proceed no further than to furnish accommodation for a theological faculty and the related branches of Logic and Ethics; but capable of extension, should it be necessary to add a complete faculty of arts. On this matter there is much difference of opinion among the members of the church, some contending that it is altogether preferable that the students of the Free Church should acquire their scientific education in the old universities, where they would be brought into healthful contact with the members of other denominations. The professors of the new college are, Rev. Drs. Chalmers, Cunningham, Duncan, Black and Buchanan, and Rev. Alexander Fraser lately appointed professor of Logic. On the 18th of May, the foundation of a monument to John Knox was laid—a building to contain churches and schools both for Lowlanders and Highlanders. The United Secession Church are about to erect a building for their theological seminary, which is under the able superintendence of Rev. John Brown, D. D., and Rev. James Harper, D. D.

The influence of the example and writings of Dr. Arnold continues to be felt in the public schools of England. Dr. Tait, a Scotchman, now master of Rugby, is understood to enter into the spirit and plans of his lamented predecessor. A pupil of Dr. Arnold has been appointed master of Harrow. Even Eton and Westminster, it is intimated, have felt in some degree the new influence.—Dr. Leonard Schmitz, editor of the *Classical Museum* and translator of Niebuhr's *Lectures on Roman History*, has been lately chosen rector of the High School at Edinburgh—a post filled for many years by Dr. Alexander Adam and Prof. Pillars. This selection augurs well for the interests of classical literature in Edinburgh and Scotland, Schmitz being a graduate of the university of Bonn and an accomplished classical scholar. His colleague in the editorship of the *Museum*, Dr. William Smith, is classical teacher at Homerton and

**Highbury Dissenting Academies.** The interests of Greek and Roman literature in Great Britain have been much promoted by the labors of Dr. Smith, in editing the *Classical Dictionary* and other works. The scholars of Great Britain are beginning to ascertain and appreciate the value of the stores of learning which have been accumulated by the patience and toil of German scholars. The excellent Greek Lexicon of Liddell and Scott, owes not a little of its value to the labors of Schneider, Passow, Pape and others. Still, the ancient methods of instruction generally predominate in the British Schools. The grammars of Adam, Dunbar, the Eton Grammar and many others, the product of native authorship, have not yet given place, as they will most assuredly do, to the manuals of Zumpt, Kühner and others, which living German scholars have furnished. The Latin Lexicon of Leverett is well known and extensively used in the schools of Great Britain. At the two ancient universities in England, the main attention of the pupils is still directed, we understand, to the study of metres and accents, to the writing of hexameters, etc. The late Dr. Wordsworth, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, introduced some improvements in the classical course of that college.

**German Universities on or near the Rhine.** These universities are four in number; Bonn in Prussia, Heidelberg and Freiburg in the grand duchy of Baden, and Bale or Basil in Switzerland. The latter, though not in Germany, is in a canton where the German language prevails, and is itself constituted according to the German model. Heidelberg and Freiburg are not on the bank of the Rhine, but they are only a few miles distant, and in the Rhine valley.

Bonn, the first named of these institutions, is most delightfully situated on the left bank of the river, at the point where, in ascending, the banks lose their tame and level aspect, while the river winds most gracefully and romantically among hills and mountains. The mountains often approach and overhang the stream; they are covered with vineyards sometimes to their very tops, and many of them are crowned with castles mostly in ruins, recalling some stirring tradition or history of past ages. A university, established in the midst of such scenery and associations, has a most appropriate and enviable *locale*. The influence on the heart and imagination of the youth may be imperceptible and gradual, but in the end and on the whole, it constitutes one of the most important elements in education. The students at the colleges in Burlington and Amherst, and in the academy at West Point, are in this respect highly favored; still these towns are in a new country, and do not possess the historical associations which so thickly cluster on the banks of the Rhine. That river, also, has some natural features peculiar to itself. Indeed it

cannot well be compared with the Hudson, the Connecticut, or any other stream in the old world or new. Two or three miles above Bonn, on the same bank, are the hill and ruined castle of Godesberg. Here are said to be the remains of a Roman castle, built in the time of Julian. It was rebuilt in the sixteenth century by an archbishop of Cologne, and became the asylum of the elector and archbishop Gebhard, on his conversion to Lutheranism and marriage with the beautiful Agnes, countess of Mansfeldt. The view from the summit of the old tower is of almost unequalled beauty. The long and very narrow strips of grain of various colors, some yellow for the harvest, reminding one of the view from Mount Holyoke; the vine-terraced hills, green to the very top; the high and kindred hills on the opposite bank, called the Siebenberge, one of them "the castled crag of Drachenfels," frowning "o'er the wide and winding Rhine;" behind these seven, four other mountains nearly two thousand feet high, and all crowned with ruined castles; the high cross, a monument of the 14th century, on the road to Bonn; the city itself, with its university buildings, its Münster church surrounded by its great octagonal tower; and still further down the stream, the numerous spires of Cologne, its magnificent cathedral tower and the suspended crane,—all, perfectly distinct, form a panorama at the same time crowded with historical associations, with romance, and exhibiting a perfect image of quiet beauty; these constitute no unimportant item in the *material* of university education. Bonn—the Bonna and Bonnensia Castra of Florus and Tacitus—is one of the most ancient towns on the Rhine. Two or three apartments in the basement of the university, are filled with Roman antiquities dug up in the town and vicinity. These relics of Roman cookery, of the military art, and of polytheism, are now not unfrequently found when an excavation is made, or even when the ploughman turns up the soil. The university was founded by Maximilian, the last elector. It was suppressed by the French, and restored by the present government in 1818. It is now one of the most eminent in Germany in the character of its professors, in its improved discipline, in the commodiousness of its buildings, and in the extent and happy arrangement of its scientific and literary treasures. Among its lately deceased teachers who enjoyed a European reputation, or rather one coëxtensive with the civilized world, were Augustus Schlegel and Niebuhr. In the church-yard, outside of the gate, called Sternenthor, is a monument in memory of Niebuhr and his wife, designed by Rauch of Berlin, of exquisite workmanship and of a most thoughtful and expressive character. The marble busts of the historian and his wife—her right hand in his—are extremely beautiful and touching. The inscriptions, taken from the Apocrypha, Horace, and the New Testament, are quite appropriate to Niebuhr, but they



disturb the effect which the simple words of the New Testament alone are fitted to produce. Beethoven, though never connected with the university, is one of the boasts of this city. Ernest Hänel of Dresden has erected a fine bronze monument for him in one of the squares. The old house in which he was born and the instrument on which he learned to play so cunningly, are shown to the traveller. Among the most eminent living *savans* of the university, is Christian Lassen, professor of Sanscrit. He is now suffering severely from weakness of eye-sight, caused by his efforts to decipher the Persepolitan inscriptions which have been recently copied by a learned Dane. A part of the results of these studies of Professor L. have been published in the *Oriental Journal*, conducted by him. This periodical is now to be transferred to Leipsic, and to be conducted by Professor Rödiger, Pott, Fleischer, etc. Professor Welcker, of Bonn, enjoys a high classical reputation, and is one of the conductors of the Rhenish Museum for Philology. He is also superintendent of the university museum of art, of which he has published a description in two pamphlets amounting to about 200 pages. The collection of casts in gypsum is large, and some of the specimens exceedingly beautiful. It is, however, much surpassed by the museum at Berlin, which some time ago had 206 groups and statues, 502 busts, heads and masks, and 1200 reliefs. The number of Greek and Roman coins in the museum at Bonn is 6073. Six are of gold, and 3209 of silver. About half a mile from the university building is Poppelsdorf, connected with Bonn by a beautiful avenue of chestnuts. The building—formerly the pleasure castle built by Joseph Clemens—now contains halls for the delivery of lectures, apartments for the professors, collections in natural history, etc. The ground surrounding it is laid out as a botanic garden. The collection in zoölogy comprises between 16,000 and 18,000 specimens; that of petrifications, more than 10,000, and that of minerals, more than 22,000. The geology of the district is beautifully and very distinctly illustrated, particularly that of the volcanic rocks of the Seven Mountains. In the university is a large room devoted to the fresco paintings executed by the celebrated Cornelius and his pupils. They were begun in 1824, and completed in 1832. The figures are as large as life. There are four distinct paintings representing the schools of philosophy, law, medicine, and theology. They are quite instructive, as showing who, in the opinion of Germans, have been the great lights of science and literature. Leibnitz, F. A. Wolff, Göthe, Schiller and Schleiermacher would stand forth without disguise, though at the expense of such inferior men as Bacon and Milton! But we were hardly prepared to see Klopstock in close proximity with Luther, Calvin and Zuingli, while John Knox is not thought worthy to appear at all! Peter is of course on the Catholic

side of Theology, but by what rule John and Luke are placed there, we do not know. The first Protestant writers in theology, according to the picture, were Paul, Matthew and Mark. The next in the series is Eusebius, the church historian. Chrysostom and Basil follow the direction of Peter, while Jerome, Origen, Tertullian and Augustine are under the guidance of Paul. The University Library contains more than 160,000 volumes, besides several hundred volumes of MSS. There are also a great number of cases or pasteboard bags, in which are placed the programmes, monograms, etc., in which the German *gelehrten* are so prolific.

The seat of the university of Heidelberg is scarcely less striking than that of Bonn, though it is much more confined. The city lies on the left bank of the Neckar a few miles from its entrance into the Rhine, just at the point where the Neckar breaks through the hills and enters the great Rhine valley. Immediately in the rear of the city, on a commanding eminence, are the ruins of the old castle, formerly the residence of the Electors Palatine, hardly excelled in extent by any in Europe; a part of the castle is in very tolerable preservation, and every portion is associated with the horrors of war, of which Heidelberg has suffered more than its proportion. A walk of an hour and a half will take one to the top of the *Kaiserstuhl*, a mountain two thousand feet high, on the top of which a tower, one hundred feet in height, has been erected. From the summit is a commanding view of the Rhine and Neckar valleys, Worms, Mannheim, etc., the Odenwald, the distant hills of France, Strasburgh spire, ninety miles distant, and a large part of the territories of Baden, Hesse, Darmstadt and Würtemberg. The number of fine walks and views in the vicinity renders Heidelberg very inviting. It is also an admirable country for the lover of natural history, as the fine collections of Professors von Leonhard, Bronn and others show. The university building is in a square near the middle of the city, and is a very plain and uninteresting edifice. The institution is one of the oldest in Europe, and was founded by the Count Palatine Rupert in 1346. Its means were greatly extended under the rectorship of Marsilius of Sugenheim, and also by the efficient patronage of John Dalburg, in the beginning of the 16th century. By the cession of the right bank of the Rhine in 1802, the university lost the greater part of its revenues, and was reduced to the brink of ruin, when the Elector of Baden, Charles Theodore, who had obtained possession of the Rhenish Palatinate, established the university on a new basis, and assigned it considerable sums from the treasury. Among the professors who are best known abroad, are Drs. Paulus, Umbreit, Ullmann and Rothe of the theological faculty, Dr. Mittermaier of the law, Dr. Jiedemann of the medical, and Drs. Bähr,

Creutzer, Gervinus, Schlosser, Von Leonhard, Gmelin and Bronn of the philosophical. Drs. Ullmann and Umbreit are highly esteemed for the candor, judgment and ability with which they conduct the "*Studien und Kritiken*," perhaps the ablest theological journal in Germany, though the number of subscribers, as we were informed, is only one thousand. Dr. Ullmann has in press a new edition of his acute and profound treatise on the "Sinkensness of Jesus," an English translation of which has been published in the United States and reprinted in Scotland. Dr. Ullmann is one of the most distinguished writers on Church History in Germany, of which the "*Lives of the Reformers before the Reformation*" gives abundant proof. Dr. U. is a man of truly Christian feelings, and of singular mildness and urbanity of manners. Dr. Rothe was formerly a professor in the theological school at Wittenberg, and published a well-known work on the early history of the Church. He is now director of the Preachers' Seminary in the university of Heidelberg, and first university preacher. He is said to proclaim the truths of the gospel from his important post with great boldness and fidelity. The law department is perhaps the most celebrated in Germany, and gives to the university its principal renown. Dr. Mittermaier is president of the legislative chamber of the grand Duchy at Carlsruhe. Dr. Bähr will be recognized as the editor of *Herodotus*. He entertains the most friendly feelings towards Americans, and is well acquainted with the classical works published in the United States. Dr. Creutzer is the author of the celebrated work on *Symbolik*, and Drs. Von Leonhard and Bronn are learned and active investigators in the natural sciences. Dr. V. L.'s fossils and minerals are particularly illustrative of the geology of this part of Germany. The whole number of teachers in the university is as follows: Ordinary professors of theology, five, extraordinary, one; ordinary professors of law, six, other teachers, seven; ordinary professors of medicine, seven, other teachers, eleven; ordinary professors in the Philosophical faculty, fourteen, other teachers, eighteen; other instructors, e. g. of music, twelve; total, eighty-five. The whole number of students on the 25th of May, 1846, was 932, of whom there were studying theology, 44, law, 560, medicine, 162; the natural sciences, e. g. mineralogy, 54, philosophy and philology, 44. It should here be remarked, that not a few of those whose principal pursuit is philology, attend the lectures in the law and other departments more or less. Of these 932 students, all but 243 are from abroad, i. e. not residents of the grand duchy of Baden. They belong to every part of Germany; a few are natives of the West Indies and South America, and eight or ten of the United States.—The library consists of between 120,000 and 130,000 volumes, besides MSS. There are a *Codex* of the Greek Anthology of the 11th century, MSS. of Thucydides

and Plutarch, of the 10th and 11th centuries, Luther's MS. translation of Isaiah, the prayer-book of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, of England, etc.

"Freiburg in the Breisgau"—so called to distinguish it from other towns of the same name—is the ancient capital of the Breisgau and is situated in one of the most beautiful spots on the outskirts of the Black Forest. The road to this city from Offenburg presents many picturesque views, and in the summer is lined with abundant harvests. The west tower of the minster, 380 feet high, surmounted by a pyramid spire of the most graceful open-work tracery, all of stone, of extreme lightness as well as boldness, is seen from afar and attracts one irresistibly to the city. The town has 15,000 inhabitants, including 1500 Protestants who have recently settled there. The university was founded in 1120 and is the Roman Catholic Seminary of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Heidelberg being the Protestant. The number of students, July 1846, was 212. Dr. Leonard Hug, well known as the author of the Introduction to the New Testament—perhaps the best which we yet have—is rector and also dean of the cathedral, though the Grand Duke is styled "rector magnificentissimus." In the south aisle of the Minster is the university chapel. The professors of theology are Drs. Hug, Staudenmaier, Hirscher, Schleyer and Maier. The university does not seem to be distinguished in any department, its southern location and its vicinity to Heidelberg operating to its disadvantage. The Catholic Seminaries are also in general decidedly inferior to the Protestant. A controversy is now going on in some of the German newspapers, in relation to the causes of the decline and inferiority of the university at Freiburg.

There are but few towns on the Rhine more interesting than Bâle. The greater part of the city lies on the left bank, a few miles below the point where the river becomes navigable. Its waters, the present season at an extraordinary height, rushing rapidly through the city, constitute a principal attraction. On one side are seen the hills of the Black Forest, on the other the Jura mountains. The Münster, or cathedral church, very near the river, was begun A. D. 1010, and is a very venerable, though not handsome, structure. The material of which it is built, is a deep red sand stone. The church is used for the Protestant service. It contains the red, marble tomb stone of Erasmus, who was buried beneath the middle aisle in 1536. In an adjoining cloister are the monuments of Oecolampadius, Grynaeus and Meyer. There is also an apartment, called Concilium's Saal, where the meetings of the committee of the Council of Bâle were held between 1436 and 1444. It is a low, unimposing room, with four Gothic windows, quite unaltered since the days of the Council. The public or university library, containing between 50,000 and 60,000 volumes, is crowded into dull and low apartments, but is it-

self an object of great interest. Here are autographs of Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, Zuingle and other eminent reformers. There is also a great number of portraits,—some of them the originals—of the reformers just named, of the three Bernouillis and of Euler, all eminent mathematicians and natives of Bâle, an excellent one of the printer Frobenius, etc. Here also are the paintings and drawings of the younger Holbein, including the Passion of Christ, in eight compartments, portraits of the artist, his wife and children, and an original sketch for the famous picture of the family of Sir Thomas More. Here likewise are some fresco fragments of the original Dance of Death, which were in existence at least in 1439. In the library are bronzes, coins, fragments of pottery, etc. found in Augst, the site of the Roman *Augusta Rauracorum*, seven miles from Bâle. A large and commodious building is now in a process of preparation, intended to contain these and other antiquities. The university was founded in 1460. Its annals have been illustrated by the great names of Erasmus, Euler, the Bernouillis, etc. From various causes it has lost much of its former reputation and importance. One of these causes is undoubtedly the celebrity to which the universities of Berlin, Bonn, etc. have attained. In 1832 the Swiss Diet separated the Canton into two parts, called Bâle Ville and Bâle Campagne. By this division, the university has been most unjustly deprived of a large portion of its funds. The corps of instructors consists of five professors of theology—viz. De Wette, Hagenbach, Stähelin, Müller and Hoffmann,—three of law; eleven of medicine; and in the philosophical faculty, twelve ordinary professors and seven professors extraordinary;—in all thirty-eight. There are two professors of the honored name of Bernouilli and three of that of Burckhardt. William Wackernagel, author of the valuable collection of Latin and German hymns, is professor of poetry and rhetoric. Dr. Hoffmann is the excellent superintendent of the mission institute and the successor of Dr. Blumhardt. Dr. Hagenbach is a very able theologian and author of the well-known *Dogmengeschichte*. He is evangelical in his opinions and his influence is said to be very happy in the university and abroad. He is editor of the “*Church Journal for Reformed Switzerland*,” published at Zurich. Dr. De Wette is now employed in preparing for the press a new edition of his condensed Commentary on the New Testament. In the *semester* which commences in the beginning of Nov. 1846, the professors of theology will lecture on the following topics: De Wette, on the gospel of John, Psalms, Christian Morals and Introduction to Dogmatic Theology; Hagenbach on Church History and Theological Encyclopaedia, with exercises in Homiletics, etc.; Stähelin, Interpretation of the first part of the Prophet Isaiah, grammatical explanation of select passages of the Old Testament and instruction

in the other Semitic dialects ; Müller, Interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Doctrinal History of Hebraism, and selections from the Apostolic Fathers ; and Hoffmann, Dogmatics and Historical writings of the New Testament. One of the professors extraordinary teaches Hebrew Grammar.

Bâle, as is well known, is the seat of the mission seminary established by Dr. Blumhardt in 1816. "It was founded as a monument to the glory of God for the deliverance of Germany from foreign domination." Its great object is to fit young men by a course of study and discipline for foreign missionaries. The original number of pupils was seven, who came with Blumhardt, who had been a pastor in Würtemberg. Auxiliary societies for the support of the Institute, were soon founded in Würtemberg, in French and German Switzerland and in the Middle and North of Germany. The course of study, in the preparatory school and in the Institute proper, embraces Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic or Sanscrit, Natural History, Geography, etc., and the common studies embraced in a theological course. Each student enters into an obligation to labor as a missionary in whatever field the Committee may point out, unless there are special reasons to the contrary. An aptitude for the acquisition of languages is considered as an essential prerequisite. The Institute has a large and commodious building, near the city wall in the west part of the town, with some land adjoining. It is wholly dependent on the voluntary contributions of the friends of missions and the personal labors of the pupils. Great freedom is allowed in relation to the religious opinions of the students. "They are not required to subscribe to the faith of Luther, or Calvin, or Zuingli, but to that of Jesus Christ." The Scriptures are made the uniform standard of appeal. The young men have gone out under the patronage of various Societies, e. g. of the British Church Missionary Society, the Bâle Missionary Society, of the Evangelical Russian Church, etc. The Institution has published for many years a valuable monthly Missionary Magazine, containing many matters of interest to the philologist and the geographer. Before the departure of the young missionary, his instructions are given to him at Bâle, Strasburg, Tübingen, Dresden, or some other important place, much according to the custom in the United States. The portrait of each student is also engraved and suspended in the room where the Committee meet. At the present time, there are just two hundred and forty of these portraits. Many of them are strikingly indicative of the talent and moral worth which have here been devoted to the cause of missions. The thirty-first anniversary of the Institute was held in June, 1846. The present number of students in both departments, is forty.

In the New Theological School in Geneva, there were forty-eight stu-

dents during the year which closed in June last, twenty-three in the theological school proper, and twenty-five in the preparatory. Four of these were from Belgium, two from Germany, one from Canada, one from Holland, one from England, nine Vaudese from Piedmont, fifteen from France, and fifteen from Switzerland. Four only belong to Geneva. The library is small, though donations are made to it from time to time. The students have access, under certain restrictions, to the Public Library founded by Calvin, which contains between 40,000 and 50,000 volumes, and where there are 394 MS. letters of Calvin, 44 volumes of his MS. sermons, preached between 1549 and 1560, twelve volumes of letters addressed to him, several volumes of the letters of Theodore Beza, and many important documents relating to the Council of Bâle. The professors in the theological school, are Messrs. Merle D'Aubigné, Gausson, La Harpe and Scherer. Mr. Scherer is a young man, and is thus spoken of in the last report presented by M. Gausson: "The acquisition of M. Scherer, has enabled the school to undertake a distinct course of Patristic Theology, and to extend a little the field of exegesis. Our new colleague, whose solid and exact instructions have been warmly appreciated by the students, has, this year, lectured three hours a week in each of the two branches." We learn from other sources that he is a gentleman of great promise. Dr. Merle has spent the summer in the mountains, partly for the benefit of his health. He is engaged in preparing for the press the History of the Reformation in Great Britain. Some prejudice, it seems, has been excited against the school on the part of certain pastors of the Reformed Church of France, from the apprehension that the students are opposed to a national church establishment, and that the instructions which they receive, are not sound in this respect.

Prof. Vinet of Lausanne enjoys a high reputation as a theologian. He has lately published a pamphlet of seventy pages, entitled "*Socialism considered in its principle*." It appears to have had its origin, not merely in the recent unhappy history of the canton of Vaud, where the author resides, but from a general tendency of the age. It is pervaded by a tinge of melancholy which is quite natural in the circumstances: "The auguries are sad, the heaven is black, but thanks to God, there is, behind the clouds, a sun of righteousness who brings healing in his beams. This moment is that of a crisis which a thousand antecedent events have made inevitable, and the issue of which, problematical to the philosopher, is certain to the Christian. Christianity in the world is the undying seed of liberty." "Much is now said," continues the author, "of the inspiration of the masses. An absolute sense is given to that old paradox, *vox populi, vox Dei*. But the very instinct of the people protests against this apotheosis. Without doubt there is a voice of blood, a cry of

nature, which in certain tragic and solemn moments, without concert, without premeditation, bursts forth at the view of any unheard of atrocity or monstrous error of the human mind. It is a thunder-stroke which interrupts the slumber and revery of the multitude. It is humanity, which standing in her last entrenchments, throws herself with her whole force and with a terrible cry into the encounter with her enemies. But this is a very different thing from that intellectual and permanent authority which it is attempted to confer upon the paradox in question. How ordinary is the thought of the multitude! How changing and divided! How difficult, or rather impossible it is to establish the truth of what they think, if thought can be affirmed of the matter!" "Modern Rome has established insensibly a new socialism. Catholicism in effect is nothing else. It has never openly disowned the principle of individuality in religious matters. It has never dared to do that. It has contented itself with proclaiming those pretensions with which the principle is incompatible." The subject is thoroughly investigated by Prof. Vinet, and his essay is well worth a version into English.

We learn that Dr. Tholuck of Halle has in press a popular treatise, in the form of a dialogue, on the present theological and religious condition of Germany.

Samuel Gobat, lately appointed bishop of Jerusalem, was born near Münster in the canton of Bern, Jan. 26, 1799. His father is still alive, as well as a younger brother, who is a school-master. In 1819, a happy religious influence seemed to pervade the entire family. In 1821, the mother accompanied her son Samuel to the Mission Seminary at Bâle, where he remained till 1824. In the following year he went to Paris and studied Arabic under De Sacy. He then spent a number of months in the study of Ethiopic at Islington in London, preparatory to a mission in Abyssinia. With his companion Kugler, he at length penetrated into that country and was favorably received. There seemed to be a favorable prospect of a reformation in this ancient church, when the breaking out of a war and the death of his companion, compelled Gobat to return to Europe. His valuable journal of travels in Abyssinia was first published in the Bâle Missionary Magazine in 1834. In 1835, he went again to Abyssinia with his wife and Mr. Isenberg, but after severe sufferings, was again compelled to leave the country. He then labored on a revision of the Arabic Bible and other writings at Malta. He subsequently travelled as a preacher and missionary agent in Switzerland and Germany. It is known to the writer of these lines, that he enters on his work at Jerusalem, with the most enlarged and fraternal feelings towards his fellow laborers of various name in the East, and that he holds in abhorrence the conduct of certain ecclesiastics who have manifested such a disgraceful



sympathy with a corrupt and persecuting church. He intends to direct his attention in part to the Mohammedan population. How far the original objects for which the Jerusalem bishopric was founded, will be accomplished, remains problematical.

☞ Several Articles intended to be inserted in the present No., and particularly several notices of new books, are necessarily deferred until our February No. We have only space to insert the following notice of **ROEDIGER'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.**

It is already known to the public, that Professor Stuart has been engaged in preparing Dr. Roediger's edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar for use in the English language. This labor he has now completed; and we cannot doubt that scholars will receive it as an appropriate offering to the cause of Hebrew learning, from one to whom we are indebted for so much of the zeal which has been enkindled among us in behalf of such learning. Of the character of the original work, and more particularly of the value of the improvements which Roediger has made in it, an opinion was expressed in the February No. of the *Bibliotheca* for the present year. No one can hesitate to pronounce it the best Hebrew Grammar for practical purposes, which exists in any language. Prof. Stuart does not appear here merely as a translator. He has appended to the work an excellent *Chrestomathy* which is entirely his own, and has inserted in the body of it frequent Notes, such as his experience as a teacher and his familiarity with the topics discussed, suggested to him as important to the learner. The remarks in the Appendix on the method of Hebrew study, and on the necessity of exact grammatical knowledge to the interpreter of the Scriptures, present the true doctrine on these points in an earnest, forcible manner, and should be read by all who mean to acquire a critical knowledge of the Bible. The translation, it is observed in the Preface, is designedly a free one. Such, especially in a work of this description, it should be; for as much of the phraseology of a Grammar is to be wrought into the mind of the student, the language should be not only exact but idiomatic and easy. The difference between the German and English is such, that this advantage could not be secured in a translation executed with a studious effort to transfer the mere outward form and manner of the original. We consider this an important characteristic of the present work. In consequence of it, the meaning, as presented here, can be readily apprehended by the learner, and impressed on the mind with as much ease as if the composition had been originally English. Of the reliable character of the translation no assurance need be given. The publication of the work has been hastened for the accommodation of those who were needing it for immediate use; but a revision of it gives the student the benefit of such changes as seemed to the translator to be of any importance, on a reperusal of the sheets. Such corrections will accompany the volume. With some exceptions, occasioned by the breaking of vowel points, the Hebrew will be found to be printed here with fewer errors than exist in the German edition.

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## ERRATA.

P. 26, line 8, for *stars* read *seas*.—P. 89, l. 8, for *Edward II.* read *Edward VI.*  
P. 130, l. 13, for *loss* read *lust*.—P. 140, l. 15, for *private* read *prime*.—P. 156, l. 3, for *vices* read *vicios*.—P. 168, l. 36, after *falls* insert *according to the*.—P. 517, l. 30, for *decision* read *derision*.—P. 520, l. 5, after *to*, insert *it, in*.—P. 525, l. 21, for *a* read *or*.—P. 534, l. 30, for *union* read *vision*.—P. 535, l. 32, for *ac gentis* read *agentis*.







